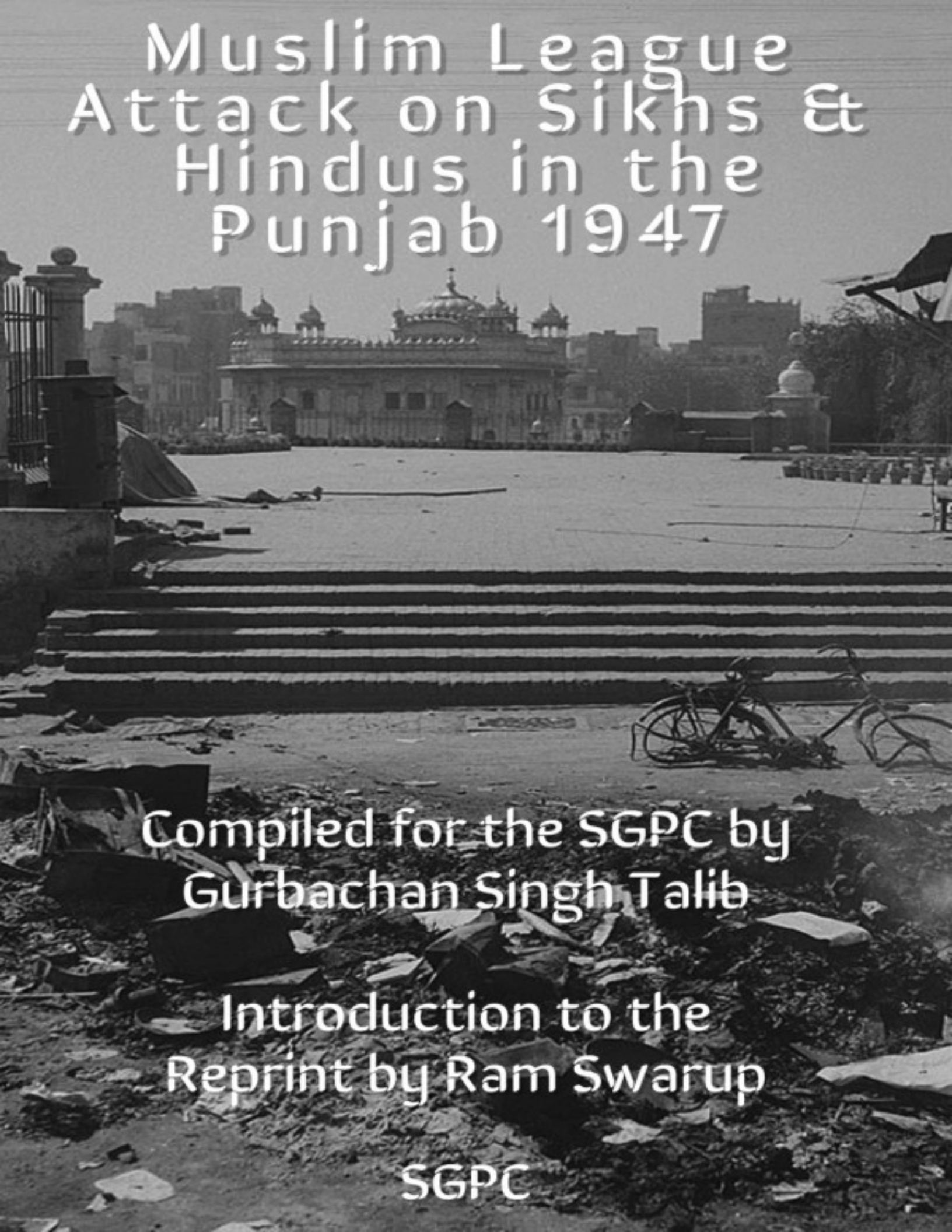
Muslim League Attack on Sikhs & Hindus in the Punjab 1947



Compiled for the SGPC by
Gurbachan Singh Talib

Introduction to the
Reprint by Ram Swarup

SGPC

Table of Contents

Contents
Introduction
Preface
1. Pakistan-Birth and Objectives
2. The Cabinet Mission and the Muslim League Direct Action
3. Prelude to Genocide of Hindus and Sikhs
4. March, 1947.
5. Note on Attack on Gurdwara Dehra Sahib
6. The Gandhi-Jinnah Appeal for Peace
7. Frontier Province and D. I. Khan
8. Round About August 15, 1947
9. Amritsar
10. West Punjab Ablaze
11. Sind
12. Did Sikhs (And Hindus) Voluntarily Leave Pakistan?
13. Did the Sikhs Have a 'Plan'?
Appendices
    - Appendix - I to X
    - Appendix - XI to XX
    - Appendix - XXI to XXX
    - Appendix - XXXI to XXXX

Appendix - XXXXI to XXXXIX
Appendix - Atrocities 1 to 200
Appendix - Atrocities 201 to 400
Appendix - Atrocities 401 to 592

INTRODUCTION

The volume in hand is a reprint of an old book compiled in 1947 by Sardar Gurbachan Singh Talib, Principal of the Lyallpur Khalsa College, Jullundur, and published in 1950 by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC). It records the story of 7-million Hindus and Sikhs who were uprooted from their homes in the West Punjab, the North-Western Frontier, Sind and parts of Kashmir. It tells the story of political parleys that preceded this event, their inevitable failure, and the barbarity that immediately followed - barbarity that had elements of pre-planning. The book records the atrocities of this period - the carnage, killings, abductions and forced conversions that took place particularly in 194 6-47, forcing Hindus and Sikhs to leave their hearths and homes and start on the biggest mass migration of humanity, as the author describes it.

At the end of the book, the author gives an Appendix, 100 pages of about 50 eye-witness accounts of those atrocities. It contains statements of those who saw themselves attacked, their houses burnt, their kith and kin killed, their womenfolk abducted but who themselves survived to relate their account. The section also includes press reports and other first-hand accounts. For example, one report which appeared in *The Statesman* of April 15, 1947

narrates an event that took place in village Thoha Khalsa of Rawalpindi District. It is a story of tears and shame and also of great sacrifice and heroism. The story tells us how the Hindu-Sikh population of this tiny village was attacked by 3000-strong armed Muslims, how badly outweaponed and outnumbered, the beseiged had to surrender, but how their women numbering 90 in order to evade inglorious surrender and save their honour jumped into a well following the example of Indian women of by-gone days. Only three of them were saved. There was not enough water in the well to drown them all, the report adds. The author also gives an 85-page long list of atrocities, date by date and region by region, that took place during the months from mid-December 1946 to the end of August 1947. And these represent only a small fraction of what really happened, and they have to be multiplied a hundred-fold or more to get the right proportions, the author says.

From this it would appear that the book deals only in atrocity stories albeit true ones. But if there was nothing more to it, the events it chronicles could not hold long-range interest and it was perhaps better that the wrongs were forgotten and forgiven. We must also bear in mind that these atrocities alone could not make the full story. Even during the midst of all this carnage, there must have been many cases of humanity and chivalry and there must also have been people who rendered neighbourly help not without some risk to themselves. Let us not forget this chapter and let us be thankful to

this innate goodness in man which binds humanity together and rises above the crusading ideologies that teach inhumanity.

But it would not do to neglect the other chapter dealing in unpalatable facts, particularly if those facts have a deeper story to tell and a continuing pattern to reveal, and if they disclose a larger ideational framework or ideology at work. Luckily for us the author does more than chronicle gruesome events. He goes behind them and explains why they happened. He tells us that the mass exodus did not happen as if by chance but that it was the last culminating episode in a conspiracy that had been under planning for more than a decade before it actually occurred, that it took place because it was the conspiracy of the Muslim League in India to establish a Muslim State which should not be encumbered with any such non-Muslim population as would be a likely factor in diluting to any extent its purely Muslim character. Therefore, the Hindus and Sikhs, the minorities in the new Muslim homeland, were not to be suffered to stay there. This minorityism, the name for Hindus and Sikhs, was the major enemy of the *Milltat*, as Rehmat Ali, one of the early League leaders and intellectuals and coiner of the word Pakistan, said.

According to its original conception, Pakistan itself was to be larger than it turned out to be; it was to include Kashmir, Assam and Bengal in the East and Hyderabad and Malabar in the South and

many independent Muslim states within the rest of the Indian territory. India, or whatever remained of India, was itself to be considered *Dinia*, an important Islamic concept. The author explains that it means it would be the continent which, if not at the moment the home of an Islamic State, was such in immediate conception, waiting to be converted and subordinated to Islam through the proselytising and conquering zeal of its sons.

This was broadly the approach of the generality of Muslims though there were also differences of emphases and in exceptional cases even disagreement with the main thesis. Some of them, particularly of *Ulema* class, sounded a warning that Pakistan might impede the establishment of *Dinia* by arousing unnecessary resistance among the Hindus; therefore, they stayed away from the Pakistan campaign and some of them even opposed it. They came to be known as nationalist Muslims.

Sardar Gurbachan Singh Talib mentions this broader dimension and connects the events of the forties with the League politics and the League politics itself, through *Dinia*, with the larger Muslim politics. He, however, does not develop the point and it remains no more than a hint. But he does more than most other authors whose vision remains confined in the best of cases to the Leagues activities and who provide a narrow and even distorting framework. The fact is that League politics did not initiate Muslim politics but was itself a

part of this larger Muslim politics; it was neither the latters beginning nor its end but its continuation. Muslim politicians and scholars also see it this way. Bhutto tells us that the starting point of Pakistan goes back over a thousand years to when Muhammad bin Qasim set foot on the soil of Sind and introduced Islam in the sub-continent. *History of Pakistan: Past and Present*, a typical textbook taught in Pakistans schools, begins the story of Pakistan with the Advent of Islam, giving exactly nine pages to Pre-Islamic Civilization, negatively presented as *Jahiliya*, an important Islamic concept and a name for all pre-Islamic period. Muslim scholars have also their own idea and version of Muslims freedom struggle and they equate it with the Muslim Empire. It began when Muslims lost their empire after Aurangzeb and partially ends with the establishment of Pakistan. Pakistans official History of the Freedom Movement of Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent covering the period from the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 to the Establishment of Pakistan in 1947 reveals their approach.

II

Muslim politics in turn is grounded in Muslim theology. Islam believes in *one* God (*their* God) but two humanities: the believers and the infidels. Islam teaches, at least according to its most pious and learned men, *Jihad* or holy war against the infidels. It is not that the infidels have done any harm to Islam or Muslims but it is simply

because holy war against the infidels is established as a divine ordinance, by the word of God, who has said in the *Koran*, Slay the Infidel, according to *Hidayah*, an old and important work widely esteemed in the Muslim world.

Similarly, it is not a question of self-defence against any aggression or any unprovoked war but it is simply because the infidels by being infidels incur the destruction of the sword, although they be not the first aggressors, to put it again in the language of the *Hidayah*, which derives it from various passages in the sacred writings which are generally received to this effect. It reveals not only what the Islamic sacred writings say but, what is still more important, what the Muslim pious men and scholars believe these writings do. There has been a wide consensus among them about the message of these writings.

To this theology of holy war belong two related concepts: *dar al-harb* and *dar al-islam*. According to this theology, *dar al-harb* is a country of the infidels, a country not ruled by Muslims; Muslims have to wage a war against it and convert it into *dar al-islam*, a country governed by Muslims. Again, it is not a question of majorities and minorities but of believers and unbelievers. A country of a majority of infidels but ruled by a small minority of Muslims, as India once was, is *dar al-islam* and is perfectly legitimate and conforms more truly to the divine injunction and is superior in Allahs eyes to a

country ruled by its own people but who are infidels. Similarly, it is not a question of equal rights for all citizens irrespective of their religions. Such concepts are un-Islamic. Under Islam, non-Muslims, if they are allowed to exist at all, are non-citizens or *zimmis*; only Muslims are full citizens.

It also means that, theoretically, the believers are at war with the infidels all the time, though, in practice, a war may not be possible at a particular time. The actual shape of the war will depend on many external factors, not the least of them being the stage of preparedness of the believers for the venture. But they must continue exerting and planning and looking for opportunities. This is the essence of *Jihad*. It has been widely discussed in Islamic books on religious laws.

But it does raise some problems on the practical level. For example, when Europe ruled and the whole Muslim world was on its knees and Muslims were not in a position to wage an effective war, what would they do? Then the concept of *Jihad* had to be diluted and in India another concept was added, the concept of *dar al-aman*. According to this concept, it was sufficient if Muslims had the liberty to give their *azan*-call (which was banned by Maharaja Ranjit Singh), to offer their *namaz* and keep their fast, and it was enough for them to be most loyal to a Christian power. There are also other complicating problems in a world where nationalism has become a

new recognised value and a citizen is governed by his countrys laws and owes his first allegiance to his country. But Islam is essentially pan-Islamic and pan-Islamism must override the demands both of territorial nationalism and of universal humanism. In this sense extra-territorialism (and also religious exclusivism) is fundamental to Islam. If the contending parties are Muslim, nationalism could still have a meaning; but when of the two contending parties, one is Muslim and the other infidel there is no dilemma for the Muslims of both countries and their duty is clear. The Muslims living in *dar al-harb* must support a *Jihad* against their Government.

This is the ideational framework from which the events of 1940s derived. For those who know this framework, the chapter of Muslim history which this book discusses is not new; to them, it is an old chapter and also the one which has not yet closed, not even its carnage and exodus. Hindus have been subjected to these forces for centuries, and these forces continue to operate unabated even now. Take for example, the exodus from West Pakistan, the subject of the present book. Hindus have known many such exodus in the past. Repeated Muslim invasions created repeated Hindu exodus. Speaking of the wonderful exploits of Mahmud Ghaznavi (A.D. 997-1030), Alberuni tells us how Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions. All along the coast of the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf, and also along old trade-routes passing through North-West and Central Asia, there were prosperous Hindu

settlements. All these inhabitants became refugees. Exodus continues (besides extensive infiltration) from Bangla Desh and the Kashmir Valley even today. The only thing unique about the 1947-exodus was that thanks to its Sikh component it was not a one-way traffic.

In this larger perspective, Pakistan itself is not a new phenomenon, nor does the story end with its creation. On the other hand, old politics continues under more unfavourable conditions for India. Pakistan is emerging as an important focal point of Islamic fundamentalism and it is seeking new alignments in the Middle East in conformity to its new role. Muslim fundamentalism is a danger in the long run both to the West as well as the East, but it is not yet fully realized. Meanwhile, Pakistan is using its new position of leadership against India. While holding out the threat of nuclear blackmail, it is more than a willing ally of any country or group which has any quarrel with or grouse against India. In India itself, Pakistan enjoys a large support, not only amongst Muslims who have always had a soft corner for it and who, in fact, had an important role in its creation, but also amongst Hindu intelligensia, the countrys left and secular elite who control its media and politics. The motives are complicated into which we cannot go here. But meanwhile India is being subjected to a war of subversion and aggression, a war hot and cold, active and passive. Pakistan has become an instigator and supplier, a trainer, an arsenal and a safe rear of many guerilla and militant forces.

But Hindu India remains confused and even unconcerned. It has been a poor student of history; it has therefore also neglected its lessons; it has failed to read properly the forces, particularly ideological forces, that have been and are still at work to keep it down. In fact, it does not even acknowledge them. It still stubbornly clings to its old assumption that the League politics came out of the scheming head of one Jinnah who was aided and abetted by the British, and that Muslims and Islam had nothing to do with it; that, in fact, they were reluctant victims of this politics and were pushed into it by an intransigent Hindudom.

All this we believe partly because it involves doing nothing, anticipating nothing, planning nothing, and we can continue to live from day to day. A more realistic and faithful appraisal will impose on us duties of a different kind and scope, duties which we therefore shirk. We have learnt to live without thinking and we have got used to the idea of a shrunken and shrinking India. We can now think of India without Afghanistan, without the North-West Frontier Province, without Punjab and Sind, without East Bengal, and we can do the same without Kashmir and other parts in the future. Why assume avoidable responsibilities?

Or perhaps the sickness is deeper. Long back, Sri Aurobindo saw the root cause of Indias weakness, not in foreign yoke or poverty or dearth of spiritual experience, but in the decline of thinking

power. Everywhere he saw inability or unwillingness to think, which is a sign of tragic decadence.

III

This book has another kind of interest for us. It was published by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, something which would be unthinkable now. The book belongs to the time when Hindus and Sikhs were spoken of in one breath indistinguishably and it was taken for granted that they were one and that they had suffered and striven together. Its approach is very different from the one which had continued to be canvassed for over half a century even before this book was written and which has also continued to be in vogue during the -whole post-Independence era. Now for a century the Sikhs have been told by the controllers of Akali politics and by neo-Akali writers that the Sikhs are not Hindus, that instead of deriving from *Hindu* Advaita, *Hindu* incarnation, *Hindu* theory of karma and rebirth, *Hindu* Moksha, Sikhism has grown in revolt against *Hindu* polytheism, *Hindu* idolatry, *Hindu* caste-system and *Hindu* Brahmanism. And many Akali scholars have been re-interpreting their scriptures and re-writing their history in the light of this new understanding of Sikhism. The early inspiration was provided by Christian missionaries and British officials like Macauliffe, but it was internalized by many Akali scholars. While Kahan Singh of Nabha said at the end of the last century that Sikhs

were not Hindus, some neo-Akali writers now take pride in saying that they are some kind of Muslims.

As Akali politics developed its separatism, the post-Independence neo-Akali writers also learnt to look at events of the 1940s through eyes very different from those of Gurbachan Singh Talib. His approach enjoys no sympathy with them and he is neglected by them. In *A History of the Sikhs* by Khushwant Singh, first published in 1963, Gurbachan Singh Talibs book is mentioned but dismissed as one which gives the Hindu-Sikh point of view, and which forms that mass of contradictory statements with which the future historian shifting the documents of the partition riots will be faced. He also evaluates these facts differently. Gurbachan Singh Talib is pained and is angry that the Sikhs were treated shabbily by the Muslims; Khushwant Singh shows more understanding for the Muslim side and tells us why they had to do it since the Sikhs were taking side in a conflict which was essentially a Hindu-Muslim conflict. He tells us: The Sikhs were in a peculiar position in the Hindu-Muslim conflict. They professed a neutral creed but were a part of the Hindu social system. They were much the most prosperous section of the Punjab peasantry and, having been nurtured in a martial tradition, more ebullient than their numbers (13 percent in the Punjab) would warrant. The Sikhs often tried to play the role of peace-makers but since their sympathies were manifestly Hindu, as the rioting increased in intensity, the Muslims quite rightly began to look upon

them as an aggressively anti-Muslim element. In any case, the Muslims felt that if Pakistan was to bring prosperity to their people, Sikhs who owned the best wheat lands of the Punjab would have to be dispossessed.[1]

Dr. Gopal Singh, another noted Akali historian, treats the subject in no different spirit. He does not mention Gurbachan Singh Talibs book at all but gives half a page to its subject-matter in his 860-page *A History of the Sikh* People. But unlike Khushwant Singh, he defends the Akalis who are sometimes accused of their own excesses in the riots of those days. He holds that their action was purely retaliatory and says: This total contempt for non-Muslim life could not fail to inflame the people of the East Punjab and the Sikh States, and retaliation started in full fury everywhere from early August. No pains were spared to pay the Muslim Leaguers in their own coin: blood for blood, loot for loot, though, abductions, conversions and rape were rare occurrences. Then describing the exodus from West Punjab, he adds: The Sikhs of the Punjab had paid full price and more for the freedom of the country and their own ruin.[2]

He does not tell us what could be done to avoid this ruin and how it could be called the price for Indian freedom from which the official Akali leadership had kept away studiously. Moreover, was it a price paid for Indian freedom or was it a penalty imposed for trying to

wage the freedom struggle on wrong assumptions - assumptions which, while they involved neglecting and even undermining the truly nationalist and humanist ideas and forces, tried to make common cause with ideas and forces trying to revive an old Imperialism? The results could not be different from what they were. The question is of more than theoretical interest as the old forces are fully active again and trying to complete the old half-fulfilled task; they are also supported by the same forces which had once a hand in the division of the country and they are today even better placed than they were in the past.

But leaving aside this digression and returning to Dr. Gopal Singh, we find that though he may be critical of League-led riots he is quite in sympathy with the larger Muslim politics. He says that the Muslim grievances were genuine, that their modest demands were misinterpreted and not met on time. He even sympathises with the *Khilafat* movement and blames those who did not look at it through the Muslim eyes. He says: It was perversity of fact to call inconsequential a just (though seemingly exaggerated) demand of a minority (then about 80 million strong) with a political history and religious cohesion which had once swept through the world from China to Spain, and led to the establishment of the Indian and Turkish empires for at least 500 years and had introduced new discoveries in mathematics, medicine and astronomy, besides architecture, cultural mores, and culinary and decorative arts. To

dismiss their pride and humiliation, both, as of no consequence, was the height of majority egotism.[3]

Is it really no more than height of majority egotism to think less glowingly of Islamic Imperialism? Many competent historians have regarded it as one of the cruelest phenomena of history and to Will Durant its conquest of India was probably the bloodiest story of history. But Dr. Gopal Singh has a right to his own personal estimate and it is wonderful to see him take so much pride in Islams political expansion, its religious cohesion, its Indian and Turkish empires, and make Muslims pride and humiliation his own. But why should he baulk at Hindus trying to recover a bit of pride in their own culture, remember a bit of their own history, achieve a measure of social cohesion, try to recover from servile attitudes imbibed over centuries, and regain some dignity for themseleves? Dr. Gopal Singh finds fault with Hindus who remember the excesses of some Muslim rulers like Aurangzeb; he blames the Arya Samaj for its call of *Shuddhi*; he finds fault with Tilak for reviving *Ganapati Puja* as under Shivaji (Khushwant Singhs bastard); he blames *Ananda Matha* and the *Bande Matram* of Bankim; he finds fault with Gandhi who wanted Swarajya to bring in Ramarajya though he must have known that it was impossible considering the human material he was working with; and of course he is averse to Purushottam Das Tandon and Vallabhabhai Patel who did not believe that Hindu-baiting in order to woo and appease Muslim communalism was nationalist politics. In

short, Dr. Gopal Singh finds it blamable in common Hindus that they are not proud of Muslim rule over them and their status of non-citizens or *zimmis* under it, and that they do not denigrate the memory of those who fought against the foreign tyranny and instead regard them as some sort of heroes.

Though Dr. Gopal Singh feels so close to Muslim history, it does not however follow that he agrees on all points with League politics and its politicians. The most serious objection he finds in their politics is that they demanded weightages in the minority provinces on a scale which they should ridicule in the case of Sikhs.[4] Another serious objection is that Muslims did not realize their own best interest and did not know that they would have done better by remaining in India than by separating. He argues: They were offered 40% of seats in the Central Government, equal to the Caste Hindus as late as 1946, and with the help of other minorities in the government, and their own and Sikh strength in the army (around 60 percent), they could acquire a position of such prestige, if not also of domination, that the whole of India could have felt its certain impact. With the historical dynamism [his name for a most destructive and aggressive imperialism of the world] and the egalitarianism of Islam [which was compatible with a most perfected slavery system, and which divided humanity into believers and unbelievers], what is it that they would not have achieved especially in a secular state, mostly

populated by the all-embracing Hindus, their leaders by and large deeply wedded to secularism and democracy.[5]

IV

Dr. Gopal Singh probably does not realize what he is saying, or perhaps he does not care. He seems to say that Hindus do not matter and that they can be made quite irrelevant by means of a coalition of minorities. He also believes that the all-embracing character of Hinduism and the secularism of Hindu leaders could also be utilized to the same end.

Minorityism of a sort already existed even under the British in as much as they ruled through favoured communities. But a full-fledged coalition of minorities which replaced the British and ruled in their place or in their behalf was not possible, nor was it a part of the dream of the loyal minorities - the coalition was meant to replace the Hindus not the British. Things have changed and the idea of a minority-coalition is now quite attractive. Neo-Leaguers find it of great strategic value in their current move for power and Shahabuddin and Co. have been advocating it for quite some time. An ideological axis between Muslim fundamentalism, pseudo-secularism, terrorism and Marxism has already existed for quite some time; now it is taking a concrete political shape.

During the British regime, while the League pursued its Muslim politics to the hilt, it kept the Congress in tow by accusing it of being a Hindu body. The latter felt its self-image compromised and it tried to prove its nationalist credentials by disowning any Hindu connection. Some of its stalwarts went further and falsified Indias history and accepted the Muslim view of India and Hinduism. All this, however, did not help the Congress nor the Independence Movement but it did denature the Congress and lower down the concept of Independence and rob it of its spiritual anchorage.

Having proved its value, the politics of taunts and accusations continues unabated. Those who benefit by it have merely to hurl the epithet communal, and there is a panic all around and the accused try to establish their *secular* credentials by the only way they know - by denouncing Hinduism. All this has led to competitive minorityism, selective communalism, the politics of out-musliming the Muslims and Hindu-bashing. But this politics is already getting discredited and yielding opposite results. It is awakening the Hindus and it is making them realize that the whole lot is rotten and that they should now take things in their own hands.

The context and the argument of the moment may have made Dr. Gopal Singh concede that India is secular and that this has been made possible by all-embracing Hinduism, but the pure-breed fraternity of secularists are not ready to make any such concession.

They hold that Indias secularism is phoney and it is negated by its Hinduism. Khushwant Singh finds that already Indias official commitment to secularism is being reduced to a meaningless clause in the constitution; which is proved by the emphasis on Sanskrit and Hindi, study of the Aryan classics, insertion of cow-protection as a directive clause of the constitution, the increase in the number of cow-protection societies, the growth of Hindu political groups such as the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the militant R.S.S. And then speaking for all minorities in general and the Sikhs in particular, he says that the chief cause of Sikh uneasiness in free India was the resurgence of Hinduism which threatened to engulf the minorities, and that the Hindus, who form 80% of the population, will in due course make Hinduism the state religion of India.[6]

The grievances are truly on a grand scale and they coincide with Hinduism itself. Everything that relates to a Hindu - his language, history, religion, classics - grieves our secularists. If they were living in England, they would be objecting to Shakespeare and Milton, to the English language itself, to the Church of England, to the Englishmen being in a majority. Hindus can never hope to satisfy these secularists and they should not even attempt to do it. They must follow their own conscience and sense of right. Should someone also begin to speak of the causes of Hindu uneasiness in secular India?

Indeed, we are face to face with a strange kind of Sikhism. The Sikh Gurus had worked and fought for the resurgence of Hinduism but now we are told that this resurgence is precisely the cause of Sikh uneasiness. Guru Govind Singh started sending Sikh Gyanis to Varanasi to learn Sanskrit and to study the Epics, the Puranas and other classics to understand the Adi Granth itself, but the neo-Akali ideologues find Sanskrit and these classics objectionable. Maharaja Ranjit Singh banned cow-killing in his kingdom and a hundred Sikhs were blown to smithereens by the British because they stood for cow-protection, but now it is an anathema to secularist Akali scholars. The fact is that it is not the old Sikhism of the Gurus but a new version of it which has been taking shape under the impact of very different ideological and political forces that we are meeting. This neo-Akalism is a child of self-alienation and spiritual illiteracy and it, is at odd not only with Hinduism but for that very reason with Sikhism itself.

Perhaps the neo-Akali ideologues do not realize what they are saying and also that they have quite a part in shaping the current cruel events in the Punjab. Here I am not referring to the more dramatic and terroristic aspect of the situation with which some of them at least - and, certainly, our two historians - are not in sympathy and which they have even opposed with courage, but I am talking of the mind and the ideas and the sympathies that such works shape, and the distorted view of Sikh scriptures and history which they

teach which incline many Akali youths to unworthy roles and set them adrift from their spiritual moorings.

V.S. Naipaul, in his recent book, *India: A Million Mutinies Now*, provides some intimate glimpses into the minds of some of the actors in the Punjab tragedy. He tells us of an interview which he heard on the British Radio and which Bhindranwale had given from the premises of the Golden Temple undergoing fortification just before the Blue Star Operation: in this interview, Bhindranwale had said that Sikhism was a revealed religion; and the Sikhs were people of the Book. Naipaul says that he was struck then by the attempt to equate Sikhism with Christianity; to separate it from its speculative Hindu aspects, even from its guiding idea of salvation as union with God and freedom from transmigration. But at that time, he thought that it was merely an attempt, by a man intellectually far away, to make his cause more acceptable to his foreign interviewer. He did not realize that the attempt to give a Semitic rendering to their religions is an old one and is not limited to Sikhism alone, nor to men intellectually far away. It has very much to do with the circumstances in which the world came to be dominated by people of Semitic religions. During this period, monolatry, prophetism, revelation - concepts of little spiritual validity or worth - acquired a great political clout and social prestige and these began to be adopted by many subject people. They wanted their religions to look like the Semitic

ones with a single God, a Revelation, a Prophet or Saviour, and a single Church or *Ummah*.

That is, however, a large question into which we need not go here. But returning to Naipaul we find that he discovered this phenomenon all along among most militants he interviewed. One militant, also an intellectual of a sort, gave him a pamphlet which he had written. Naipaul tells us that the theme of it was the separateness of the Sikh faith and ideology from the Hindu; its further theme was that the Punjab was geographically and culturally more a part of Middle East than of India. The great enemy of Sikhism and the Sikh empire of Ranjit Singh had been - again - brahmanism.

The writer of the pamphlet also narrated to Naipaul his evolution into a militant Akali; he said he was baptized by the *amrit* stirred with the sword of Ali, which was as the new lore believed, in the possession of the Moghul emperors, and it was presented to Guru Govind Singh by Moghul emperor Bahadur Shah. Naipaul reflects that again in the version of the Sikh faith that the narrator propounded, there was an Islamic twist, a non-Hindu, a non-Indian aspect, a separateness of the faith from the land of its Origin.

Naipaul also asked his narrator whether he had noticed any discrimination as a Sikh. He said yes; he remembered that once,

when he was queuing up to buy a railway ticket, the booking clerk had been rough with him. And that is all. In most cases, the Sikh grievances do not amount to anything more than this. The fact is that Sikhs cannot complain of economic and political discrimination - they are by far the most prosperous community and over-represented in most walks of life. Their grievances are really of the privileged and of the haves, not of have-nots. Also, as we have already seen, the neo-Akalis have embraced a good deal of League politics and as a result they have also adopted grievances suited to that politics.

V

But one might justly hold that what the Akali ideologues say is nothing unique, and that they merely voice the current wisdom found amongst our secularists - or pseudo-secularists if you win - who dominate our media, our universities and our political life; that even in their antipathy towards Hinduism and attraction for League politics, they follow rather than lead the fashion of the day. True, as their own politics increasingly acquired the look of League politics, they found that what justified it also justified them and therefore they adopted its arguments and rationalizations. But in its deeper ideation, they were neither its initiators nor its loudest spokesmen. That honour belongs to Macaulayites, Marxists, Royists, and liberty

forums. Akali self-alienation is only a small part and one expression of this larger Hindu self-alienation.

This larger self-alienation has to do with the historical circumstances of the last thousand years. During this long period, India has lived under two Imperialisms and it was constantly under their military, political and ideological attack. As a result, its psyche was badly wounded; it lost self-confidence and developed a deep sense of inferiority. Hindus became apologetic about their religion, their Gods, their culture, their institutions; they began to look at themselves through the eyes of their rulers, thus learning to hold their religion and culture in low esteem and even in contempt; some for sheer survival learnt to be on the side of their masters and betray their own people; some learnt to disown their identity in order to please their masters. In due course, this self-denigration and self-disowning became a part of Hindu psyche.

Like any other imperialism, Muslim and British Imperialisms also created a class of mercenaries and compradores - and here I am talking of intellectual mercenaries; they created a collaborationist *tradition* or *school* which endured even after the rulers had left. Marxist historians, for example, belong to the school of Hindu *munshis* whom the Mughal kings employed to eulogize their rule and their religion, and who wrote servilely to flatter their patrons and

whose writings failed to reflect even remotely the feelings, fears, hopes and yearnings of their own subject fellow brothers.

This phenomenon of self-depreciation was not limited to India alone but it was widely spread. When the West became dominant, many ancient peoples and cultures and countries including Russia and China were filled with a great sense of inferiority. This inferiority created d class of people who were ashamed of their own past and wanted to be like the West. In due course, when they captured power in their countries they proved the worst enemies of their people and great persecutors of their cultures. In China, the communists declared war on their ancient ethics and thought, once considered glorious human achievements; they destroyed half-a-million Buddhist shrines.

In Mongolia has been discovered a mass grave containing the remains of thousands of Buddhist monks liquidated by a former communist regime. An 83-old man, once head of an extermination squad, admitted that he personally put 15,724 to death. 1197-at-Nalanda was repeated not by invading Muslim armies but by local communist revolutionaries and social transformers.

But not all these *westernizers* lacked patriotism. What they lacked was a larger view and a deeper wisdom. They failed to see

that the Western culture itself was based on a very inadequate definition of man and a distorted view of nature.

Returning to the Indian story, we find that as Hinduism became a dirty word, and Hindus learnt to disown their identity, other smaller identities and narrower loyalties, once part of a larger milieu, came to the forefront. Castes and *panths* and creeds became prominent; and once becoming important they acquired their own momentum, power, justification and vested interests.

Renascent Hinduism will have to contend with these forces; it will have to overcome the forces of self-denigration and self-alienation; it will have to become strong so that its present weakness does not breed self-contempt in its own sons and daughters but on the other hand its new strength should be such that those of them who were once forced to leave come back to their ancestral fold in pride. It must also realize that it is not just a community in competition with other communities, but that it is a nation and a civilization which has a great role to play in the world. It must work on this larger self-definition and assert this larger self-identification. No lesser definition will do.

But the task is not easy. The old imperialist forces are active and they are mobilizing old allies who worked for the division of the country. They have been joined by new vested interests who find

disintegration of the country equally useful or close to their heart. They daily tell you through the media they control that India is not one, that it is only a geographical expression, or merely an administrative entity; they tell you that while India is an abstraction, its reality is ethnic minorities who have a right to their national homelands. And as they push their right with the help of AK-47 rifles and Kalashnikovs, they find that they have powerful friends and protectors in Delhi and powerful ideologues of their cult in the press. Jagmohan, in his recent *My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir* shows the deep sickness that has overtaken the country, the intimate nexus that exists between the militants, the so-called national political parties, and groups of doubtful motives working under various names: liberty and civil rights forums, prominent citizens or private initiative, etc. Their game is obvious; it is to confuse the nations counsel, to weaken its will, to create a soft society so that its parts can be picked up one by one.

Those who are against India are even more opposed to Hinduism, a name for India at its deepest and most cultural and spiritual; Hinduism embodies Indias civilization dimension and gives it cohesion, integrity, continuity and unity. They know that before they can subvert India, they must subvert Hinduism, that the countrys balkanization is not possible without prior fragmentation of the Hindu society. Hence their tenacious attack on Hinduism, their need to unleash caste politics. The game-plan allows the talents of

people like V.P. Singhs, Chandrashekhars and Mulayam Singhs full scope; it allows the Naxalites, Marxists, Macaulayites to make their full contribution; it allows Pakistan, petrodollars, evangelists, liberation theologians and several other unnamed agencies to play a crucial role not always hidden.

But let not these odds discourage us. Hinduism has survived in spite of them and it will again grow strong in spite of them. Hinduism is weak in many ways, but it is still strong in spiritual knowledge. It does not derive from dogmas and personality cults, but it is grounded in ethics, in the knowledge of the Spirit, in the culture of Yogas. Therefore its spiritual message is irresistible which is proved by the fact that though it has sent out no missionaries it has attracted some of the best minds of the world. In fact, they are finding that Hinduism is perhaps the only religion for the spiritually awakened people though it has also enough in it to help people of various grades and stations to make spiritual progress. They are discovering through their own reflection that true spirituality has little to do with the God of their conventional religion - more often than not a psychic formation thrown up by a mind not always pure - but with Self-knowledge, with *Atma*; not with Commandments (often theological rather than moral) but with the inherent ethics of the soul, its categorical imperative; not with prophets and saviours (sometimes not even edifying figures), but with discovering truth-forms of the soul. Ale worst enemy of man is not an inadequate

social environment, but an inadequate philosophy, a distorted ideology, an undeveloped and backward spirituality.

Hinduism or rather something akin to Hinduism is the natural religion of seeking men. Dogmatic religions are impositions. Many thinking men in Europe and America are realizing this and they are returning to their nations old Gods and old religions which they lost when Christianity triumphed. And as they do it, they discover their natural affinity with Hinduism; they also find that Hinduism still preserves the knowledge that once gave life to these lost religions, the knowledge which can also revive them and their Gods again.

The same thing is bound to happen in other parts and countries like Egypt, Iran, Syria, and Central Asia once they acquire minimum freedom to discuss spiritual matters and investigate their past. Then they would realize that they are not peoples of yesterday, but are ancient nations who had their own developed spiritualities and that Islam was imposed on them by force. Hindu India could help them and such other countries to rediscover their spiritual roots.

New Delhi,
Vijayadashami,
October 18, 1991

Footnotes:

[1]Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Oxford University Press, Vol. II, pp. 266-67)

[2]Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*, World Book Centre, New Delhi. 1988 edition, p.712

[3]*Ibid*., p.673

[4]*Ibid*., p.687

[5]*Ibid*., P.733-34

[6]Khushwant Singh, *op. cit*., Volume II, pp.293. 304-305

PREFACE

This book is intended to reveal the grim and tragic story of the uprooting of more than seven million Hindus and Sikhs from their homes in West Punjab, in the North-Western Frontier Province, in Sind and in raider-occupied Kashmir. The outlines of this story are well-known all over the world, and have formed the subject of debate before the representatives of the major portion of mankind, assembled in the United Nations. This biggest mass migration of humanity in history under extreme duress has received the attention and active sympathy due to it from the rest of India, and the world is keenly aware of the existence of this large portion of uprooted humanity.

What, however, is not very well-known or fully borne in mind is the fact that this tragic migration was the last culminating episode in a conspiracy that had been under planning for more than a decade before it actually occurred-the conspiracy of the Muslim League in India to establish a Muslim State which should not be encumbered with any such non-Muslim populations- as, would be a likely factor in diluting to any extent its purely Muslim character.[1] This conspiracy needs being unmasked by recalling the history of the Indian Muslim League over the period in which its inception and maturing occurred-

so that responsibility for this tragedy is fixed where it properly belongs.

Muslim League propaganda has sought to blame the Punjab happenings of 1947 on the Sikhs and in a secondary degree on the Hindus. A distorted and fragmentary picture, drawn up with completely bare-faced lying, has been presented to the world of a Sikh Plan[2] to attack and drive out Muslims from the Punjab. And for a time a part of the world swallowed the lie, and the Sikhs got an unenviable reputation. But the pendulum of opinion slowly swung round in the right direction, and the Sikh name now has been fairly cleared of the supposed crime of a Plan against Muslims. That the Sikh (and Hindu) attack on the Muslims in East Punjab was retaliation under terrible and unbearable provocation is now admitted to be a fact by all impartial people; though it is not known everywhere of what horrible nature, of what prolonged duration and diabolical character was the provocation offered to Sikhs by Muslims over a period of several agonizing months-beginning from December, 1946. There was a war unleashed by the Muslim population of the Punjab to cow down Sikhs, and as a means to that, to carry on among them a total campaign of murder, arson, loot and abduction of women. Sikhs passed through the experience of this war as a people for months; and not thousands, but millions of them were forced to quit their homes for safety in the process. Without a

clear knowledge of this part of the story a just and balanced view of the situation cannot be formed.

The details of atrocities committed on Sikhs and Hindus given in these paces are not full or even a fairly large proportion of what actually befell. They are only representative episodes of what happened in a few villages and towns all over West Punjab and other West Pakistan areas. Imagine such things happening in thousands upon thousands of villages and hundreds of towns, and you will then be able to take in the proportions somewhat close to what the reality was-which, in the last analysis must, however, remain inexpressible in its full horror. The facts drawn upon are statements of sufferers of these horrors, recorded from complaints made to the authorities, from reliable press reports and from statements recorded with scrupulous fidelity and signed by those who made them, in the refugee camps in East Punjab.

Sikhs left behind their homes, the richest land in the Punjab, their factories and prosperous businesses, their holy shrines, schools and colleges-all under the pressure of the Pakistan terror, so that according to unbiassed estimates 40% (and these perhaps the most enterprising section of the community) were rendered refugees. They came out of their homes-hammed, despoiled and in unending trudging caravans. This vast human tragedy is too large even for the

imagination to take in without the help of facts presented in a telling way.

This record is intended in the first place to rehabilitate the Sikh name, maligned by false propaganda of the leaders and press of Pakistan, and secondly to serve as part of the material for anyone who should set out to write a full history of the Punjab of these terrible 1947 months.

Footnotes:

[1]The recent (1950) driving out of Hindus from East Bengal (Pakistan) is only the latest episode in this story.

[2]Two scurrilous pamphlets were published by the West Punjab Government (Pakistan) in 1948, entitled The Sikh Plan and Sikhs in Action.

1. PAKISTAN-BIRTH AND OBJECTIVES

Pakistan grew out of the two-nation theory of the Muslim League, which for the last twenty years or more has been synonymous with its permanent president, the late Mohamed Ali Jinnah, called by the Muslims Qaid-i-Azam or the Supreme Leader. The career of Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah indicates a curious and. ironic development from being the apostle of Hindu-Muslim Unity, as he was called by admiring Congressmen, to being the chief exponent, advocate and creator of Pakistan-a state based upon the thesis that the Muslims of India are a separate nation, and a,, such need a homeland and state for themselves, separate from Hindu-land. Pakistan is now a predominantly Muslim state, so predominantly Muslim in its population that its western and more important portion has in the course of a few months of its establishment, been almost completely rid of its Hindu, Sikh and to a great extent of its Christian and untouchable populations. By what processes this development has been brought about is what this booklet is designed to relate. The present overlords of Pakistan have declared times out of number that Pakistan is *in character* a Muslim State-the largest Muslim State in the world. This description of its character, when placed side by side with the declared character of India as a secular state, which she is also sought to be made in effect, has unnerved the Hindu

population of faraway East Bengal, where alone now in Pakistan Hindus in any appreciable numbers are found. Since October last a deliberate policy on the part of the Muslim majority in East Bengal, with the connivance of the East Bengal Muslim League Government, forced the Hindus out of that Province. This exodus of Hindus became such a vast movement of emigration, that in October, 1948 official estimates put the number of Hindu immigrants from Eastern Pakistan into India at fifteen lakhs. More and more were following over the border into Assam and West Bengal everyday, and the refugee problem for the Indian Government already preoccupied with the rehabilitation of about a crore of people from Western Pakistan and Kashmir, began to assume a desperate look. That is what made Sardar Patel to declare that if the Pakistan Government did not take effective steps to stop the exodus of Hindus from East Bengal the India Government would claim proportionate territory from East Bengal for the resettlement of the Hindus immigrants. This exodus is only an illustration of the fact that the driving out of minorities and non-Muslim populations is something inherent in the very nature, conception and scope of the kind of state which the Muslims have achieved through the good offices of the British in the shape of Pakistan. No amount of reasonableness and accommodation, no attempts at friendship and understanding on the part of India could avert what occurred in West Punjab, in the North-Western Frontier Province, in Sind, in Bahawalpur, in raider-occupied Kashmir and is at present occurring in East Bengal. The thing is inevitable and

inherent in the nature of the State of Pakistan and the entire attitude and mentality of which this State is the result. It is a significant fact that while in India, the Government discourages *communal* groups and parties, in Pakistan no group or parties other than communal are encouraged. A Pakistan Peoples Congress is inconceivable. When the Hindu leaders of Sind planned the establishment of a political party which might draw its membership from people belonging to various religions, the reply of the Pakistan Government was characteristic. The Hindus of Sind, (such of them as are still there) might have a Hindu Party, but not one which Muslims also might join. In the *Muslim State* of Pakistan, no Muslim may join any organization other than a purely Muslim one. It is such an attitude which bred the riots of 1946 and 1947-Calcutta, Noakhali, N.-W. F. P., the Punjab, Sind and Bahawalpur.

The very name of the State which the Muslim League envisaged-and achieved-is, in the context in which it was adopted, a standing insult to the Hindus and other non-Muslims living in India. This name-*Pakistan*-means literally the Land of the Pure or of Purity. This implies clearly that Hindus and all that belongs to them credally and materially is impure, defiled and unholy. In a communally-charged atmosphere to have broadcast such an offensive name and concept among the Muslims was to extend an open invitation to racial and communal arrogance, contempt of others, challenges and counter-challenges.

The origin of the Pakistan idea is briefly this: -

Dr. Mohammad Iqbal in his presidential address at the Annual Muslim League Session held at Allahabad in .1930, advocated the establishment of a separate Muslim State or Federation in India on the basis of the Muslims separate political identity, in these words: The Muslim demand for the creation of Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. . I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-Government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India.

This was the first hint thrown into the atmosphere of Indian politics of a separate Muslim State or Federation. But the thing at this stage was a vague aspiration, the desire towards a separate state was unformed in anybodys mind as a concrete programme-symptomatic nevertheless of a dangerous way of thinking and an explosive kind of mentality.

Dr. Mohammad Iqbals thesis did not immediately find much support among the Indian Muslims. At the Round Table Conference which was held in London soon after, the Muslim delegates talked in terms only of safeguards and the proportions of seats the Muslims

might get in the various legislatures of India in addition to pleas for the creation of a new Muslim-majority province, namely Sind. The official policy of the Muslim League in these years continued to be very much the same-any thought of setting up a separate state being regarded as the vision of an idealist, a poet, but in no way practical politics.

But Dr. Mohammad Iqbal was by no means the only Muslim who thought in terms of a separate Muslim State in India. In the January of 1933 appeared, on behalf of certain Indian Muslim students at Cambridge, headed by Chaudhari Rehmat Ali, a pamphlet entitled *Now or Never*. This pamphlet advocated a complete break away of the Muslims of North-Western zones of India from the rest of the Indian nation. India it said, is not the name of single country, nor the home of one single nation. It is in fact, the designation of a state created for the first time in history by the British. The Moslems are shewn in this pamphlet to be altogether separate in their way of life from the other people of India, and hence the unmistakable conclusion is suggested that they must have a separate state of their own. Says the pamphlet, We do not inter-dine, we do not intermarry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress, are different. Hence the Muslims demand the recognition of a separate national status.

It is necessary here to point out that the essence of this last argument given above has been repeated ever since 1940 by all Muslim Leaguers, down from Mr. Jinnah. Differences and cleavages have been emphasized and the doctrine of hate and animosity has been preached. Muslim separatism has been bolstered up; all attempts made in the past-comparatively remote and recent-by far-sighted Hindus and Muslims, Kings, poets, founders of faiths and others-have been sought to be written off. This exaggerated account of the cleavage between the Muslim and the Hindu (and Sikh) way - of life led, when factors favour able to such a consummation had developed fully, to the orgy of rioting in Bengal, the N.-W. F. Province, the Punjab and Sind. As a matter of fact, it would have been a surprising thing if after the gospel of hate which the Muslim League had been preaching to the Indian Muslims for so many years, these riots and their accompanying horrors and devastation had not occurred.

The word Pakistan, which so powerfully caught the imagination of the Muslims of India, and which pinned the vague, floating idealism of savants like Dr. Mohammad Iqbal to a concrete objective and programme, is a coinage of Chaudhari Rehmat Ali, who has been mentioned above. He has been hailed among the Muslims as the founder of Pakistan National Movement. The coinage is said to have been formed from the initial letters of the names of the Provinces designed to compose the original Pakistan -The North-Western

zone. These provinces were: Punjab, Afghania (N.-W. Frontier Province) Kashmir and Baluchistan (which contributed the end letters to the name). Apart from this genesis of the name, which perhaps was an afterthought, the name is a Persian compound formation; and an offensive challenge to the non-Muslims, extremely defiant and provoking, is inherent in it. For Pakistan means the Land of the Pure, in this case the Muslims.

Pakistan, as has been told above, was originally conceived to comprise only the North-Western areas of the Punjab, Sind, Kashmir, the N.-W. Frontier Province and Baluchistan. But in a later concept of the thing, issued in the form of a revised version of the original scheme, it was devised to comprise, besides the areas originally ear-marked for it, also Assam and Bengal in the East, and Hyderabad and Malabar in the South. In addition to these extensive strongholds of Muslim power in the North-West, in the East and the South, beleaguering non-Muslim India from all strategic points, were also to be several smaller though by no means too small, Muslim pockets, studded all over the country-one in the United Provinces, one in the heart of Rajputana and another still in Bihar. Thus, the Muslims of all India, and not only those of the Muslim majority areas, were to have independent countries of their own, parcelling out India into so many new Muslim-dominated States.

This process in its conception carried with itself certain very far-reaching, and in the light of the communal developments of 1946 and 1947, very significant and pregnant corollaries. Rehmat Ali, whatever else he might be, has been quite fertile in the devising of catching, though somewhat megalomaniac names. Besides Pakistan, he has been responsible for the concept of India as *Dinia*, a cleverly suggestive anagram. Dinia would be the continent which, if not at the moment the home of an Islamic State, was such in immediate conception, waiting to be converted and subordinated to Islam through the proselytising and conquering zeal of its sons. Bengal and Assam, conceived as a joint Muslim-majority area by a logic partial to Muslim reasoning, was rechristened by Rehmat Ali Bang-i-Islam or Bangistan, redolent of the Feudal Moghal name of Bengal, *Bangush*, which has been offensive to the Hindu, suffering for centuries under the hell of the Muslim. The Muslim Homelands parcelled out of Bihar, the U. P. and Rajputana (the Ajmer area, where is the shrine of the great Muslim Saint, Khawaja Muinuddin Chisti) were to be called respectively Faruquistan, Haideristan and Muinistan. Hyderabad, ruled over by a Muslim Prince, with its 86% Hindu population, was to be called Osmanistan, after the name of the present Nizam; and the Moplah tracts of Malabar were named Moplistan. There would, besides, be areas known as Safistan and Nasaristan. On the map of India (or Dinia) as drawn by Rehmat Ali, non-Muslim areas make unimpressive, miserable patches, interspersed on all sides with Muslim states, born out of conflict with

Hindu India, and pursuing a set policy of converting, conquering and amalgamating this Hindu India into themselves. Such was the conception of Pakistan, at any rate the first push, made popular among the Indian Muslims by the tremendous force of propaganda which communal and fanatical zeal could lend to the Muslim League of which we have been witnessing the grimly tragic consequences since August, 1946.

All this mentioned above was elaborated by Rehmat Ali in 1940, the year in which his concept had been so far successful that the Lahore Session of the Muslim League passed the famous Pakistan Resolution, adopting the achievement of an independent Muslim State out of the United India of British formation, as the immediate goal of the Muslim League policy. Rehmat Alis Pamphlet of 1940 was entitled *Millat of Islam and the Menace of Indianism*. By the Menace of Indianism was implied the conception of the Indian Muslims as a separate nation, who must refuse to be of India, and must demand a separate state or several states to be in alliance with one another, for themselves. The elucidation of this conception by Rehmat Ali is very revealing for a student of the trends forming the Indian Muslim mentality of the last decade or so.

In 1942 Rehmat Ali came out with still another Pamphlet, called *The Millat and its Mission*. In this Pamphlet, apart from the concept of India as Dinia or the land which was destined to be converted in

its entirety to Islam and to Muslim hegemony, there was a very revealing attitude about minorities. As has been pointed out by all, those who have been critical of the programme of Pakistan, the problem of minorities to be left in Pakistan and Hindustan would be the chief stumbling block of any future policy in these states. Vast Hindu-Sikh and Muslim minorities would be left in Pakistan and Hindustan respectively, and to settle with them would require imagination, tact and a high degree of fairness. The Muslim League advocates of Pakistan have been prolific with assurances of fair treatment towards minorities-assurances never seriously meant to be kept, and broken in the most unworthy manner in all the territories which became part of the Pakistan State. What the Muslim Leaguers had been planning all these years was really to drive out minorities from Pakistan, and in this way to solve the minority problem. Listen to the illuminating remarks of Rehmat Ali on minorities. Says Rehmat Ali:

What is the fundamental truth about minorities remember that, in the past Minorityism has ever proved itself a major enemy of the Millat; that at present it is sabotaging us religiously, culturally, and politically even in our national lands; and that in the future, it would destroy us throughout the Continent of Dinia and its dependencies, Hence the Commandment (one of the seven commandments laid down in the pamphlet The Millat and its Mission), Avoid Minorityism, which means *that we must not leave our minorities in Hindu lands,*

even if the British and the Hindus offer them the so-called constitutional safeguards. For no safeguards can be substituted for the nationhood which is their birthright. *Nor must we keep Hindu and/or Sikh minorities in our lands, even if they themselves were willing to remain with or without any special safeguards*. For they will never be of us. Indeed, while in ordinary times they will retard our national reconstruction, in times of crisis they will betray us and bring about our redestruction.

This is the gist of the Commandment. It may be expanded into the factual statement that

(*a*) To leave our minorities in Hindu lands is:-

(1) To leave under Hindu hegemony 35 million Muslims who form no less than 1/3 of the whole Millat, which in her struggle for freedom has no allies in the continent.

(2) To deny their resources to the cause of the Millat at a time when she needs the maximum contribution of every one of her sons and daughters.

(3) To devote their lives and labour to the cause of the Hindu *Jati*.
I hope people who argue that an equal number of (35 millions) Hindu and Sikh minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan and Osmanistan will be

working for the Millat overlook the fact that the work of one can never compensate for that of the other

To reinforce still further the lesson and the determination for the total elimination of minorities, Rehmat Ali argues further on, more uncompromisingly,

(*b*) To keep Hindus and/or Sikh minorities in our lands is:

(1) To keep in Muslim lands 35 million Hindus and Sikhs who form no more than 1/8 of the total strength of the force opposing the Millat in the Continent of Dinia.

(2) To condemn to permanent servitude our 35 million brethren living in Hindu Dinia, i.e., outside Pakistan, Bangistan and Osmanistan. The reason is that unless and until we accept this commandment we cannot liberate them from the domination of Indianism.

(5) To forget even the unforgettable lesson taught to us by the disappearance of our own Pak Empire[1] and of the Turkish Empire, namely that one of the major causes of their decline, defeat and downfall was the treachery and treason of their religious, racial and political minorities.

Thus, in a thorough and relentless way Rehmat Ali has pleaded for the total elimination of minorities from Pakistan. How deeply the lesson sank into the minds of the Muslim League and the average Muslim, will be seen from the pronouncements given below of the leaders of Muslim opinion in India from Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah downwards, on the question of Minorities and the exchange of population. It was this lesson, thoroughly learnt, which led to the hounding out of the non-Muslim populations from Eastern Bengal (1946), N.-W. Frontier Province (1946 and 1947), Western Punjab, Sind and its adjoining areas, and now from the East Bengal Province of Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah replying to a question seeking suggestions for the restoration of peace in India, said: In view of the horrible slaughter in various parts of India, I am of the opinion that the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population to avoid brutal recurrence of that which had taken place where small minorities have been butchered by the overwhelming majorities.

The Viceroy-because he alone can do it-as the representative of the Crown and as the Governor-General with powers that are vested in him, should adopt every means and measures to restore, first, peace and order. In the present conditions there is no room for reason, intelligence and fair-play. Negotiations in these conditions

can hardly yield fruitful results and produce a settlement satisfactory to both parties.

It may be pointed out here that exchange of population has been in the mind of all Muslim exponents of Pakistan, or whatever the Muslim State designed to be carved out of India has been called. Dr. Latif of Hyderabad (Deccan), in his book *The Muslim Problem in India*, in spite of the temperate language used by him and the reasoned way in which he has made out the case for creating Hindu and Muslim zones, has advocated the exchange of population. On this problem he says, One of the objects of the transitional constitution[2] is to *facilitate and prepare the ground for migration of Muslims and the Hindus* into the zones specified for them so as to develop them into cuturally homogeneous States.

During the transitional period migration should be on a voluntary[3] basis. For this the necessary legislation will have to be passed for each region, and a machinery set up to organise and regulate this voluntary Migration.

There is unconscious humour and irony in the use of the epithet voluntary for this migration, for which Dr. Latifs scheme postulates the provision of legislation and a suitable machinery by the Government or the Governments concerned. Of course, when the Muslim Leaguers did actually come to establish a Government of

their own on August 15, 1947, they drove the non-Muslim population out of their country with scant ceremony-by a campaign of pillage, murder, rape and arson. This method effected the exchange desired much quicker and in a more thorough way than could be done by any human legislation. As a matter of fact, the driving out of minorities had begun as early as November, 1946 with Noakhali, when the whole of Northern India was flooded with destitutes begging for a morsel or a piece of cloth to cover their shivering bodies. Later this was effected in December, 1946 and January, 1947 in the Hazara District of the N.-W. Frontier Province, when Sikhs and Hindus had to flee for dear life into the Punjab. And then came March, 1947 with its horrors. August, 1947 let loose a vast flood of persecution of millions. So, the Muslim scheme was being translated into historic fact to the letter.

To return now for a while to Rehmat Ali, whose pamphlets provided the germ of the Pakistan idea, and the Muslim League Plans and such bodies as the Muslim National Guards, which were subsidiary to it. Rehmat Ali had the dream of reviving the old Muslim glory. His ultimate vision was of a Muslim India or Dinia, over which Islam must rule in its traditional manner. The areas carved out for Muslims in the midst of Hindu India mentioned above, were called by Rehmat Ali. footholds. Footholds from which presumably the Muslims were to plan expansion into the heart of the neighbouring non-Muslim areas, and to link up with one another, for tightening up

their stranglehold in these non-Muslim areas. Jinnahs own abortive proposals for a corridor to link up Eastern and Western Pakistan was somewhat of this nature. Have an area running all over Northern India, cutting India into two-and plan for the rest from this advantageous position.

Presumably had Hyderabad been in a position to accede to Pakistan, a corridor would have been demanded for linking it up with Pakistan in the shape of an outlet to the sea. This has been the tempo, the character and the insatiably ambitious nature of the Pakistan Plan, conspiring for the conquest of Hindu India. Rioting and pillaging would be accounted only as minor rehearsary exercises in such a mighty and vast programme of action!

On the exchange of population, Mr. Jinnah expressed himself quite clearly on a number of occasions, as already quoted. His views were not those of a mere idealist like Rahmat Ali, or of an intellectual like Dr. Latif, but of the leader of the most powerful Muslim Party in India, whose words would carry tremendous influence with the Muslim masses and would be effective in forming their attitude and reactions. Speaking in Kingsway Hall in London on December 13, 1946, when he had gone there to have consultations with the British Government regarding the future functioning or killing of the Constituent Assembly, to which talks the Congress leaders too had been invited, Mr. Jinnah made a passionate plea for the Muslim

State of Pakistan, which would be inhabited by one hundred million people, *all Muslims*. The implication of this is very clear. The Muslim population of India was, according to the Muslim League plan, to be concentrated in Pakistan, and as a necessary corollary, the non-Muslims were to be packed off. The important implications of such remarks were not lost upon the Muslims of the Muslim majority areas of India, and they formulated their plans for effecting a clean sweep of the non-Muslim minorities from their lands.

A few excerpts from the text of this speech of Mr. Jinnah, made at a time when the situation in the country was very explosive, and any provocation provided to the Muslims would lead to widespread rioting, should serve to reveal the real nature of the campaign started by the Muslim League. The terrible Calcutta riots had already occurred; Noakhali was hardly a month-old affair and stirrings of the Muslim population of Hazara District in the N.-W.F.P. against the Sikhs were becoming visible. At such a time to have propounded the twin theories of complete cultural and credal separation and the exchange of population was only to inflame rioting on the part of the Muslims still further. Said Mr. Jinnah at Kingsway Hall:

In the North-West and North-East zones of India which are our homeland and where we are in a majority of 70% we say we want a separate State of our own. There we can live according to our own notions of life. *The differences between Hindus and Muslims are so*

fundamental that there is nothing that matters in life upon which we agree.

It is well known to any student of History that our heroes, our culture, our language, our music, our architecture, our jurisprudence, our social life are absolutely different and distinct. We are told that the so-called one India is British-made. It was by the sword. It can only be held as it has been held. Do not be misled by anyone saying that India is one and why, therefore, should it not continue to be one. What do we want? I tell you, Pakistan. Pakistan presupposes that Hindustan should also be a free State.

What would Hindus lose? Look at the map. They would have three-quarters of India. They would have the best parts. They have a population of nearly 200,000,000. Pakistan is certainly not the best part of India. We should have a population of 100,000,000, *all Muslims*.

On July the 27th, we decided to change our policy and to resort to Direct Action-a big change of policy-and we decided to tell our people this on August the 16th.

Reviewing the whole position, there is no other way but to divide India. Give Muslims their homeland and give Hindus Hindustan.

The Muslim Leagues famous Pakistan Resolution was passed in its Annual session at Lahore in April, 1940. It declared for the first time the objective of Muslim League policy in India thus:

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be acceptable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the north-western and north-eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 8 independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign

Non-Muslim India did not readily give acceptance for this proposal which on the very face of it was outrageous and the consequences of which appeared to be nothing less than a relentless and destructive civil war in the country. Large sections of the Muslims too did not find this solution of the country's constitutional problem acceptable, as it would mean endless rioting in which Muslims as surely as non-Muslims would suffer. But the British Government found in this resolve of the Muslim League a fresh sign of the perpetuation of the communal rift in India and they were not slow to lend it countenance in a way, and as Congress

leaders repeatedly declared, to put a premium on Muslim League intransigeance which made any reasonable settlement well-nigh impossible. The Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, whose regime in India was marked for the campaign of repression launched by the British Government against the freedom movement in India, said in the well-known August 1940 offer to India, It goes without saying that they (the British Government) could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

Here was a clear hint to all such groups as would decide to dissociate themselves from the Congress, that any such dissociation on the part would be duly noted and respected. The Princes, the Muslim League and any others might come along. But coming as this declaration did not long after the passing of the Pakistan Resolution it is clear that it was meant as an acceptance by the British Government of the right of Muslim separation. Such was the joint Anglo-Muslim conspiracy out of which Pakistan was born. And the two forces-the British Government and the Muslim League-worked hand in hand right up till the 15th August, 1947 to make Pakistan a fact, and to create such a temper of hate and lack of

confidence between the communities as would make any thought of their living together an utter impossibility.

But the British Government did not stop short at this above declaration. In the Prime Minister's Statement in the House of Commons on March 11, 1942 on the eve of the departure of Sir Stafford Cripps on his historic mission to India it was said: He (Sir Stafford) carries with him the full confidence of His Majesty's Government, and he will strive in their name to procure the necessary measure of assent, not only from the Hindu majority, but also from those great minorities among whom the Muslims are the most numerous and on many ground pre-eminent.

With these and other declarations of the British Governments policy in their pocket, with the full support of the British bureaucracy in India with whom in Pandit Nehrus famous words the Muslim League had a mental alliance and with the confidence that any and every act of intransigeance on its part would be respected by the British Government, the Muslim League devised plans for creating sanctions behind its extreme demands. The sanctions were to be riots against Hindus, and when these came into the Punjab, against the Sikhs as well. Very evidently the Muslim League was not at war with the British Government. Its war was with Hindu India, and so against Hindu India it would start a fierce campaign. While the War lasted, it did not suit the British Government td have any large-scale

rioting or conflict inside India, as that would have meant hindering the war-effort. But all this while the propaganda campaign for Pakistan was kept on at full blast. When the Congress started its 1942 movement, Mr. Jinnah made vituperative speeches against the Congress and called upon Muslims to oppose this movement. The Muslim League press all through this struggle used words like goondas in describing the Congress fighters against British rule. Even the British press did not say harder things against the Congress leaders and workers than did the Muslim.

A good deal has been written regarding the psychological, political and historical factors which led to the formulation of the Muslim demand for Pakistan. Leaving aside the issues which may be controversial and may reflect only individual reactions, two or three things appeared to be quite clear as to the factors which made this demand possible. One was the clear need of the British Government in the event of parting with power in India; which they well knew, could not be long delayed, of leaving behind them a warning and divided India. The other was the peculiarly arrogant and narcissian temperament of Mr. Jinnah which kept him perpetually in conflict with the great personalities inside the Congress, a number of whom were his equals, and so he would have to work with them in a team and not dictate to them, as he could unquestionably do inside the Muslim League, made up of mediocrities for the most part. Added to these was the general

temper and behaviour of the Muslims, especially in the important Muslim-majority provinces of Bengal and the Punjab in which the Muslim-dominated ministries, which to begin with were not Muslim League but became so in 1940, were ruling over the Hindus and in the later province over the Hindus and Sikhs, in a most discriminatory manner, extremely provocative to the latter.

In these two provinces, of which the Punjab had been called by Mr. Jinnah the corner stone of Pakistan, and which were, between them to constitute the bulk of the territory and about 80% of the population of Pakistan, a policy of thoroughly beating down the non-Muslims had been in operation for some time. In Bengal, and to a still greater extent in the Punjab, the administration was placed in its most important aspects into Muslim hands. Hindus and Sikhs were removed from key positions, and Hindu or Sikh officers as were occupying such positions, were transferred to routine or office work, and those whose promotions were due were kept down under one pretext or the other. Wherever any District Magistrate or other senior administrative officer showed impartiality and dared to put down the aggressive Muslim elements within his area, the wrath of the Muslim Ministers inevitably descended upon him, and he soon found himself cast into the wilderness of the secretariat or such work as would keep him in a position of utter impotence, under the check of some Muslim favourite of the Ministry. In administration there were glaring instances of discrimination against non-Muslims, which while they

made the average Muslim very arrogant and aggressive, put the non-Muslims in a mood of desperation against injustice of the administrative machinery. It was the opinion openly held in these times among the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab and the Hindus of Bengal, that in these two provinces, the Muslims already had Pakistan *in action* though not in name. As a matter of fact, that astute politician, the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab from 1937 to the end of 1942, suggested in vain to his Muslim League colleagues not to press for a formal division of India into independent states, but to ask only for the creation of Hindu and Muslim *zones* within an Indian Federation with a weak centre, as that would give the Muslims all the advantages of Pakistan without the liabilities, financial and political, of having an independent State, which would be deprived of the rich economic backing of the more productive parts of India. He and his Unionist Party succeeded to a great extent in making the Punjab very much a Muslim province. Protests of Hindu and Sikh politicians and legislators were of no avail. Sir Sikandar died in the December of 1942, and his death removed from the field of Muslim politics perhaps the only, if any, figure who could have successfully helped to modify at least some of the extreme theories of Mr. Jinnah. His successor, Sir Khizar Hyat Khan, although a capable man and one who got ample support from Hindus and Sikhs as against the rabid Punjab Muslim League, became as time passed, altogether helpless to resist the onslaught

of the League on his party and the Hindu and Sikh minorities of the Punjab.

After the passing of the Pakistan Resolution by the League and the declaration by the British Viceroy and the British Prime Minister that the Muslim point of view would be given a place of importance in all constitutional negotiations, the next Annual Session of the Muslim League (1941) held at Madras showed still greater vehemence in the expression of the Pakistan demand by the Muslim League. While repeating the substance of the Pakistan demand in its resolutions this session drew forth an exposition of this demand from its President, Mr. Jinnah. He said, The goal of the All-India Muslim League is that we want to establish a completely independent State in the north-west and eastern zones of India with full control on defence, foreign affairs, communications, customs, currency, exchange etc. We do not want under any circumstances a constitution of All-India character with one Government at the centre. We will never agree to that. If you once agree to it, let me tell you that the Muslims would be absolutely wiped out of existence. We shall never be a feudatory of any power or of any Government at the Centre so far as our free national homelands are concerned. Muslim India will never submit to an All-Indian constitution and one Central Government. The ideology of the League is based on the fundamental principle *that the Muslims of India are an independent*

nationality and that any attempt to get them to merge their national and political identity and ideology will be resisted

The last portion, italicized by the present writer, is worthy of note. Resistance, direct action struggle-these words have been the keynote of the Muslim League in defining its relations with Hindu India. As early as 1938, at its Patna Session, the Muslim League had passed a resolution declaring: The time has come to authorise the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to decide and resort to direct action if and when necessary. This was to launch a struggle against the Congress Ministries on whose resignation in November, 1939 in protest against the drafting by the British Government of India into the war without prior consent of the people, the Muslim League celebrated its Thanksgiving Day.

Mahatma Gandhi was released from prison in 1944, and while in prison he had addressed a letter to Mr. Jinnah asking him to come and see him for a talk regarding the political settlement in the country. This letter the British Government withheld, but Mr. Jinnah and the country knew of it from a Government *communique*. The Muslim press was moved at this gesture on the part of the incarcerated Mahatma, but not Mr. Jinnah. He found occasion, even in the Mahatmas writing an invitation to him, to abuse and vilify the latter, and so he never applied to the Government for permission to see the Mahatma. On coming out of prison, with the Congress still in

jail, the Mahatma went to meet Mr. Jinnah, at his Bombay residence, day after day. But Mr. Jinnah really did not want a settlement. So the Mahatmas approach proved unavailing. Then, in 1945, after the surrender of Germany when the Congress leaders were released, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy called the famous conference at Simla, of Congress, League, Sikh and other leaders. Nothing short of complete severance of relations with the rest of India would satisfy Mr. Jinnah. Parity was offered with the Congress to the Muslim League on a basis of 5:5 in a cabinet of 14.

This was to be an interim measure, with the permanent settlement to come a little later. But Mr. Jinnah would have none of it. The Muslim temper of hostility to the Hindus was kept up by the resolutions of the Muslim League, the speeches of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League leaders and the comments of the Muslim League-controlled press.

During the period the Muslim League was preparing, as is now evident from what happened in 1946 and 1947, for a large-scale struggle against Hindu India, and in the Punjab inevitably against the Sikhs and Hindus, the Muslim League had been gathering a private army of its own, to which training was being imparted in fighting, stabbing and assaults. Arms were being collected, and demobilized Muslim personnel of the Indian Army were freely enlisted in the League army. This army, begun about the year 1938, continued to

expand and grow better equipped. It had two famous organizations; one was the Muslim League Volunteer Corps, which was parallel to the Congress Seva Dal. But there was a great difference between the Congress body and this League body. The Congress adopted and followed its creed of non-violence. The Congress volunteers were forbidden even under the gravest provocation to retaliate with physical force. They were to regulate crowds, to organize picketing, anti-Government processions to arrange protest strikes, but no way to fight. But the Muslim League creed was not non-violent. Every town with any Muslim population had a large proportion of its Muslim inhabitants who could be counted only as riff-raff, and who very often with the connivance of the black sheep among the police force, lived on crime. Such unprincipled elements were the favourite recruiting ground for the Muslim League volunteer corps. Any hooligan with the badge and uniform of a political organization, which was day in and day out preaching the gospel of hatred against other communities, would be formidable in a well-organized group, which could back him up, and direct him in secret and violent action.

Still more important and more dangerous was the Muslim National Guards, which by the bye, is now converted into the Pakistan National Guards.

The Muslim National Guards did not owe any formal allegiance to the Muslim League, though it had the same flag as the Muslim

League had. It is well-known that the National Guards was the secret arm of the Muslim League. Its membership was secret and it had its own centres and headquarters, where its members received military training and such instruction as would make them affective in times of rioting, such as using the lathi, the spear and the knife. The Unit Commander of the Muslim National Guards was known as *Salar*, over whom were higher officers, but all functioning secretly and with clearly such instructions as would make them formidable in rioting against unarmed non-Muslims populations. When in January, 1947 the Lahore office of the Muslim National Guards was raided by the Punjab police, a good deal of Military equipment including steel helmets ant badges were recovered. The National Guards had their own jeeps and lorries, which helped them in swift mobility for attack on Hindu and Sikh localities, in sniping and stabbing lonely passers-by and in carrying away loot. One of the articles the Muslim National Guards prized and stored was petrol, which would be used not only as fuel in transport, but as an excellent means of incendiarism on a large and devastating scale. This use of it the Muslims of the Punjab, and earlier of Bengal made very thoroughly and effectively, and hundreds of burnt town and villages in the two provinces are tragic evidence of how thorough the preparations of the Muslim League had been for its war on Hindus and Sikhs.

Regular tests were held of the Muslim National Guards in feats of fighting and attack. Marks were given and certificates granted.

Alongside were reproduce the facsimile of one such certificate from Jullundur, dated (date is on the back, not here reproduced in photograph) 3.XI.46[4]. This is only one of thousands of such certificates granted at the various centres and headquarters of the Guards in the Punjab and elsewhere. So the Muslims had a widespread and well-trained semi-military organization to back up its programme and policy.

So alarming was the rise of the Muslim National Guards that the Punjab Government took serious notice of this development, which proved to be so dangerous for the peace of the Province. But the entire machinery to the Government being pro-Muslim, nothing serious was done about the Muslim National Guards.

In April, 1947 Mr. Akhtar Hussain, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government reported to the Governor of the Punjab: -

The necessity for recruitment and re-organization of the Muslim League National Guards is occupying the attention of the Provincial Salar. An increase of 5,630 Guards has been reported and accelerated activity has been noticeable in the western and north-western Punjab. In the eastern Punjab, active training has been confined mainly in Simla, Ambala Cantt. and Panipat where Guards have been exercising secretly in Lathi Fighting and in the Central Punjab and in Jullundar District, where Khaksars have undertaken

their training. Open activity has been confined to the collection of Relief Funds, and in the Rawalpindi area to warning Muslims to destroy looted property and refrain from giving evidence in connection with the recent disturbances.

The Chief Secretarys report dated a fortnight later says,:

There are already indications that the Guards are being used as secret messengers, and their general activities are becoming less open, and in some places, they are active in arming the Community[5]. It has been reported that financial aid from the Centre has been promised, particularly for the Western Districts which are to act as recruiting grounds for the entire Province. Enlistment in the Rawalpindi and Campbellpore Districts has been particularly brisk and efforts have been made to enlist the services of ex-soldiers. The increase in membership is noticeable in all districts however and it is estimated that the number of Muslim League National Guards in the Province now is in the neighbourhood of 39,000.

The Muslim League, therefore, had this two-pronged thrust to make in its assault on the non-Muslims of the Muslim majority areas. In the first place it was preaching its two-nation theory and its uncompromising opposition to the Hindus, and in the Punjab, to the Sikhs as well. It tried to write off all such things as a common Indian Culture and an Indian Nationhood. In the name of self-determination

for the Muslims of India, it inculcated in them the creed of intolerance, arrogance and hate. All this made any compromise with Hindu India an impossibility for the Muslims; they must fight against the Hindus to enforce their extreme demands. And this fight came in 1946, when the Muslim League gave its Direct Action call on the 27th July of that year, which part of the story is to be narrated in the next chapter.

Secondly, the Muslim League had been preparing the Muslims physically and militarily for such a fight, which when it came, the Hindus and Sikhs were caught unawares, and suffered heavily in the dead and in the injured, in women abducted and dishonoured, in property looted and houses and religious and educational places burnt. Such retaliation as came from the Hindus and Sikhs was only belated, and after the Muslim onslaught was becoming continuous and a threat to their very existence. Before August, 1947 such retaliation wherever it came, it even served the purpose of the Muslim League, for it created that atmosphere of a civil war in India, which the Muslim League found necessary for the furtherance of its programme and policy. It could trot out atrocity stories and incite Muslims elsewhere to fall upon Hindus and Sikhs, as they actually did in the N.-W. Frontier Province in December, 1946, and January, 1947. Such was the aim and method of the Muslim League.

Footnotes:

[1]Meaning the Muslim Empire in India (Present writers note).

[2]As advocated in Dr. Latifs scheme adumberated in The Muslim Problem in India.

[3]One, however, fails to see how it would be voluntary, if effected by law.

[4]The original is in the possession of a Hindu gentleman.

[5]Muslims.

2. THE CABINET MISSION AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE DIRECT ACTION

During the later months of the year 1945 and early 1946 the temper of the Muslim masses was kept up by the propaganda of hate emanating from the official pronouncements of the Muslim League, the speeches of its leaders and the unrestrained articles of the pro-League press. Muslims had everywhere in the Punjab and Bengal begin to look upon the minorities as their subjects in prospect. Provocative acts against non-Muslims by the Muslims were beginning to be frequent. By this time the police and the officials were so thoroughly saturated with the poisonous propaganda of the Muslim League against the Hindus and Sikhs, that it was not easy for a Hindu or Sikh to find a Muslim policeman or civilian impartial in his attitude where the conflict lay between a Muslim and a non-Muslim. This attitude on the part of the police was a great hardship, especially as more than 70% of the police force in the Punjab, for example, was made up of Muslims. In the peoples daily lives the police could do much to make them happy or miserable. That the police and the officialdom had gone thoroughly

Muslim League was demonstrated by three successive events: The Provincial Assembly elections in the Punjab early in 1946; the Muslim League agitation against the Khizar Ministry in January-February, 1947 and the Punjab Riots which began early in March, 1947 and continued in Pakistan as late as January of 1948, till which month incidents of glaring brutality on a colossal magnitude against the Hindu and Sikh remnants of the population continued to be reported.

The 1946 elections in the Punjab provided to the Muslim League the first opportunity for a trial of its strength in the Punjab. The Punjab, called corner-stone of Pakistan-was the one province in which the Muslim League had not been able to form a ministry. Not that the Muslims did not have in this province what was called Pakistan in action. But that was not enough. The Punjab must go Muslim League, in name as well as in action, in order to make Mr. Jinnahs edifice of Pakistan complete. For this purpose it was necessary that an overwhelmingly large number of Muslim seats must be won by the League in the Punjab. A mere majority of Muslims seats would not do-for in the Punjab, out of its 175 seats, as many as about 87 worked out to be non-Muslim, as some of the special constituencies like the University, Labour, Commerce and Landlords went to non-Muslims. The League, therefore, must win all or almost all Muslim seats, for which purpose it must defeat the Unionist Party of which Sir Khizar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab

in succession to Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, was the leader. As the Unionist leader. detesting the methods of Muslim League and regarding the path of the partition of the country harmful for the Muslims themselves, was bent upon giving a fight to the League, the contest was expected to be very bitter, as it actually turned out to be. The Muslim League fought on the programme of Pakistan, which it placed before the Muslim masses. The Unionist Muslims realizing the overwhelming force of the Pakistan appeal to Muslim masses, did not oppose Pakistan but they argued, more wisely perhaps than the Leaguers from the Muslim point of view, that to press for a separate state of Pakistan would inevitably entail cutting off of Hindu and Sikh areas from the Punjab and would be detrimental to the economic interest of the Muslims themselves. But so deeply had the Pakistan poison seeped into the Muslim mind that the Unionist fought everywhere a narrowly defensive battle. The Muslims appeared to have gone thoroughly Muslim League by this time. The officials and the police everywhere helped the Muslim League candidates by the usual methods of threats and cajolery employed on the electorate. The most violent and vituperative abuse was employed against the Unionists. As the Muslim League plank was Pakistan, so naturally the Congress and the Sikhs came in for extensive and violent abuse. Tenseness, hate and a communally charged atmosphere were created in the Punjab.

The League won as many as 76 seats (they claimed to have 78) in the Punjab Assembly. They were undoubtedly the largest single party in the Legislature. They hoped to form a ministry with the help of a few defections from among the Muslim Unionists, some Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. 88 in a House of 175 would give either party a working majority. But the Hindus and Sikhs, having already experienced the Pakistan in action of the Muslim-dominated Unionist Ministry, many of whose erstwhile supporters were now on the Muslim League side, were determined not to be ruled over by a party which stood frankly and nakedly for Muslim rule and for the partition of India and the subjugation of the Hindus and Sikhs for the greater glory of Islam, as had been preached by Rahmat Ali, by Dr. Mohammad Iqbal and by the Muslim League propagandists and press in general. In the negotiations for ministry-making which went on at Lahore immediately after the elections were over, not a single Hindu or Sikh member of the Provincial Legislature was willing to walk into the Muslim League camp. The Indian Christians preferred to stand with the Congress with its ideal of a tolerant, secular state in India, rather than with the fanatical Muslim League. So, by a majority of nearly 100 members in the Provincial Legislature, with Sir Khizar Hyat Khan as Premier, the Congress, the Panthic Party and the Unionist Party in coalition formed the Coalition Ministry in March, 1946. The Leaguers felt furious and chagrined. Their campaign of hate became, if anything,

more intensified than ever. The communal atmosphere continued to be charged more and more with tension.

In the meanwhile in other Provinces, the League had been carrying on its propaganda of hate in a most virulent form. In Bengal there was a League majority in the Legislative Assembly, and the League formed its ministry with H. S. Suhrawardy as Premier. In Sind the balance of power between the League and non-League elements was maintained for some time in the form of a trial of strength. At last an obliging Governor prorogued the Legislature; ordered fresh elections, and this time the League formed a majority through its propaganda of hate against non-Muslims. The League won a fairly large number of seats in the North-Western Frontier Province. In the Central Legislative Assembly it won all the Muslim seats. 1946 was the peak year of the success of the Muslim League, and this success no doubt made Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League leaders drunk with the intoxication of achievement. Near and certain visions of a Pakistan in which the Muslims would have it all their own way and in which non-Muslims would live at the sufferance of the Muslims, began to stir the Muslim imagination. This was exactly the situation in which the Muslims could be aroused to terrific action to strike what appeared then to be the final blow for the achievement of Pakistan. And the Muslims not long after did strike this blow. But of that a little later, after the story of the intervening months has been narrated.

It was in this scene that the Cabinet Mission, consisting of the Secretary of State, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, arrived in India, to negotiate for a final settlement with India for the transfer of power. In the protracted negotiations that ensued the formula was evolved of having three groups in the country-one to consist of the Hindu majority provinces of Bihar, Orissa, the U. P., C. P., Bombay and Madras; the second of Assam and Bengal, and the third of the Punjab, the N.-W. Frontier Province and Sind. These three groups were each to frame its own constitution in their respective Assemblies to be elected on the basis of one member for one million of population. There was to be a weak and loose centre, which was to control a limited number of subjects. The three groups were to federate for sake of the administration of these subjects. Otherwise the groups were to be antonomous. In the Bengal-Assam and the Punjab-Sind- N.-W. F. P. groups the Muslims were to be in a majority, and naturally the Hindus and Sikhs in these would have to submit to Muslim dictation. There was no ground whatever for the Muslims of the Hindu-.majority Provinces to protest against this scheme which placed them under Hindu domination, for the Muslims through the Muslim League had asked for some sort of partition of the country, and so must accept what arose from such partition. But Hindus and Sikhs had vehemently opposed the idea of the partition of the country, and to have placed them in the Assam-Bengal and the Punjab Sind-N.-W. F. P. groups under Muslim domination against

their wishes went hard with them. The Sikhs vehemently protested against this injustice. On June 9 and 10, 1946, a very full and representation gathering of the Sikh Panth at Amritsar unanimously rejected the Cabinet Mission Scheme which made a gift of the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab and its neighbouring Muslim-majority Provinces to Muslim rule against their wishes. The community left no manner of doubt on the point that it would have to struggle against being ruled by what was described as this charter of slavery[1] and would boycott the constituent Assembly which the Cabinet Mission Scheme envisaged. The Hindus of the two groups-the Eastern and the Western-made similar and vehement protests. But the Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission Scheme, which anyhow did not envisage the partition of India into two independent States, though it meant the perpetuation within the proposed federation of more or less inharmonious autonomous zones. The Cabinet Mission plan paid little heed to the claims and rights of the Sikh people. It militated against the real well-being of the country. It was a big sop to the Muslim League, and while rejecting self-determination for the Sikhs, who had such a big stake in the economic and political life of the Punjab, it did grant full self-determination to the Muslims of the Muslim majority Provinces. The substance of Pakistan had been conceded in these Muslim majority areas. As for the constitution of the whole of India, that was to be framed by the Constituent Assembly, to be constituted on the principle of one member for every million of the population. Although in such a House the Muslims

would have, on the population basis, only ninety-odd members, yet this Constituent Assembly to be so constituted was not sovereign. It was limited by certain terms of reference, and could not go beyond framing a constitution for a limited centre, which would leave the three groups-two of them Muslim-majority-practically independent. The Congress reluctantly accepted these and other limitations in the interest of reaching anyhow a peaceful settlement, and maintaining the unity of the country.

Pakistan as demanded by the Muslim League, was rejected as impracticable by the Cabinet Mission. The statement issued by the Mission on the 23rd of May, 1946 set forth the reasons why the Pakistan solution could not be accepted. The substantial by portion of the statement ran as under:-

We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the province of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier and British Baluchistan, the other in the north-east consisting of the provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their

method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make a Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures show:-

North-Western Area

	Muslim	*Non-Muslim*
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
N. -W. F. Province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
British Baluchistan	438,930	62,701

	22,653,294	**13,840,321**
	62.07%	37.93%

North-Eastern Area

	Muslim	*Non-Muslim*
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	36,447,913	**34,063,345**
	51.69%	48.31%

These figures show that the setting up a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of

the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

We therefore considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of a large slice of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6 per cent of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have, therefore, been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

What the Cabinet Mission had conceded to the Muslim League was the substance of its demand. But the Muslim League did not

really want to work in co-operation with the other elements in the national life of India. What it wanted was to dominate certain areas and to plan for the conquest, if possible, of the rest. Later events like the Pakistan invasion of Kashmir and its actively abetting a war against India in the Hindu-majority and landlocked State of Hyderabad, have conclusively proved that such have been, for more than a decade at least, the designs which have been shaping themselves in the programme and policy of the Muslim League.

Apart from electing the Constituent Assembly and the Group Assemblies immediately the Viceroy was to include in his Executive Council, representatives of the people, with the agreed convention that these representatives would work as a Cabinet with the Viceroy as constitutional head; though the constitution, pending a new one to be framed by the Constituent Assembly, was to be the same as before. In this Cabinet the. Muslim League would have 5 seats out of 14 (the Viceroy, to be called the President of the Interim Government, was to be the fifteenth). The Congress was to claim 5, and since one Congress seat on the Cabinet was also to go to a Muslim (actually at one time there were two Congress Muslims in the Cabinet), so the total Muslim quota in the Cabinet would be quite large. But the Muslim League decided to reject the Cabinet Mission Scheme. Later, finding that it would not suit it to remain in the wilderness indefinitely, it did came into the Interim Government, but as the history of those fateful days shows, it came in more to

struggle and disrupt from within than to collaborate for the well-being of the country.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League met in Bombay and on July 27, 1946 it finally sealed its rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan, and decided to launch its famous Direct Action for the achievement of Pakistan, which it could not achieve by peaceful means. The resolution of the Council ran as follows:-

Whereas the League has to-day resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy of May 16, 1946, due to the intransigeance of Congress on the one hand and the breach of faith with the Muslim by the British Government on the other; and whereas Muslim India has exhausted without success all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means; whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up a caste Hindu Raj in India with the connivance of the British, and whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs; whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest content with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution, long-term or short-term, or setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre without the approval and consent of the

Muslim League, the council of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that the time has now come for the Muslim nation to resort to direct action to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present slavery under the British and contemplated future of Caste Hindu domination.

This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man being their sole representative organisation, the All-India Muslim League, and be ready for every sacrifice.

This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of direct action to carry out the policy initiated above and to organize the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

The Muslim League was now definitely and irrevocably on the war-path. Its war was declared against the Hindus and the Sikhs, against whose opposition it was to establish its independent State of Pakistan. The speeches made by Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders were provocative in the extreme, and such as to give the Muslims not only broad hints, but clear instigation to attack non-Muslims and by this method of warfare to bring them to their knees if possible, and to force them into the acceptance of Pakistan.

Some of the things said by Mr. Jinnah on this occasion are these:

What we have done to-day is the most historic act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League done anything except by constitutional methods. But now we are forced into this position. Today we bid good-bye to constitutional methods.

Again, referring to the new threat and programme of Direct Action, he said,

To-day we have forged a pistol and are in a position to use it.

Again, talking of the threat of Direct Action he said:

We mean every word of it. We do not believe in equivocation.

Then he quoted the Persian Poet, Firdausi, in these words:

If you seek peace, we do not want War. But if you want War, we will accept it unhesitatingly.

Still more provocative speeches, if possible, were made by other Muslim League leaders on this occasion. Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, now Prime Minister of the Dominion of Pakistan, elucidating the implications of the Direct Action threat, said:

Direct Action means resort to non-constitutional methods, and that can take any form which may suit the conditions under which we

live. We cannot eliminate any methods. Direct Action means any action against the Law.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, now a member of the Pakistan Government, declared:

Pakistan can only be achieved through shedding blood of ourselves, and if need be, and if opportunity arose, by shedding blood of others. Muslims are no believers in Ahimsa.

Raja Ghanzafar Ali Khan, lately also member of the Pakistan Government, speaking to a huge Muslim gathering at Lahore on the 31st August, 1946 outlined the Muslim League Direct Action as the economic political and social boycott of the Congress and the following of a scorched earth policy.

Mr. Jinnah held out the threat that Direct Action by Muslims would lead to one hundred times more destruction than the Direct Action of the Hindus (meaning the Congress).

Earlier ill the Convention of Muslim Legislators held in Delhi in April 1946, equally provocative and instigatory things had been said:

Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani said:

Any attempt to prevent the establishment of Pakistan would lead to bloodshed. Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan said:

The Punjab Muslims do not believe in non-violence and should not, therefore, be given cause for grievance because once the Muslim lion is infuriated it would become difficult to subdue him.

Sir Feroze Khan Noon had observed:

I tell you this much that if we find that we have to fight Great Britain for placing us under one Central Hindu Raj, then the havoc which Muslims will plays will put to shame what Jenghez and Halaku Khan did.

Sir Ghulam Hussain Hadayatullah, at that time Premier of Sind and later under Pakistan, Governor of the same Province, said:

The Congress should understand that unless they make friends with us and accede to our demands there will he no peace in India.

The last words bear a special significance in view of what was destined to happen in Bengal and the Punjab principally, and in several other Provinces of India, not long after.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Premier of Bengal at that time, spoke words still more ominous and pregnant with a sinister significance

the full force of which was not realized by the country perhaps at the time.

We await the clarion call of the Qaid-i-Azam.

The Clarian Call was answered about a fortnight later in the shape of the Calcutta, Noakhali and other riots in Bengal, the ghastliest and most terrible seen till then in India, to be bettered in this respect only by the Muslim holocaust of the minorities in the Punjab, in 1947.

To these words of defiance and provocation was joined the tremendous and loud chorus of hate and instigation to fighting and rioting by the platform speakers of the Muslim League and the inflammatory articles in the League-controlled press. The country in these weeks (the month of August, 1946) passed through a period of foreboding and tense expectancy. The new Interim Government to which the Viceroy had invited both the Congress and the Muslim League was due to take office on the 2nd of September, 1946. The Congress accepted the offer but the League rejected it. All appeared to be set for the word of command on the part of the League to let slip the blood hounds which would plunge the country into the horrors of a terrible Civil War. The comments of the British Press, seldom pro-Congress in its views and very consistent in voicing a pro-League bias, were on this occasion revealing, as they

found in this Direct Action threat of the Muslim League nothing less than the design to plung the country into a Civil War: Said the News Chronicle of the 30th July, 1946, a day after the passage of the Direct Action Resolution:

What precisely does Mr. Jinnah think he will achieve by embracing violence-and at a moment when so substantial a part of his claims has been conceded?

Does he think that communal strife will benefit India or even the Muslim part of India? He has only to look at other parts of Asia to see what lies at the end of that tunnel.

Does he want his country to become another China, ravaged and utterly impoverished by interminable Civil War?

It is hopeless, of course, if Mr. Jinnah is wedded to complete intransigeance-if, as now seems the case he really is thirsting for a holy war.

If Mr. Jinnah nosy resorts to violence, it will be very difficult to save India from disaster.

In the above extract occur the prophetic words Civil War and holy War, and the Muslim League attitude plunged the country soon after into both these.

The Muslim League formed a Council of Action to plan its Direct Action Programme. Its members were: Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan (now Prime Minister of Pakistan); Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, (lately Premier of West Punjab), Mian Mumtaz Daulatana (lately Minister of West Punjab), Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan (several times Minister); Mian Iftikharuddin, Begum Shah Nawaz, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, I. I. Cundrigar and H. S. Suhrawardy (at that time Muslim League Premier of Bengal).

In order to implement its programme of Direct Action, which, it must be noted, was not to take the form of Ahimsa, the Muslim League began to make brisk preparations for attack on Hindus and equally well, Sikhs. The Muslim League private army called the Muslim National Guards, which has already been referred to, began to expand. All kinds of Muslim riff-raff, disbanded members of the Civic Guards, and such other elements were the favourite recruiting ground for this body. The Muslim criminal elements found in the National Guard a new scope for their criminal proclivities as providing opportunity both for their anti-social acts and the satisfaction of having done something meritorious in the service of Islam. The Police, which in several provinces was overwhelmingly Muslim, helped in this recruitment, which was not so much of a secret, and in the collection of arms, equipment and petrol (this last for purposes of incendiarism). Jeeps and lorries were possessed by the National Guard in the larger towns; they had stocks of steel

helmets purchased from the Disposals Department. (This article was recovered in large numbers in the search of the Muslim National Guards Office at Lahore in January, 1947). Besides, large numbers of lethal weapons, such as knives, daggers, swords and spears were made and stocked by the Muslim National Guards. Well-to-do Muslim firms and individuals were reported in the months of August and September, 1946 to have distributed daggers and knives among Muslims of Lahore and Amritsar. Sword-making as an industry made rapid progress among Muslims in the Punjab, where for several years last restrictions on the possession and carrying about of the sword bad been removed. Parcels of knives were frequently intercepted by the Railway Police in the Provinces of Bombay, Central Provinces, Bihar and the United Provinces while in transit from Wazirabad and Sialkot centres of the cutlery industry in the Punjab, to the Muslim Leaguers of those Provinces. The cutlers of Wazirabad and Sialkot were all Muslim. While many such parcels were intercepted, many more must have got safe through. In the Punjab itself where the Police force was overwhelmingly Muslim, there was little check on the movement of these weapons, and so the Punjabi Muslims were very well stocked with them in all districts. In Bengal, where a Muslim League Ministry was in the saddle, very much the same happened. As the Calcutta and Eastern Bengal Riots showed, the Muslim preparation for attack and destruction had been terribly widespread and efficient.

Besides lethal weapons, there were fairly large quantities of firearms and means of incendiarism in the possession of Muslims. In the Punjab, besides smuggling arms from India with the help and connivance of the Muslim Police, the Muslims with the same facility to hand, could do successful gun-running from the tribal areas in the North-West. While a Hindu or Sikh carrying illegal weapons on him would be hauled up under the Arms Act, Muslims were comparatively safe in so doing, unless they happened to be detected by some non-Muslim police officer. Large quantities of petrol were obtained and conserved by the Muslims at a time when petrol rationing had been in force for several years, and this hoarded petrol was used in setting ablaze whole localities of non-Muslims with fiendish rapidity and efficiency, and thousands were trapped in the rapidly spreading flames and burnt alive.

The Direct Action of the Muslim League for which elaborate preparations had by now been made, was ready to be launched on an India-wide scale. The date fixed for launching this action was August the 16th, 1946. The country was awaiting the day with anxiety in view of the provocative and inflammatory speeches of the Muslim League leaders, and open threats of fighting. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Premier of Bengal greatly excited the minds of the Muslims of his province by proclaiming that the Bengal Government would declare their independence of the Central Government if the Congress came into power. The Sind Muslim League Premier made

a similar declaration. Both declarations were intended to be provocative, as otherwise these Muslim League leaders knew full well that under the British Crown no Indian Province could claim independence of the Central Government, and any such independence could last at best only a few hours. But such and other declarations had their effect in inflaming Muslim passions against the Hindus.

The Muslim League Bengal Government declared August 16, 1946 to be a public holiday throughout Bengal, to celebrate the Direct Action Day. The effect of this, in the very temperate and restrained language of Shri S. L. Ghosh of the *A. B. Patrika* is described thus:

When a political party, by virtue of its being in power, enforces its party celebration on the whole administrative machinery by declaring a public holiday, it is natural that some at least of its adherents should infer from it that the party is the law of the land, and that anything done in the name of the party is above the scope of the law,

The police, mostly Muslim in personnel, were, if not actually in complicity, definitely indifferent to the murder, loot and arson of the Hindus going on around them. Such a horrible carnage ensued as had not been heard of in India in the three-odd decades during which communal rioting had been heard of in India. The Muslim mobs

consisting of people who mostly wore the uniform of the Muslim National Guards and carried the Muslim League flag, burnt, massacred, looted and raped to these slogans: *Lar Kar lenge Pakistan; Mar Kar Lenge Pakistan; Dena Hoga Pakistan; Pakistan Kayam Karo etc. As the statesman* of Calcutta in an editorial put it, the Muslim League ministry for a good long time (for practically two days) hesitated whether a little rioting would not after all be good; and so nothing was done to summon the military and to quell rioting, which could not be done by the demoralized police force, over-weighed by its Muslim personnel.

The horrors of this rioting make a harrowing story. Mobs went about their demonaic work, killing and burning. During the first two days of the rioting which lasted for more than 5 days, the Calcutta fire brigade had to attend 900 calls for meeting cases of arson. One eye-witness described the scene in these words.

A vivid picture of the panic caused by hooligans in the Calcutta riots was given by a member of the staff of the Associated Press of India, who escaped savage butchery or maiming and reestablished contract with the office to-day.

Living in the heart of a zone where murder, loot and arson raged for two days, he said that the terror-stricken cries of victims as they were being maimed and stabbed were still ringing in his ears as he

was relating his story. He and his friends living in the Cosmopolitan Hotel could not rescue them as well-armed hooligans surrounded the area.

Equipped with plentiful supplies of petrol from a pump the owner of which had abandoned it in his flight for safety, the mob carried out a campaign of arson. Buildings were set on fire and fed liberally with looted motor fuel.

At the hospital the dead and even more, the living maimed ones told the story of gross cruelty. There were deep stab wounds, heads and limbs broken with heavy lathi blows, and cases where the bone was broken to pieces. Every living moment was agony.

The body of a six-month old child killed on the spot was brought by ambulance with his father and mother badly injured

This is only one glimpse of what happened for five days over a large area. Hooligans went about with full preparation for murder and arson. Petrol was in plentiful supply, and the victims were left no option but to be burnt to ashes in their burning houses or to come out and be stabbed. The total number of killed in these days is estimated at 5,000 and those injured at 15,000.

The preparations for forcing the Pakistan issue which had been going on for a pretty long time plunged Calcutta during these fateful

days into blood. The swiftness of the attack, the large area affected, the heavy casualties in killed and houses burnt, the Similarity of methods used by the assailants everywhere and the readiness with which they came out to attack-leave no manner of doubt that the League had been preparing for this attack. Similar but smaller outbreaks occurred at other places also. One such was in Delhi.

It was clear that the Muslim League was leading the country towards Civil War. It wanted to force its rule on unwilling and large minorities. It wanted to create conditions in which it would become impossible for Muslims and non-Muslims to live together. To effect this consummation, it was using the methods of murder, loot and arson on a wide and large scale. That this was the temper and aim of the League, is testified by the opinion of the News Chronicle quoted above. *The Civil & Military Gazette of Lahore*, by no means a paper hostile to the Muslims, said *apropos* the Calcutta riots in its editorial in its issue of August 20, 1946 (four days after the commencement of these riots).

We have termed the jeremiads of Muslim Leaguers near hysterical nonsense, but they represent a trend of thought and a psychological attitude which hold the utmost danger for the whole country. Words are being broadcast everyday which will make fanatics of law-abiding citizens and throw them into the same camp with the lowest of goondas.

More significantly still, this same editorial says.

Authentic reports from all parts of India describe the country as a powder-magazine, and at the moment the Muslim League is holding a torch which may send it sky-high. If the spark is applied, the present League leadership will have to shoulder responsibility for events which will not only blast for ever all hopes of Hindu-Muslim co-operation in any field, but which will ruin all chances of Indias progress for decades.

That the Muslim League ministry of Bengal, and the obliging British Governor had been criminally negligent if not actually conniving at the attack on the non-Muslim population of Calcutta, was so strongly the opinion held in the country, that an Enquiry Commission, presided over by Sir Patrick Spens, Chief justice of India, was set up by the Governor-General to inquire into the degree of responsibility of the League Government in, if not abetting, at least conniving at the riots and failing to take action when these broke out.

So deeply had the poison of the hatred preached by the Muslim League seeped into the very soul of the Muslim people, and so great was the tension in the country as a result of this, that rioting occurred all over India on a more or less large scale. Soon before the Direct Action Day, there had been an attack by Muslims on Sikhs at

Abbotabad, in the N.-W. F. Province. An account of the incident is as follows:

(On July 28, 1946) Muslims held a public meeting in a garden near Gurdwara Singh Sabha. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were present near the meeting place, but no precautions were taken. Stones and brickbats were exchanged between a few Sikhs in the Gurdwara and the Muslim mob outside.

Muslims made repeated attempts to set fire to Gurdwara shops. These fires were put out by the Military fire-brigade. The Muslim mob divided into groups and began to loot and set on fire Hindu and Sikh shops. More than two dozen shops were looted.

The Muslim mob met no resistance except at two places, where a gun was fired by a Sikh shopkeeper and a Gurkha Chaukidar. Sikhs were being harassed by Muslim policemen.

This was only a foretaste of Direct Action and the Pakistan to come. Abbotabad and its adjoining area witnessed large-scale murder and looting of Sikhs and Hindus not long after this in December, 1946 and January, 1947. And then came March, 1947 with the succeeding terrible months.

An attack on Hindus occurred in Delhi on the 12th August, 1946. There was rioting in such vastly different places as Cawnpore,

Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Dacca and a few others. The lesson of it all was becoming very abundantly clear. The Muslim League was waging its war in earnest on non-Muslims to achieve its Pakistan.

The statements publicly made by the top-ranking Muslim League leaders reveal the temper and intentions of these leaders and the organization whose policy and programme they had framed. On September 9, 1946 only two weeks after the Calcutta Carnage, after the attack on Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, and the situation akin to Civil War which was developing inside the country, Mr. H. S. Sahrawardy, Premier of Bengal, said:

Muslim India means business.

How grimly it meant business was shown by the Calcutta killing, and was later on shown by Noakhali, N.-W. F. P. and the Punjab.

Mr. Jinnah in a statement issued from Bombay on September 11, 1946 offered to the Hindus the choice between creating Pakistan and forcing a Civil War in the country.

Replying to a question seeking suggestions for the restoration of peace in India, he said:

In view of the horrible slaughter in various parts of India, I am of the opinion that the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population to avoid brutal recurrence of that which had taken place where small minorities have been butchered by the overwhelming majorities.

Thus, scouting any suggestion that there could be peace and amity in the country, he advocated exchange of population-the uprooting of millions-and as it later turned out to be, of over twelve millions, and the butchering of about a million. This was the direction in which the Muslim League was inevitably leading the country.

What shocked the conscience of India even more than Calcutta, was the large-scale murder, loot, arson, rape, abduction and forced marriage of Hindu women in the Noakhali District of Eastern Bengal. This time the trouble came about in the October of 1946. It appears the League enthusiasts were on the look-out for an area of operation where they could be sure of very little resistance and where they could demonstrate to the Hindus in action as to what was in store for them in case they did not accept the Muslim League demand of Pakistan. In Calcutta the Hindus-although on the first two days they were completely surprised, and reeled under the sudden blow, and lost more than a thousand in killed-yet on the subsequent days they rallied and gave the Muslims as good as they got. The Muslim League perhaps realized the folly of having tried out Calcutta. A

better spot should be selected, and this time it was Noakhali and the adjoining area of Eastern Bengal.

The district of Noakhali is almost at the extreme end of Eastern Bengal, surrounded by heavy Muslim majority areas. This district itself has perhaps the lowest percentage of non-Muslim population- the Muslim percentage being as high as 81.35. So, while it was particularly dastardly of the Muslims of this area to have chosen to fall upon the Hindus of this area, it was, from the point of their own scheme, a fit choice; for its very sparse Hindu population could offer little resistance to their onslaught. Attacks on a scale as large as Noakhali also occurred in the district of Tipperah, neighbouring on Noakhali, and with a Muslim population of 77.09%.

As the trouble broke out, for some time the country did not know about it. Noakhali is a far-away part of Bengal, and the Muslim League Ministry of Bengal did not allow the news of the carnage to trickle though as long as they could help it. So, the assailants had it all their own way for several days, unchecked.

The horror and the underlying conspiracy of this occurrence can best be described in the words of Shri S. L. Ghosh of the *A. B. Patrika*, quoted above. Says Shri S. L. Ghosh:

The four days delay in receiving the news indicates at once the magnitude of preparations of the lawless elements as well as the

criminal inefficiency of the administration machinery.[2] It took ten days, fraught with horror, disgrace and torture for nearly two lakhs of Hindus for the Army to reach the neighbourhood of disaster, another ten days for them to move into the inner fringe of the disturbed area, and over a month to comb the interior of the devastated countryside.

The horror of the Noakhali outrage is unique in modern history in that it was not a simple case of turbulent members of the majority community killing off helpless members of the minority community, but was one whose chief aim (to quote Dr. Syama Prosad Mookerjee) was mass conversion, accompanied by loot, arson and wholesale devastation No section of the people has been spared, the wealthier classes being dealt with more drastically. Murder also was part of the plan, but it was mainly reserved for those who were highly influential or who resisted. Abduction and outrage on women and forcible marriages were also resorted to; but their number cannot be easily determined. The slogans used and the methods employed indicate that it was all part of a plan for the simultaneous establishment of Pakistan. The demand for subscriptions for the Muslim League and for other purposes, including conversion ceremonies, showed that mass attackers, and their leaders were inspired by the League ideology.

Apparently, the strategy of terrorisation adopted in Calcutta had failed to achieve the objective of recognition of Pakistan. The

zealots of Pakistan in Noakhali and the southern portion of Tepperah, therefore, sought to make that muslim-majority area exclusive to a certain community, and thus convert it into the fortress of Eastern Pakistan, by forcible mass conversion of the other community (The League) leaders tried to minimize the enormity of the crimes they tended to confirm the impression that they were in close sympathy with the attackers and their nefarious policy and that this was the second phase of the direct action plan of the Muslim League to achieve Pakistan.

It is false to suggest that the perpetrators were a gang of hooligans or that they mostly consisted of outsiders. The local people were the perpetrators in many cases and there was a general mass sympathy for what happened.

The total number of evacuees, those, that is, who could leave the area of the disturbance alive, will be somewhere between 50 to 75 thousands including men, women and children of all conditions and castes.

Over and above these persons, there will be another 50,000 or even more who are still living within the danger zone in what may be called the no mans land. Theirs is the most tragic fate. They have all been subjected to conversion and are still[3] under the clutches of their oppressors. Most of them have lost everything, and they suffer

from both physical and mental collapse. Their humiliation and torture know - no limitations. Their names have been changed; their womenfolk insulted; their properties looted; they are being compelled to dress, to eat and to live like their so-called new brothers in faith. The male members have to attend the mosques, Maulvies come and train them at home; they are at the mercy of their captors for their daily food and indeed for their very existence. . . .

These occurrences shocked Mahatma Gandhi, and indeed the whole of India, very deeply. The Mahatma asked Acharya Kripalani; President of the Congress, to go to Noakhali and to see what could be done to bring relief to suffering humanity there, and to try to restore good relations between the communities there. Not long after, the Mahatma himself went there, and made his famous village to village, nay house to house trek, trying to restore good-will. How little the Muslim League fanatics cared for the Mahatmas noble teaching was made abundantly clear by what happened hardly within a month of the Mahatmas pilgrimage to Noakhali, in the North-Western Frontier Province, and another two months after that in the Punjab.

Acharya Kripalanis account of what he observed in Noakhali substantiates the statement of Dr. Mookerjee reproduced above. Said the Acharya:

Next morning (October 22, 1946) we visited the interior of one of the affected areas. The place was Charhaim. Charhaim village and the surrounding areas are occupied by Namasudras (scheduled castes) numbering about 20,000. It was completely destroyed. Most of the houses were burnt. People were living in sheds, built from the ruins of their houses. All their property had been looted. Cash, ornaments, utensils and clothes, and cattle also, had been taken away by the raiders. All the males and females had only the clothes they were wearing. They had no food to eat. Their condition was pitiable in the extreme. There had been cases of murder, but it was not possible during the short time at our disposal to ascertain the number of the killed. Cases of abduction were reported to us. Even after looting and arson the villagers were obliged to embrace Islam; They had to perform Namaz and recite the Kalma All the images of the houses were broken and temples looted and destroyed. The conch-shell bangles of women and vermillion marks, signs of their married life, were removed.

This was a fairly representative area. Acharya Kripalani arrived at certain conclusions regarding the Noakhali trouble, which are as follows:-

1. The attack on the Hindu population in the districts of Noakhali and Tipperah was previously arranged and prepared for. It was deliberate, if not directly engineered by Muslim League. It was the

result of Muslim League propaganda. The local evidence all went to prove that prominent League leaders in the villages had a large hand in it.

2. The authorities had warnings about what was coming. The warnings were conveyed to them orally and then in writing by prominent Hindus in the areas concerned.

3. The Muslim officials connived at the preparations going on. A few encouraged. There was a general belief among the Mussalmans that the Government would take no action if anything was done against the Hindus.

4. The *modus operandi* was for the Muslims to collect in batches of hundreds and sometimes thousands and to march to Hindu villages or Hindu houses in villages of mixed population. They first demanded subscriptions for the Muslim League and sometimes for the Muslim victims of the Calcutta riots. These enforced subscriptions were heavy, sometimes amounting to Rs. 10,000 and more. Even after the subscriptions were realized, the Hindu population was not safe. The same or successive crowd appeared on the scene later and looted the Hindu houses. The looted houses in most cases were burnt Sometimes before a house was looted the inmates were asked to embrace Islam. However, even conversion did not give immunity against loot and arson.

The slogans raised by the attacking Muslim crowds were those of the Muslim League, such as League Zindabad Pakistan Zindabad; Larke Lenge Pakistan, Marke Lenge Pakistan.

5. All those who resisted were butchered. Sometimes they were shot, for the rioters had a few shot-guns with them.

Sometimes people were killed even when there was no resistance offered or expected I have on record cases where 50 to 60 members of one family were brutally murdered. Some families lost all their male members.

6. (Is about the description and *habitat* of those who indulged in these crimes.)

7. Even after looting, arson and murder the Hindus in the locality were not safe unless they embraced Islam. The Hindu population therefore to save themselves had to embrace Islam *en masse* All the images of gods in Hindu houses were destroyed and all the Hindu temples of the affected area were looted and burnt.

8. There have been cases of forcible marriages There have been cases of abduction.

9. For obvious reasons it was not possible for me to ascertain the cases of rape. But women complained to Mrs. Kirpalani of having

been roughly handled, their conch-shell bangles, the symbol of their married life, having been broken and vermillion marks removed. At one place they were thrown on the ground by the miscreants who removed their vermillion marks with the toes of their feet.

10 to 13 are about post-riot conditions.

14. The police did not function during the riots. They are doing merely patrol duty now. They say that they had and have no orders to fire except in self-defence. The question of definding themselves never arose, because they did not interfere with the rioters.

The areas visited had already been devastated and all that I could see were burnt houses and helpless Hindu villagers whether converted or not.

Scouting any suggestion that the trouble may be economic the Acharya added, Not a single rich Muslim house had been looted. To me it appeared to be absolutely communal and absolutely one-sided.

The Congress Working Committee meeting came soon after at Delhi, and its resolution on East Bengal contained the following observations:

Reports published in the press and statements of public workers depict a scene of bestiality and medieval barbarity that must fill every

decent human being with shame, disgust and anger.

The Committee hold that this outburst of brutality is the direct result of the politics of hate and civil strife that the Muslim League has practised for years past and of the threats of violence that were daily held out in past months.

This extensive account has been given of Noakhali for this reason, that coming soon after the Direct Action and Calcutta, this was the first large-scale beginning of that wholesale elimination of entire communities, that genocide which from now on became the settled programme and policy of the Muslim League, not expressed or admitted officially, but nevertheless pursued and countenanced by it with vigour and with great satisfaction. It was clear after Noakhali as to what India was to expect in the coming months-mass attacks on minorities in Muslim-majority areas, co-operation of Muslim police and the officials with the assailants, indifference of the British bureaucrats, and the hypocritical fathering of the League leaders of the responsibility for these occurrences on the minorities themselves. In the case of Calcutta the League leaders blamed it all on the Hindus-in the case of Noakhali and Tipperah, the figures of casualties and damage were understated to ridiculous figures, or just not noticed. Had there been any regret expressed by the League on these happenings, had they sat up and realized the horror of what had happened and had their conscience pricked them, perhaps the

recurrence of large-scale destruction like Noakhali would not have been possible. But the Leaguers viewed these happenings with glee. The programme was working according to plan.

Exactly the same pattern as in Noakhali and Tipperah was repeated during the next five months in other parts of India. These features were common to all these occurrences.

1. Places of occurrence were all heavy Muslim-majority areas-the minority attacked were Hindu or Hindu-Sikh. Successively they are: Noakhali and Tipperah (October, 1946) Hazara (December, 1946 and January, 1947); Rawalpindi (March, 1947 For several weeks); Jhelum, Attock, Campbellpur, Dera Ismail Khan, Hazara, Multan, Gujrat, Gujranwala, Sargodha (all as before-mentioned). Lahore and Amritsar towns had an overwhelming Muslim majority in their populations though in the latter district as a whole the non-Muslims outnumbered the Muslims by a small percentage. In both towns from March, 1947 onwards terrible outrages were perpetrated by Muslims on Hindus and Sikhs, the decisive result in either case being obtained only on the partition of the Punjab.

2. Preparations were made by the Muslim League for attack on the minorities in every case a good time before the actual occurrence. Arms had been collected and distributed. Sufficiently large quantities of petrol and other inflammable substances had

been hoarded for incendiarism. Training in swift methods of arson, stabbing, disposal of looted property and the killed had been imparted in the centres of the Muslim National Guards. Muslim police and officials had joined in hatching the plans with the Muslim League leaders and Muslim National Guard workers. The Muslim masses had been aroused to a pitch of anti-Hindu-Sikh fury by violent League propaganda.

3. The attacks were simultaneous, widespread and in places so open and so sure of non-interference by the authorities that the assailants collected and marched with drums beating, shouting Muslim League slogans, and even making military formations. There was nothing secret about these attacks, as the police were already on the side of the attackers.

4. Large-scale arson, murder of males, abduction, rape and dishonour of women, brutalities to children, looting, forcible conversions etc. all these features were common to the localities affected. Those attacked were first asked to pay sums of money to pay off the invaders; then followed more demands, and attacks by outsiders. Local Muslims (that is, those of the village actually attacked) sometimes out of long habits of neighbourly intercourse, kept out of the actual attack, though of course they were in league with the invaders and abetted and helped them.

5. The victims were given no quarter when beseiged. Places of worship were desecrated, and religious feelings were outraged with fiendish gusto. Shaving of Sikhs, feeding of Hindus and Sikhs on beef, circumcision of Hindus and Sikhs, marrying away young girls and widows of Hindus, and Sikhs to Muslims-these practices were resorted to.

6. Police and the officials seldom appeared on the scene till long after the beseiged had been killed and their houses burnt and looted.

7. Muslim League leaders and Press said nothing in condemnation of these outrages. On the other hand, they trotted out imaginary stories of provocation by the non-Muslims, and of supposed retaliation by Muslims. This in every case kept up the morale of the assailants. .

This pattern was repeated in every one of the places that have been mentioned; and while the area of operations was necessarily limited while British power was still there, on the establishment of Pakistan it became general mass murder in West Punjab, in the North-Western Frontier Province, in Sind, Baluchistan and raider-held Kashmir.

The succeeding chapters will narrate the unfolding of this great conspiracy of the Muslim League.

Footnotes:

[1]In a forceful pamphlet entitled Fight this Charter of Slavery signed by Master Tara Singh and several other Sikhs, including the compiler of this volume.

[2]But was it only such, and not complicity?

[3]This statement was made on October 26, 1946.

3. PRELUDE TO GENOCIDE OF HINDUS AND SIKHS

N.-W. FRONTIER PROVINCE MASSACRIES AND THE PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE AGITATION

In the North-Western Frontier Province a Congress Ministry came into power after defeating a Muslim League Ministry on the floor of the Provincial Legislature. The Muslim League regarded this Province as one of its especial preserves, for the population was overwhelmingly Muslim. But the freedom-loving Pathan character under the guidance of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his brother, Dr. Khan Sahib, had preferred the Congress way over the League way, which was known to be working in collusion with the British bureaucracy, and which moreover, was dominated by reactionary feudal elements-the nawabs and title-holders and the fanatical mullahs. When the Muslim League Direct Action campaign was started, the League leaders naturally thought of stirring up trouble in the North-Western Frontier Province, and thus turning the tide against the Congress ministry, which would naturally pursue a policy of cementing the good relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. As early as July 28, 1946 as narrated earlier, trouble of quite serious nature had occurred in Hazara district-an area which was particularly susceptible to Muslim League propaganda. Hazara is not properly

speaking a Pathan area; it is Punjabi-speaking, and not Pushtu, and in its political character takes more after the Punjab, to which it is cognate, than to the rest of the Frontier Province, which is trans-Indus in respect of geography. Local Muslims, along with fanatical marauders from the tribal areas, whom loot and the desire for attacking infidels-be they Hindu, Sikh, Christian or any other-would always bring hurtling down the valleys, looted and burnt Hindu and Sikh shops and terrorized the Hindu and Sikh population of the Hazara district. Gurdwaras were attacked, their inmates killed and the holy. places themselves desecrated.

The firm hand of the Congress Government of the Frontier Province for a time kept the communal situation under control. The League was busy intriguing-and there is no doubt that in this intrigue for disturbing the peace of the province, it had the active assistance of the local British bureaucrats. The attitude of the British bureaucracy was made perfectly clear in the got-up attacks on Pandit Nehrus party, when he made his tour of the tribal areas as Vice-President of the Interim Government of India. This alliance between the League and the British bureaucracy was in evidence everywhere all through the years 1946 and 1947 in stirring up attacks on non-Muslims in the Muslim-majority areas of India.

Calcutta and Noakhali did not bring any condemnation from the League of these criminal attacks on minorities. Far from it-in the

League Press the attempt was made to shift the responsibility, where there occurrences were admitted at all, on the Hindus. The Muslim League did not, to begin with, join the Interim Government. The Congress got associated five eminent and capable Muslims in the Interim Government, to fill for the time being the seats which by agreement, the Muslim League should have occupied. One of these Muslim members of the Interim Government, Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan was murderously attacked at Simla by some League hirelings, a few days before the Interim Government was to take office. This attack was only part of the League campaign of murder and assault on all who dared to differ from its policy.

In the Hazara District, which was selected by the Muslim League as the venue of its operations against Sikhs and Hindus in July, 1946 and later in December of the same year, the Muslim population is 94.94%. As a matter of fact, in the entire province the Muslim percentage in the population was as high as 91.79. In such a province the life of the minorities is not worth a days purchase, if the majority decides to make things hot for them.

On 7. 12. 1946 in the villages of Batal, Uggi, Sum Ilahi Mung and Garhi Jallo, very serious and unprovoked attacks on Hindus and Sikhs occurred. In Batal 11 Hindus and Sikhs were killed, and 11 were wounded. Hindu and Sikh houses were looted. The bazar of Uggi was attacked and Hindu and Sikh shops were set on fire. In

this village 5 Hindus and Sikhs were killed. In Sum Ilahi Mung, an attack was made on the Hindu and Sikh evacuees from the two previously mentioned villages, and 14 were killed, with 27 injured. In Garhi Jallo stray killing of Hindus and Sikhs continued, and the Gurdwara of the place was burnt down.

The trouble spread to other parts also of Hazara District. On 18.12.1946 in Garhi Habibullah, in Mansehra Tehsil, one Hindu was abducted and later found killed. In Havelian and Lahore (Hazara), commencing on the same date anti-Hindu-Sikh rioting continued well on into January, 1947. A massacre of Hindus and Sikhs in Havelian was averted only by the timely arrival of the military; but stray killing of Hindus and Sikhs continued for weeks. By the end of December, 1946 conditions in the Havelian area had deteriorated so far that all Hindus and Sikhs of this area had to leave their homes and property at the mercy of the Muslim marauders, and seek safety of life and honour in the Punjab.

At a place called Daddar in Hazara District, on 11.12.1946, 40 Hindu and Sikh evacuees from the surrounding area were waylaid by Muslims; 10 of them were killed and the rest were seriously wounded. All were deprived of their belongings.

By the end of December, in Hazara it became a general uprising against Hindus and Sikhs, who were killed and robbed, and their

houses burnt and sacred places desecrated. This holy war was carried into the village of Mohri, Dival, Akhroota, Pipal, Jaba, Gohra, Phulgara, Dhanak, Muhari, Karchhan, Malach, Dakhali Sair, Bafa, Sihalian, Samadhra, Jabori, Sankiari, Balakot and Bhata. In all these and other places Hindus and Sikhs were killed, their houses looted and burnt down, Gurdwaras and/or Hindu temples desecrated, Hindu and Sikh evacuees from places of danger waylaid and attacked and the entire Hindu and Sikh population forced to seek refuge in the Punjab. As, however, the numbers involved were not very large, and moreover, neither the Frontier Congress Government nor the Congress-Panthic-Unionist Coalition Government of the Punjab wanted to excite the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab, this serious campaign of extermination against the Hindu and Sikh minorities was given the minimum of publicity, and the general public never had a notion of the serious magnitude or import of what was happening, or that another Noakhali was being enacted at the other extreme of India. The features of Noakhali, or for the matter of that, of all Muslim attacks on minorities, were repeated here-mass murder, looting, burning, desecration, collusion between the police and officials and the marauders, with the Muslim League working as the guiding hand in pursuance of its Direct Action Programme, behind what was happening.

In some of these places wholesale massacre of the minorities occurred. In Bhata 116 Sikhs were burnt alive, and several shot

dead. In Malachh 115 Hindus and Sikhs were killed.

As has been said above, the general public in the Punjab had no notion of the real scale of what was happening in Hazara. Why at this time the Muslim League did not try to stir up trouble in the Punjab, had a very good reason behind it from the Muslim League point of view. While in the Frontier Province, the League could count on the 92 per cent. majority of Muslim population and the comparative ignorance and fanaticism of the local Muslim population, along with the bait of loot which would draw tribesmen from the neighbouring hill-tracts; in the Punjab the Hindu and Sikh minority was as strong as 44% and so could be expected to give back to the attackers as good as they got, and in certain districts to completely rout and smash them. Moreover, the Coalition Government, at that time in power in the Punjab, although perched on a very shaky eminence, yet it knew that its very existence depended upon its maintaining communal peace with all the resources in its power. Once communal trouble broke out, the coalition would break down, with altogether unforeseenable consequences for the province. So, they maintained peace with the last ounce of their energy. When large-scale trouble broke out in Calcutta on the Direct Action Day, the Punjab maintained peace-though a tense and precarious peace. On August 29, 1946, which was Id, trouble was widely expected in the Punjab. Feverish apprehensions were entertained of another Calcutta being enacted

in Lahore; and the other Punjab towns too were awaiting the day with anxiety. But so strict was the vigilance of the Punjab Coalition Government, and so well did the Muslim police and officials understand that their Government meant business when it instructed them to maintain peace at all costs, that not a single incident was allowed to occur anywhere. It was well-known that arms and incendiaries had been collected by the Muslims in the Punjab, as in other provinces, by August. 1946 and only the proverbial button awaited to be pressed for horrors such as were later witnessed in Calcutta to be enacted. But August passed off peacefully and indeed, as long as the Coalition was in power, disaster was staved off in the Punjab. But mass-attack on the minorities occurred with a vengeance as soon as the Coalition resigned on March 2, 1947.

The Punjab continued to be tense all through the latter part of 1946 and early 1947. The Muslim League wanted to capture power in the Province, but its intentions were now known to be so fascist, so totalitarian, and its programme and policy so completely to be the enslavement, nay elimination of minorities, that the League Party in the Punjab Assembly although the largest single party in the House, could not get even a single Hindu or Sikh M. L. A. to give it support.

Not finding it possible by any professions of friendship or any assurances to create confidence among the minorities, the League

tried its method of Direct Action in the Punjab to capture power and to subjugate the minorities.

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE AGITATION IN THE PUNJAB, 1947

The Muslim League was on the look-out for an opportunity to wage their war on the Coalition Government in the Punjab, which had so far succeeded in maintaining peace-albeit a kind of armed truce-in the Province. The League gave all the provocation it could to the Coalition Government, and to the Hindu and Sikh minorities. The Muslim National Guards recruitment proceeded with very increased speed during all the months after the Direct Action Resolution of the Muslim League was passed. So great and ubiquitous was the organisation of the League Private Army, the Muslim National Guards, that every Muslim mohalla, every small town, sometimes every considerable village, had its own National Guard contingent and its commander, called Salar. One would be surprised to find the organization existing very often in unlikely and out-of-the-way places. The Guard collected arms and petrol-almost everywhere. They received secret instructions from head-quarters, and had a quasi-military, fascist kind of organization, with the rule of implicit obedience to the orders of the leader. An idea of the numbers and of the formidable threat which the Muslim National Guard constituted to the peace of the Punjab, can be formed from the fact that in the city of Amritsar alone the National Guard razakars

(volunteers) numbered 9,000, while in Lahore this number was estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 10,000.

Since the Muslim National Guard were assuming such alarming proportions the Coalition Government of the Punjab, on January 24, 1946 declared the Muslim National Guards and along with it, the Rashtriya Swyam Sewak Sangh, a private Hindu army, unlawful associations. While this was done, the Punjab Government in a *communique* made it clear that no Government could tolerate the existence of private armies, which constituted a grave menace to the existence of the State.

Declaring unlawful the Muslim National Guard perturbed the League leaders a good deal. It meant the weakening of the Leagues power of coercion of minorities. Mr. Ghazanfar Ali, later a member of the Interim Government on behalf of the League, called this banning an attempt to ban an important part of the activities of the Muslim League itself.

Search of the Muslim League office in Lahore was resisted. Those resisting were arrested and they included Khan Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, and later Premier of West Punjab. Some more of the important League leaders of the Punjab were arrested. The search

of the Muslim League office revealed 1,000 helmets and badges with signs of swords, pistol and dagger.

The Muslim League began defiance of the law by taking out processions and holding meetings all over the Province, in contravention of the Safety Ordinance, which had prohibited all meetings and processions.

Although soon after arrest the League leaders were released and the Muslim League meeting in Lahore in defiance of the Safety Ordinance was allowed to be held, yet the League decided to continue the agitation it had launched against the Punjab Government.

The League agitation continued for 34 days-a period during which the tempo of the movement became more and more violent, and from being ostensibly a movement for fighting the attack on the civil liberties of the population in the form of the Safety Ordinance, it became openly a. movement for the conquest of the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab. The speeches made on the day the movement was launched left no doubt as to what its real aim was. On January 27, 1947 Mian Iftikharuddin said at a Lahore public meeting of Muslims:

We have come here to tell you that if you can carry on the fight with the same determination and discipline as had been displayed

during the past three days, not only will you have achieved victory in the Punjab, but you will also have reached nearer to your goal of Pakistan.

That Pakistan was to be brought nearer by this agitation, and that Pakistan was the device for enslaving the Hindus and Sikhs to the Muslims, were the true premises for determining the character of the League agitation. That the Muslim League was in alliance with the overwhelmingly large Muslim police of the Punjab and the Muslim officials, is beyond a doubt. In meeting this agitation there was none of that vigour with which the Congress movements in India have been sought to be crushed by the British Government-nor was there the discipline inculcated among Congress workers by the Congress creed and by Mahatma Gandhi and his personality. The agitation was allowed to drift on. Few arrests were made; the burden of the Government *communiques* in those days in describing the movement was No arrests were made. Those that were made, were described as temporary, that is, the arrested persons were released before the *communique* was out The League agitators, on the other hand, in this first movement which was not directly a riot had little quarrel with the police, which was sympathetic towards it. -

Some well-meaning people among the non-Muslims in the Punjab were deceived as to the real character of this Muslim League agitation. Hopes were entertained that now at long last the Muslim

League too, like the Congress, had adopted the way of Civil Disobedience, and that it was fighting a battle in the way of peaceful agitation for the vindication of certain civic rights, such as freedom of association, etc. That this estimate of the real character of the movement was a mistake, was soon made evident by certain ugly incidents, which must have shocked those who thought that the proverbial leopard of the Muslim League had changed his spots. The League which had to its credit several years campaign of hate, of the two-nation theory, of its Direct Action, Calcutta, Noakhali and the N.-W. F. P. attacks on the minorities, could not transform its character formed all through its above mentioned activities over years. In the Punjab Agitation the usual slogans raised by the League crowds were: Lar ke lenge Pakistan; Khun se lenge Pakistan; Dena hoga Pakistan; Leke rahenge Pakistan etc. All these slogans, as the Sikh leaders rightly pointed out, were really attacks directed against the Hindu and Sikh minorities, who to a man were opposed to the establishment of the Islamic State of Pakistan, and to enslave whom to the rule of the Muslim-majority this state was sought to be established. The Sikh leaders felt deeply perturbed over the growing strength of the League Agitation, and over the week-kneed and pusillanimous attitude with which the Punjab Government was dealing with this movement of extremely dangerous potentialities. That the movement was extremely dangerous for the peace and well-being of the Province, was demonstrated within about only a week after its termination, in the

shape of the terrible and unprecedently widespread March, 1947 attacks on the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab. Well in the middle of February, 1947, when the movement was about three weeks old, attacks had begun to take place on Hindus and Sikhs-not widespread, but nevertheless symptomatic of the true character of the movement, and of what it was going to become, if allowed to continue a little time longer. What the Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government, who incidentally was a Muslim, and is occupying at present a position of great responsibility under the West Punjab Government in Pakistan, says on this agitation, is highly illuminating:

The agitation which the Muslim League commenced on the 24th of January has continued until the time of drafting this report. It has affected all districts in the province in varying degrees and in places there have been situations of some seriousness. The campaign is one of deliberate disobedience and defiance of law conducted with a definite undemocratic political motive.

So far there has been no sign that the Muslim leaders at large or in jail have been persuaded to a sense of responsibility or to reasonableness. In the circumstances the early restoration of the Province to its normal life cannot confidently be expected.

The crime situation continues to be unsatisfactory with criminals taking advantage of police preoccupation in dealing with

disturbances created by politics. The law and order field may be further and adversely affected if the Muslim League puts certain of its threats into action. These include interference with communications and a campaign of non-payment of taxes. So far as taxes go, there has been no translation of the threat into action, but there has been interference in the running of trains advocated and practised by the more extreme among the Leagues adherents. Persons taken in the commission of offences of this kind are being dealt with under Ordinance XXVIII of 1946 in order that sentences awarded may have a deterrent effect.

The Muslim League agitation continued in the Punjab until the 26th of February when it was called off as the result of a settlement reached between the Punjab Government and the President of the Provincial Muslim League. The settlement was timely, for in its concluding days the agitation took a decided turn for the worse and acts of individual and mass violence were committed in several districts. In three places, Amritsar, Jullundur and Ambala, the police were forced to resort to firing to control unruly, violent crowds and there were casualties on both sides, some of them of a serious kind.

Since their release from jail, the League leaders have been active and the Leagues committee of Action has met.

A decision has been taken to observe the 2nd of March, as Victory day.

Many were shocked by the vulgarity of the Leagues tactics and behaviour, the agitation undoubtedly attracted the sympathy of most Muslims who are not nationalist in their political opinions.

Among Hindus and Sikhs resentment at the agitation is growing and, particularly in the case of the latter in an ominous degree. On the 12th of February in the second statement he has issued against the agitation since it started, Master Tara Singh declared that it was communal in its essentials and has as its purpose the domination of the Punjab by Muslims. He called on the Sikhs to prepare themselves to face the Muslim League onslaught and towards this and to reorganize the Akal Fauj.

Of the three communities the Sikhs are undoubtedly the most perturbed at the shape political events are taking. Their apprehensions that the Centre will not be able to withstand the demand for Pakistan and the Muslim League agitation have drawn them further from the League, making any understanding between the two now unlikely and have driven them more to the thought of a separate Sikh-Hindu State made up of the Punjab districts where Muslims are in a minority and the Sikh States.

Sikh leaders publicly protested against the pro-Pakistan and provocative slogans of the Muslim League, such as Khun se lenge Pakistan, Dena hoga Pakistan and Leke rahenge Pakistan; etc. On 15.2.1947 and 21.2.47, on which tension among the communities was mounting high, the Muslim League was adopting a bullying, menacing and hooligan character, encouraged no doubt by the mild and almost indulgent attitude towards it. The police merely watched Muslim mobs of ten thousand or more going about, threatening to disturb the inter-communal atmosphere with their provocative movement. Even when the Muslim crowds were very violent as they were first at Amritsar and later at Lahore-invading courts and destroying files, no police action followed. That this same police force could deal sternly and revengefully with the non-Muslim movements, even though the latter might be perfectly non-violent in character, was demonstrated by the repeated police firing on Hindu and Sikh students on the 3rd of March in Lahore, when these students only took out a procession to demonstrate their protest against the impending formation of a Muslim League ministry in the Punjab.

That the Muslim League agitation grew more and more violent after the middle of February, way shown by a number of incidents. There were several train hold-ups at Amritsar, at Ludhiana, Gujranwala and other places. Lawlessness was on the increase, and the police took no more than the minimum, and in this case,

wholly insufficient steps to meet the situation. On the 14th February, faces of non-Muslim tonga drivers were blackened by Muslims at Amritsar, as they refused to join a hartal organized by the Muslims, including Muslim tonga drivers, against the arrests of Muslim League leaders. That the non-Muslim tonga drivers were perfectly justified in refusing to make common cause with the Muslims in a matter which concerned Muslims alone and not tonga-drivers as such, did not prevent their disgrace at the hands of these Muslims tonga-drivers. A similar incident on the same day occurred at Lahore. This further enraged the Sikhs and made them ponder over the rising tide of Muslim arrogance and bullying tactics being used against Hindus and Sikhs.

That the League agitation was only the first beginning of the organized Muslim attempt to attack and subjugate, in the interest of establishing Pakistan, the Hindu and Sikh minorities of the Punjab (and not long after of the N.-W. F. P.) is amply proved by the following news-items and commentary, extracted from *The Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore, a paper by no means anti-Muslim in its general policy.

In its editorial of February 12, 1947 when the League agitation had run for near upon three weeks, and evidence of its violent character had already shown itself prominently, the *Civil* made this

very clear and penetrating analysis of the character and dangerous potentialities of the Muslim League agitation.

Its (the Leagues) agitation is dangerous to the peace of the province and the constitutional security of Government in the Punjab as far as can be seen - into the future. Tempers are daily wearing thinner and time is not far off when bullets may replace tear-gas bombs. (The League leaders) would do well now to pause and take stock of the position, examining the ominous trends of the policy to which they are committed and weighing possible gains against certain and apparently inescapable losses.

The attitude of the Punjab Government will, of course, be conditioned by the decision of the Provincial Muslim League, but it must face up to the problems created by a decision to continue the agitation and prepare plans for implementation in that event. The present policy of drift (of the Government) is playing into the hands of the agitators and it is preparing the way for goondaism

An attempt to wreck the Frontier Mail near Rawalpindi was made by Muslim League *saboteurs* on Monday (i. e. 17.2.47). Instances are multiplying of the demonstrators planting the League flag on railway engines and damaging railway property. (*C. &. M. Gazette*-18.2.1947)

On Friday evening (i. e. 14.2.1947) Sikhs and Hindus held a meeting (at Amritsar) in view of the violent conduct of the Muslim League processions earlier in the day. Considerable indignation was expressed at the conduct of Muslim Leaguers in blackening the faces of two Sikh and one Hindu tonga-drivers that day who refused to participate in the days hartal.

There were many largely attended and rowdy processions in Sialkot City but no arrests were made. At Gujranwala there are definite signs of rowdyism, and processions for the last two or three days have not been well -behaved . (*C. & M. Gazette* - 18.2.1947).

In Amritsar, Sialkot, Ludhiana, Bhalwal, Gujranwala, Gujrat and other places violent activities were indulged in by the League processions on 18.2.1947.

In all these places tear-gas and lathis had to be used by the police against the processionists.

The 24th February, which was one month from the launching of the agitation, was a very violent day indeed, and it incidentally revealed the League agitation in its true colours, as the forerunner of the March, 1947 war on the Hindu and Sikh minorities. *The Civil & Military Gazette* report of the day is as under:-

The Muslim League agitation assumed dangerous proportions in Amritsar where the police had to open fire on several occasions on Monday (i. e. 24.2.1947).

A Sikh constable was beaten to death by a wild mob in the civil lines, the Additional District Magistrate was brutally assaulted and a murderous attack was made on a Sub-inspector by a demonstrator who was killed by police fire. . . . *C. & M. Gazette*-25.2.1947)

Firing had to be resorted to by the Police on this day in Rawalpindi. The Lahore Courts were raided and files tempered with. At Kasur there was violence too.

Regarding the murder of the Sikh police constable at Amritsar, certain details of it are very revealing. The Muslim mob asked the police to withdraw, which the police did. This helpless Sikh constable was beseiged by the Muslim mob, and stoned to death in a most brutal manner. The Muslim members of the police party, among whom there were only a few solitary non-Muslims, did nothing to rescue their comrade from the clutches of the murderous mob. The lesson of it was clear-that a Sikh had been murdered, solely because out of a party of policemen he was the only Sikh. In Congress agitations the police used to be attacked, seldom physically though, as *the Police*, as the instrument of foreign rule, and no discrimination was made between its Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or

Christian personnel as such. But here was a case of such discrimination.

This incident amply proved that Sikhs in particular, and Hindus and Sikhs in general, were in for trouble at the hands of Muslims. This most dangerous character of the situation drew two statements on February 26, 1946 from important Sikh sources-one from the Assembly Panthic Party and the other from Master Tara Singh. The Panthic Assembly Party, at which Master Tara Singh was present by special invitation, appealed to the Muslim League to Stop these unlawful activities, which are bound to have serious repercussions if continued any further and asked the Punjab Government to adopt a firm attitude and take speedy action in dealing with this menace to the peace of the Province.

Master Tara Singh in a separate statement pointed out that the Muslim League agitation was meant to overawe the Sikhs into agreeing to Pakistan.

That this agitation was meant as part of the Muslim League campaign for the establishment of Pakistan was further made clear by the arrogant speeches made by the Muslim Leaguers on the occasion of the League Victory Day on March 2, 1947 to mark the release of the Muslim League leaders from jail as a result of negotiations in which the Muslim League achieved nothing, except

the release of the imprisoned Muslim Leaguers. Bashir Ahmed Akhgar, speaking at Amritsar, said that this agitation was only the stepping-stone of the struggle which the Muslims would have to launch for the achievement of Pakistan.

On the 4th March, 1947 a Muslim Sub-Inspector of Police appeared before Hindu and Sikh students and other demonstrators at Lahore, who had gathered to express their opposition to the impending formation of a League Ministry in the Punjab, and told them to disperse, as their agitation was futile and Pakistan in any case must be established. This was the kind of mentality of the Muslim-dominated police force of the Punjab, upon whom had fallen the responsibility of dealing with the attack of the Muslim population on the Hindu and Sikh population of the Punjab in March, 1947.

Several factors at this time entered into the situation and made it critical and brought matters to a head in the Punjab very fast. The British Prime Minister, on the 20th February, 1947 made an authoritative statement of policy on behalf of the British Government in which he said:

His Majestys Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transfer of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948.

His Majestys Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over on due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.

This statement brought the prospect of power very near the imagination of the Muslim League leaders who were now anxious more than ever to wrest power in the Punjab, so that by the time the transfer of power occurred, in June, 1948 or earlier, the Muslim League should be already firmly in the saddle in the Punjab, to receive power from the British Government and to consolidate the Western *bloc* of Pakistan. Come what may, thought the League leaders, none but a League ministry must function in the Punjab from now on. And it was to create such a situation that the Muslim League intensified its activity many times over, and when it failed to form a ministry, it let loose the horror and terror of the March, 1947 and subsequent riots over the Punjab.

Sir Khizar Hyat Khan, Premier in the Punjab Coalition Ministry, although his ministry had survived the League agitation, had yet received such a drubbing at the hands of the Muslim League as must have made his heart sick. The foulest and filthiest abuse was uttered daily in all places where the League agitation was conducted,

for Sir Khizar and his Muslim colleagues, while the non-Muslim ministers came in for severe castigation minus the abuse. Probably Sir Khizars relations and others close to him felt like advising him to get out of this situation in which he had fallen foul of the majority of his coreligionists. The statement of His Majestys Government quoted above must have made him to ponder and to think of relinquishing office. So, on the 2nd March, 1947 Sir Khizar Hyat Khan resigned office, and his ministry naturally came to an end. Sir Khizar took this step, as he said he thought it incumbent to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to some arrangement with the other parties. On the next day, that is the 3rd March, 1947 the Governor of the Punjab invited the leaders of the Muslim League Assembly Party to form a ministry. But by that date a strong wave of protest against and opposition to the formation to a Muslim League Ministry, committed to the division of India and the establishment of Pakistan in the Punjab, arose among Hindus and Sikhs. The Hindu and Sikh students of Lahore took out a big procession to demonstrate their resolve not to tolerate a Muslim League Ministry. This perfectly non-violent procession was fired on by the Muslim Police, which had stood hooliganism and law-breaking from Muslim mobs for over a month in the Province. Meetings, demonstrations and processions of Hindus and Sikhs continued in Lahore and Amritsar and some other towns. The situation was growing serious. Opposition to the Muslim League was rising, with the result that in its efforts at Ministry-making, the Muslim League Assembly party did not

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

The report of the Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government, a Muslim, who has been quoted before, is highly significant as descriptive of the Muslim League attitude during this fateful period in the history of the Punjab, as being the prime cause of the occurrence of the Riots, from March 5 onwards. According to the Chief Secretarys report:

One of the most remarkable features of the situation has been the speed with which events moved. On the 2nd of March, following the settlement with Government, the Muslim League celebrated a Victory Day. No communal clash accompanied the observances but they afforded evidence of Muslim arrogance and intensified the fear and hatred of other communities, and increased their determination not to be subjected to an unwanted domination. On the same day the Premier announced the resignation of the Coalition Ministry in a

statement to the effect that he was taking the step because he felt His Majestys Governments announcement of the 20th February, made it incumbent to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to some arrangement with the other parties. On the 3rd, His Excellency the Governor invited the leader of the Muslim League Party to form a Government. On the 4th March disorder commenced. On the 5th March, in the presence of the Muslim Leagues failure to form a Government, proclamation was issued under Section 93 of the Government of India Act transferring all responsibilities to the Governor.

On the afternoon of the same day, and inevitably, communal rioting broke out accompanied by cases of stabbing and arson. By the 6th of March, both Amritsar and Multan were gravely affected and much damage had been caused to life and property. Since that date, with news of grave events radiating from Lahore, there has been bloodshed and burning in many districts, and rural areas have paid the price levied by insensate fury as well as towns. Many of the gravest incidents have taken place in the districts which form the Rawalpindi Division where Muslims are in the majority. In the Rawalpindi and Attock districts in particular there is every reason to think that casualties have been heavy. Up to the 15th March the known victims of internecine strife numbered 1,036 killed and 1,110 injured. The figures in both categories are almost certain to be very

much greater when there has been more accurate counting after the madness has passed.

According to the Chief Secretary:

The prospect is not improved by the brutality of some of the acts committed by the majority community (Muslims) in the areas most effected. When details of these acts become known as inevitably they will, the danger of retaliation will arise in a degree fraught with much danger,

On piecing together all the factors present in the Punjab situation in early March, 1947, we find:

(a) The Muslim League agitation had as its aim the over-throw of the Coalition ministry, and clearing the way for the achievement of Pakistan,

(b) H. M. G. Statement of February 20, 1947 declaring that power would be transferred in India in default of one Central Government, in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, made it imperative for the League to capture power and to establish its own Government in the Punjab at all costs, so that such a Government should be able to receive power independently of a Central Government of India;

(c) The Victory Day of March 2, 1947 was used by the League for marking provocative speeches, and whipping up the passions of the Muslim masses against all who might oppose Pakistan;

(d) Not being able to get the cooperation of a single Hindu or Sikh inside Provincial Assembly, the Muslim League decided upon capturing power by waging a war on the minorities in the Punjab;

(e) For this purpose the Riots of March, 1947 were started, which occurred simultaneously in Lahore, Amritsar, Jullundur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Campbellpur and other Districts, the aggressors in all places being Muslims;

(f) These riots were no ordinary riots, but were a war of subjugation and conquest in which the Muslim people, the Muslim police and Muslim officials worked in perfect unison, and brought widespread death, destruction and uprooting to Hindus and Sikhs in a dozen districts, killing many thousands and uprooting about a million, before the month was out.

So, from the 5th March, 1947 onwards the constitutional game was up, and for the Hindus and Sikhs it became a struggle for sheer life against a fierce and well-planned Muslim onslaught-well-planned in that the Muslim League had a fighting corps (the Muslim League National Guard), ample stores of weapons, both sharp-edged and fire-arms, and a plan of attacks in which with police and official help

the Muslims were to be encouraged and covered against risk, while Hindu and Sikh retaliation, if it ever were planned, was to be stifled.

Left to themselves, Hindus and Sikhs, although they reeled under the first unexpected blow in the first and second weeks of March, yet they would have rallied and retaliated, for the Sikh has never taken beating for long. But the Sikhs and Hindus were helpless against police and official backing of the Muslims and for the moment could at best defend themselves in a place like Amritsar where they were not heavily outnumbered by Muslims. In other places, where they were outnumbered, the Muslims rained destruction on them-month after month. Such retaliation as came, and as has been hinted at by Chief Secretary Akhtar Hussain in his report quoted above, came towards August, when with the nearness of partition the stranglehold of Muslim police and officials began to loosen on the Eastern districts. But just then this stranglehold was complete from Lahore westwards, and from there it became total mass murder and driving out of Hindus and Sikhs, with looting and abduction on a scale horrible to contemplate. The following pages tell in a more detailed manner the story of which the outline has been given above.

4. MARCH, 1947.

BLITZ ON THE HINDU AND SIKH MINORITIES

As has been told above, there was a complete concert between the Muslim League and the Muslim masses which followed its programme and policy on the one hand, and Muslim officials and police on the other. The British bureaucracy which still held supreme power, was perhaps inclined to favour the Muslim League-not as such, but as the one force in the country which could be relied upon to pursue a policy of dissension and strife, and thus create in the country such a mood as would make a politically united India, at least a politically united Punjab, impossible So in this background came the fruition and consummation of the Muslim League plan to dominate the Punjab, to form in this Province its ministry, which with the consent of Hindus and Sikhs could not be done, but which might be established after beating them down. Only this beating had to be swift, continual and thorough. Without a ministry of its own in the Punjab, the Muslim League would not be able to receive power from the British Government in June, 1948, the target date by which according to the February, 20 statement of H. M. G. power must be transferred to Indian hands. Without a Muslim League Government in the Punjab, Pakistan would remain not only lopsided, but might even topple altogether as a practical scheme. This was the situation

in which the Muslim League attack on the Punjab minorities was inevitably launched.

Before making a detailed study of the Muslim attack in early March, 1947 a few significant figures must be noted here, which will show at a glance the strategically well-planned nature of the Muslim offensive and the total helplessness of the Hindus and Sikhs in the face of the overwhelming odds they were called upon to contend against:

(a) The proportion of the Muslim and non-Muslim Police force in the Punjab uptil August, 1947 was as follows:-

The total number of Police constables in the Punjab was shown as being 24,095, out of whom 17,848 were Muslims, 6167 Hindus and Sikhs combined and 80 Europeans and Anglo-Indians. This makes a percentage of 74 for she Muslim police. This overwhelming majority for the Muslim police was not justified on the basis of population figures, which were 56% Muslim and 440/, non-Muslims. For long years non-Muslims, particularly Hindus and Sikhs, had clamoured for greater recruitment of Hindus and Sikhs to the police, and Hindu and Sikh public bodies came forward quite often to offer good, acceptable Hindu and Sikh young men for the force, but the old proportions were allowed to stand, and even good Hindu and Sikh youths were very often rejected while Muslims of very much

inferior physique were taken. The result of all this was that the Punjab Police was for all practical purposes Muslim. The Hindu and Sikh members of the force, being in a very small minority, and kept under by intrigue and the concerted plan of the Muslim majority, in the force itself, and of the Minister-incharge of Police, who since the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937 had invariably been a Muslim, lost all confidence in themselves, and were helpless in doing their duty to protect the Hindu and Sikh minorities against aggression when the Muslim League attack in concert with the Muslim Police began in March, 1947.

(b) The proportion of Hindu and Sikh population in the Districts in which the attacks on them were made:-

District	**Muslims**	**Hindus and Sikhs**
Rawalpindi	80.00	18.67
Campbellpur	90.42	9.36
Mianwali	86.16	13.76
Jhelum	89.42	10.41
Sargodha	83.68	14.88
Gujrat	85.58	14.2
Multan	78.1	20.52

Gujranwala	70.45	22.70
Sialkot	62.09	31.12
Lahore	60.62	35.9

The above districts are those in which attacks on Hindus and Sikhs occurred in a serious form in the pre-partition days, i. e., from March, 1947 to August, 1947. In other districts of the present province of West Punjab (Pakistan) and in these above-mentioned districts, immediately before and after August, 1947 the situation became one of mass killing of Hindus and Sikhs and of abduction of their women-folk, looting of their property and burning of alien, houses.

Lahore town, in which most part of the attacks on Hindus and Sikhs took place in this pre-partition period, had a large majority of Muslim population, though it had large non-Muslim property, industry, educational and cultural effort centred in it.

The district of Amritsar, in which Hindus and Sikhs received, outside Western Punjab, the severest punishment at Muslim hands in the pre-partition period, had a slight non-Muslim majority in population. While the Muslim population of the district was 46.52%, the Hindus and Sikhs made up 51.46%. But the city of Amritsar itself was, in spite of its intimate Sikh associations, overwhelmingly Muslim in population, which was situated mostly quite deep along

the fringe of the city on all four sides. Its nearness to Lahore and the particularly close concert between it and the local Muslim police and officials made it very formidable indeed in the months from March to July, 1947.

Figures for Hazara district in the N.-W. F. P. have already been given in an earlier chapter. The other districts of the Frontier Province in which large-scale attacks on Hindus and Sikhs occurred are these, with their relative Muslim and non-Muslim percentage in population shown:

District	**Muslims**	**Hindus and Sikhs**
Peshawar	90.34	9.65
Kohat	91.99	8.1
Bannu	87.06	12.93
Mardan	95.46	4.52
Dera Ismail Khan	85.78	14.21

These districts were worse situated from the point of view of the harassed and beseiged Hindu and Sikh populations, even than the districts of the Rawalpindi Division in the Punjab. These Districts backed on the tribal Afghan territory, into which the Hindu and Sikh women and others could be easily kidnapped. Flight was impossible

for these unfortunate people either, for they were separated from the Hindu-Sikh areas of the Punjab by a very long belt of Muslim areas, through which no non-Muslim could travel with safety in those terrible months of anarchy in the Punjab.

ATTACKS BEGIN

Although the very first attacks occurred in Lahore and Amritsar on the 4th and 5th of March, 1947, yet in the latter of these cities the Hindus and Sikhs were numerically not overwhelmed by the Muslims. In Amritsar except in the initial stages Hindus and Sikhs put up a fight for safety of life and property, although this fight as it turned out, was unequal, with the Muslim police and officials going all-out to back up the Muslim assailants. In Lahore, there were 433,170 Muslims against 177,212 Hindus and only 34,021 Sikhs. But the worst carriage and destruction came in the Western districts- Multan, Rawalpindi, Campbellpur, Jhelum and Sargodha where right from the 5th March the League-led Muslim mobs fell with determination and full preparations on the helpless Hindus and Sikhs scattered in the villages, at the rate usually of a few Hindu and/or Sikh homes in the midst of a large Muslim population. That the Muslim League Action against Hindus and Sikhs was planned, is shown by several undeniable factors, the logic of which is unescapable. These are:

(a) These attacks began in the several districts mentioned above, as well as in Lahore and Amritsar, at almost the same time, as if the League forces were waiting only for a signal, for a word of command or a psychological moment to begin their work of bringing the Punjab under the heel of a Muslim League government.

(b) These attacks were open, unchecked and of the nature of a thorough extermination-the methods being everywhere uniform, such as stabbing, arson and the humiliations inflicted in forcibly converting the men and dishonouring the women of the minorities.

(c) These attacks all occurred in the heavy Muslim-majority districts, and in the cities of Lahore, Amritsar, Ludhiana and Jullundur with their large Muslim populations. This was in the initial stages. In the somewhat later stages, such as a month after the beginning of these attacks, it was again the districts in which the Muslim majority was slightly smaller, though still very large, such as Gujrat, Gujranwala and Sialkot that these attacks began. No attacks on the part of Hindus and Sikhs on Muslims by way of reprisals or retaliation occurred in the non-Muslim majority districts during, all the months up till August, 1947. Those districts, with the exception only of Gurgaon, in which too the aggressors were the Muslim Meos, remained quiet, and the non-Muslims, perturbed as they deelpy were over what was happening in West Punjab, remained on the whole peaceful.

(d) As a corollary to the above, in the period up till August, 1947 there were about a million Hindu and Sikh refugees from the Western districts of the Punjab, from the North-Western Frontier Province, from Baluchistan and the devastated city of Lahore, besides Amritsar, who had to be looked after in refugee camps by the Punjab Government, by the Sikh States of the Punjab and by bodies like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. There were very few Muslim refugees anywhere in this period. Such few as there were, came mainly from Amritsar, where alone up till August, the Hindus and Sikhs had been able to put up anything like a fight for life against Muslim aggression.

(e) The Muslims gave further evidence of plan and preparation in their aggression in respect of the following features of their action: (i) They were well supplied with arms, such as daggers, swords, spears and even fire-arms. (ii) They had bands of stabbers and their auxiliaries, who covered the assailant, ambushed the victim and if necessary disposed of his body. These bands were subsidized by the Muslim League, and in many cases cash payments were made to individual assassins on the number of Hindus and Sikhs bagged. There were also regular patrolling parties in jeeps which went about sniping and picking off any stray Hindu or Sikh (This was a feature mainly of the cities of Lahore and Amritsar). (iii) Petrol was in plentiful supply with the Muslim aggressors everywhere-both for purposes of transport and for quick arson. This must have taken

some time to be collected in such huge quantities. (iv) The concert between the Leaguers of a place and their opposites of other places and the Muslim police and authorities everywhere, was remarkable. Till non-Muslim military appeared on the scene, there was no relief at all for Hindus and Sikhs, as the Muslim police never took action against the Muslim aggressors. (v) In towns like Amritsar, where the earliest attacks occurred, even before any Hindu or Sikh was thinking that fighting would take place, the Muslims were fully prepared for the offensive. For example, they had distributed among their own folk all the available sword-blades in Amritsar. On Muslim shops had been written in prominent lettering Muslim Shop in Urdu to protect these shops from planned arson And there was other unmistakable evidence of this, which will be mentioned when we came to narrate the incidents connected with Amritsar.

RAWALPINDI DIVISION

The attack came swiftly and over a vast area in the Rawalpindi Division, in which as has been shown in the table given before, the Muslim population in every district is over 80% and in some is well above 90%. In Rawalpindi town itself it appears the Hindu and Sikhs were well-organized and well-armed, and when the Muslims attacked them, they lilt back and drove away their assailants with some casualties. This beating taught the Muslims of this town a salutary lesson, and although the Hindus and Sikhs had for long to

bear a state of seige, yet they were not murdered and pillaged on the scale on which this occurred in the unprotected and unarmed country-side, where it was general massacre of Hindus and Sikhs, especially of the latter.

On the 5th March, 1947 on hearing of the Ailing on the Hindu and Sikh students of Lahore, the Hindu-Sikh students of Rawalpindi took out a procession protesting against the Muslim attempt at the formation of a communal (Muslim League) Ministry in the Punjab, and the police firing on the non-violent procession of Hindu and Sikh students. This procession was attacked by the Muslim Leaguers. There was a free fight in which the Muslims got the worst of it. Then a huge Muslim mob from the countryside, incited for attack on Hindu and Sikhs by the Pir of Golra, a Muslim religious head and a leader of this area, fell upon the town. But the Hindus and Sikhs fought them from their mohallas in trenches, and the Muslims again lost in this battle. The suburbs of Rawalpindi, however, were burnt and sacked, as resistance in them could not be effective. Nine Hindus and Sikhs were murdered treacherously by Muslims in Lal Kurti Mohalla, after being decoyed into entering the Muslim Zone for peace negotiations. This was not a solitary instance of such murder done by treachery, as similar things occurred in other places too, both in March and in the post partition period.

In the rural areas of Rawalpindi, however, it was a case of mass attack by Muslims, and a general massacre of Hindus and Sikhs. That this description is not an exaggeration or an attempt at painting a lurid picture, is fully borne out by the tables of incidents attached to this booklet in the form of Appendices. The Muslims many hundreds of times made up in the rural areas the set-back they had received in Rawalpindi town itself. Here, on a scale much larger than Noakhali, in an area many times more extensive, and involving a population many times that of Noakhali and Tipperah, the Muslim League, anxious now to convert the Punjab into a Muslim League-governed Province, carried fire and sword into all areas of the Rawalpindi Division. Here was the answer to the query made by a British newspaper about the aims of Jinnah: Does he want to plunge his country into a religious war? And the answer most emphatically was, Yes. It was to be a religio-political-war, in which the Punjab was to be made safe at all costs for a Muslim League Government, which should receive power, in June, 1948 from the British Government.

The attack in Rawalpindi villages began on the 7th March, 1947, and continued non-stop or weeks together, in village after village, wherever any Hindus and Sikhs were to be found. When one sub-area was rid of its Hindu and Sikh inhabitants then the war on Hindus and Sikhs spread to another area, and so on, till by the end of March, the surviving Hindu and Sikh populations of Rawalpindi, Campbellpur and Jhelum Districts had all been transferred in a

destitute state into refugee camps, which were established all over the Punjab, the Sikh states and even the U.P. In the larger towns of this areas there were still Hindus and Sikhs, but they were living in a state of seige, and could not stir out of their homes, much less travel or otherwise move about.

In 128 villages of Rawalpindi district, which were attacked over a period of several days, beginning from March 7, 1947, 7,000 Hindus and Sikhs have been enumerated in reports as killed. All casualties have not in some cases been traced or registered. The number of those wounded has been large too, though when these attacks were made, little mercy was shown by the assailants and they made a very thorough work of finishing of those who fell into their hands. Besides those killed and wounded about 1,000 Hindu and Sikh women were abducted, who were raped and dishonoured in a manner which would shame anyone with the least trace of civilization or religion in him. Women were raped in the presence of their husbands, brothers, fathers and sons. Later they were distributed among the Muslims to be kept as concubines or were forcibly married. A large number were carried into the tribal territory, and became untraceable. In almost all cases houses were burnt and property was looted. Quite often Gurdwaras were burnt down and the Sikh Scripture, Sri Guru Granth Sahib. torn or otherwise desecrated. In most of these villages the method followed by the Muslims to loot and kill the Hindu and Sikh populations was cynically

treacherous. A village would be surrounded; messages would be sent to the Hindus and Sikhs to buy off the invaders with so such money. This demand would be complied with. But the invaders would still be there; and one night would open the attack on the small non-Muslim population of the place, and put as many to the sword as could not escape or as could be killed before military help arrived for succour, which, however in those lawless days was not very often.

The invaders marched on to their attacks fearlessly and openly, with drums beating and with a large display of firearms, sometimes even modem automatic weapons. In the newspapers of the period appeared photographs taken of these marching hordes with plenty of rifles carried on the shoulders of the assailants. It is strange, however, that the valiant fliers in these planes were content only with photographing these invaders and did precious little to fire on them, and thus save the lives of the thousands of helpless men, women and children on whom these invaders loosed hell.

Forcible conversion was the other alternative to death for a non-Muslim. The ultimatum was given to the population of a village either to embrace Islam or to face death. Most Hindus and Sikhs preferred death to the shameful surrender of faith, and died, sometimes fighting and at other times with great tortures, at the hands of the sadist religious zealots of the Muslim League. Such

women as could not be abducted or dishonoured, generally escaped this shame by immolating themselves. Thoha Khalsa village, of which an account will follow, is a classic example of such sacrifice of life on the part of 93 Sikh women of that place. This, the best known incident of its kind, however, is not the only one. In scores of places, both during the March attacks and the post-partition attacks on Hindus and Sikhs, women immolated themselves to escape dishonour at the hands of the maddened and ferocious lusting Muslim mobs. Those who were forcibly converted were, if they were Sikhs, shaved off and circumcised; the Hindus too were circumcized, even the grown-ups. The women converts were generally given in marriage, if they were unmarried or widows, to Muslims, the *Nikah* ceremony being performed by some local Maulvi. A large number of such shaven Sikh converts to Islam arrived as refugees in March, 1947 in Amritsar, Patiala and other places, from Rawalpindi and the Frontier Province.

The assailants did not spare even little children. It was naked beastliness performing a devils dance. Children would be snatched from the hands of their parents, tossed on spears and swords, and sometimes thrown alive into the fire. Other cruelties equally horrible were perpetrated. Womens breasts, noses and arms would he lopped off. Sticks and pieces of iron would be thrust into their private parts. Sometimes the bellies of pregnant women were ripped open and the unformed life in the womb thrown out. In some places

processions of naked Hindu and Sikh women are also reported to have been taken out by the Muslims mobs.

A report on 23 villages of the Attock district reveals that in these villages a total of 610 Hindus and Sikhs were killed within about ten days from March 7, 1947. In these same villages 1656 Hindu and Sikh houses, including a number of Gurdwaras were burnt and destroyed; 1361 Hindu and Sikh houses were looted of all their property; 1471 Hindus arid Sikhs, both men arid women, were forcibly converted to Islam, and about 100 women and children were abducted.

In the village of Duberan in Rawalpindi district not a single Sikh survived from its total population of one and a half thousands. 70 women were abducted. The burning and looting of this prosperous village, where such carnage took place, can only be imagined.

In the village of Tarlai in Rawalpindi District more than 100 Sikhs were killed, and these included women and children. 15 were forcibly converted to Islam. All houses were looted.

In *Chaklala and Rata Amral*, Suburbs of Rawalpindi, Sikhs were attacked on March 8, 1947. The residents held out for a day and a night, but finding the odds against them overwhelming, they surrendered. A large number were killed, while others were forcibly converted, and shaved and circumcised in public.

Maddened with the zeal for exterminating the Kafirs and making room for the establishment of an Islamic State in Northern India, the League-led Muslim mobs combed hundreds of villages as has already been related above, in the Rawalpindi District.

In Bhagpur the entire Sikh population was wiped out. Women and children were not spared. The Gurdwara was burnt.

In Bewal, 400 Hindus and Sikhs who had taken shelter in a Gurdwara were burnt alive by the Gurdwara being set on fire.

In Thamali Khari, 400 Sikhs were killed, and one Gurdwara and one school building were burnt to cinders. Only 20 out of its population survived.

In the village of Nakrali about two dozen Sikhs were killed and some women immolated themselves to escape dishonour at the hands of the invading Muslims. 40 Sikhs were forcibly converted. The Gurdwara was looted and burnt.

In the village of Mughal 141 Sikhs were killed, and only about a dozen survived out of its population. The Gurdwara was burnt.

In Thoha Khalsa, on March 12, 1947 after long and heroic resistance, 200 Sikhs were killed. The women were asked to embrace Islam, but 93 of them, old and young, decided to escape

dishonour by drowning themselves in a well, which they did. The Muslim invaders, aghast at this tragedy, fled from the place. A little later, the military arrived and rescued the survivors. (See a fuller account of this happening in Appendix).

In the village of Sayad, well-known for its educational and philanthropic effort, about 30 Sikhs were killed. Some were forcibly converted. The Gurdwara of the place was burnt.

In the village of Adiala, on March 8, 1947 Muslim mobs collected by beat of drum in broad day-light. The invaders raised a false alarm of a Sikh attack on themselves, and on this pretext, fell to looting the Hindu and Sikh quarters, which they did extensively. Hindus and Sikhs were ferreted out, and were burnt alive, stabbed or shot dead. The number of those killed was above a hundred. 40 were forcibly converted. The Muslim police watched the whole of this carnage going on, and did just nothing about it.

The village of Gorsian in Gujarkhan Tehsil was attacked by a mob of 600, who had been persuaded by the Muslim League Mullas that it is a holy deed to kill Hindus and Sikhs. Several Sikhs were killed in this village, and large-scale looting occurred.

In most cases in these villages a stop was put to the depredations of the Muslim mobs only by the somewhat belated arrival of the military.

In Mandra the attack came on March 9. There was large-scale looting and burning of houses and shops of Hindus and Sikhs. 200 Sikhs were killed; 40 others were missing, and were probably killed while fleeing for life. The Gurdwara and School were burnt.

In Kahuta, on March 8, 60 Sikhs were killed and Sikh and Hindu houses were extensively looted. 500 women were abducted from this village. The Gurdwara was burnt.

Burning of Gurdwaras and Schools, wherever situated appears to have been a settled part of the plan of these predatory mobs, bent upon exterminating and failing that, humiliating Sikhs and Hindus.

In Sukho, where stiff resistance was put up by Sikhs one girls school and one Gurdwara were burnt. In Daultala too, very stiff resistance was put up by Sikhs.

In Tainch and Harnali about two dozen Sikhs were killed and brutalities committed in the latter place. About 30 women were abducted from these places and the Gurdwaras were burnt. In Harial about 20 Sikhs were killed and 40 were abducted. The Gurdwara was burnt.

This last is Master Tara Singhs home place. Masterjis house were razed to the ground with sadistic vengeance, the site struck with shoes and ploughed over.

In Bamali, on March 8, about 80 Sikhs were killed and more than 105 were abducted. Some Sikhs in this village killed their womenfolk to save them from certain dishonour at the hands of the Muslim invaders. In Banda 20 were killed, including women and children. The Gurdwara here too was burnt.

In Machhian, on March 11, 1947, 200 Sikhs were killed which number was all the males in the village. The women and children were all abducted and were later rescued by the military. The Gurdwara was burnt.

Narali was attacked by a mob of 15,000 on March 12. The Hindus and Sikhs took shelter inside the Gurdwara, from where they put up stiff resistance. Several Hindus and Sikhs were killed, and large scale looting of houses of Hindus and Sikhs occurred.

Murree, a very popular hill station near Rawalpindi was attacked on the 9th March, 1947 and about 150 bunglows belonging to Hindus and Sikhs were looted and then burnt.

At Nara, in the tehsil of Kahuta, Sikh women and children were burnt alive, and the women were tortured in ways most devilishly ingenious and sadistic, which it is not possible for any decent human being to describe.

Such barbarities and widespread murderous attacks occurred simultaneously and on the same scale in districts in the neighbourhood of Rawalpindi, such as Campbellpur, Jhelum and Sargodha. As has been pointed out, all these districts were overwhelmingly Muslim in population. Similar things occurred in the District of Gujrat, bordering on Jhelum.

In the village of Sarkal Kaser in Jhelum district, on and after March 7, 43 Hindus and Sikhs were killed, the survivors were forcibly converted and all Hindu and Sikh houses were burnt. Prominent among other villages burnt and looted, with their Hindu and Sikh inhabitants killed in large numbers or forcibly converted and driven as destitutes from their homes are: Darwal, Narang, Chak Sewak, Bhagwal, Athwal, Tahar, Sahota, Mangwal, Thanel Fatuhi, Rupwal, Ranjha, Dhanogi, Ghugg etc. In the last named, as many as 128 Sikhs were killed and 40 women were abducted. Looting and arson in Hindu-Sikh houses occurred on a large scale. In Jia Bagha 18 Sikhs were killed and 52 were forcibly converted. 66 Sikhs houses were burnt.

Dhudial is a large village in Jhelum district, with several gurdwaras, a High School and a bank. It was attacked on March 12. The first attack was resisted by the Sikhs, who were a well organised and substantial community. The second attack, made on the evening of March 13, was much more severe. Large scale arson

and looting of Sikh houses occurred. About a dozen Sikhs were killed. Besides three-fourth of the houses in the village, 4 Gurdwaras, the Iran-Hind Bank and the Khalsa High School were burnt. Only the arrival of the military on the scene stopped further destruction. 14 other villages in the neighbourhood of Dhudial were looted with murder and arson. Altogether the Chakwal Tehsil of Jhelum District was over-run.

On March 7, the Frontier Mail was stopped by a Muslim mob at Taxila Railway Station, in Rawalpindi district. Hindu and Sikh passengers, especially the latter, were pulled out and 22 dead bodies were left on the platform.

About the same time, be it noted, another Muslim mob killed Hindu and Sikh passengers in a train while it was held up outside Sharifpura, a suburb of Amritsar. Train hold-ups and killing of Hindu and Sikh passengers was a regular feature of the Muslim League plan of action, as various incidents from March, right up till January, 1948 show.

Cambellpur witnessed atrocities on Hindus and Sikhs, even much worse and on a larger scale. In Rajar, in Tehsil Fatehjung of the Cambellpur district on March 10, the Muslim mob which attacked was armed with rifles. In this attack 300 Sikhs were killed and 3 Gurdwaras were burnt and the Sikh Scripture was desecrated. In

this place, 116 Sikhs including women and children there coasted alive inside a Gurdwara. 95 women were abducted and forcibly married to Muslims. All Sikh houses were burnt and looted.

In the villages Pand and Tali Pandi in this District on March 9, Sikh houses were looted and burnt on a large scale. An ultimatum was given to Sikhs to embrace Islam and a large number were forcibly converted. Such of the Sikhs as did not get converted, were brutally done to death, and these included old women and children. Some were also burnt alive. In the village of Jhan, the entire Hindu and Sikh population was wiped out. In Parial, 150 Hindus and Sikhs out of its total population of 160 were burnt alive while they were taking shelter in the Gurdwara. In the villages of Chakri and Dheri, Sikhs fought against overwhelming numbers and many were killed.

In Jand, Kanat and Basal, in Campbellpur district there was large-scale arson and heavy casualties among Hindus and Sikhs. Numerous piteous appeals were sent by the panic-stricken inhabitants to the authorities, but seldom did such appeals help in saving those who made them. Appeals from beleaguered Sikhs bespeaking the last extremity of despair and expressing any hope of preservation only from God, the Preserver of all, were received from these various areas in the office of the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee at Amritsar, which however, was utterly

helpless in this situation in which only a strong Government, determined to stop lawlessness ruthlessly could be of any help.

In Cambellpur lawlessness was of an especially serious nature. In the village of Dheri, on March 8, the attack was made by a large mob which advanced with drums beating. A very large number of Sikhs, among whom were women and children, were killed. Such dastardliness which spared neither sex nor age was a regular feature of this Muslim League campaign of extermination of Sikhs and Hindus. Various kinds of brutalities were committed. Hindus and Sikhs who were converted, were forced to swallow beef.

Everywhere in Campbellpur District, there appears to have been no law or Government in these days. The Muslim police abetted and aided the assailants of Hindus and Sikhs. The Muslim mobs everywhere advanced with drums beating and with the Muslim League flag flying. Raping of women, forcible conversions, torturing of men and women were freely indulged in besides burning and looting. Gurdwaras were burnt and desecrated. In Chauntra all Sikhs were forcibly converted, and their womenfolk given over to Muslims. Later a plot was hatched by Muslims to kill all these Hindus and Sikhs, notwithstanding their recent conversion. This plot got somehow known to the intended victims, and they managed to get military aid sometime before they could be done to death.

On March 12, there was a two-hour battle between the Muslim rioters on the one hand and police and military on the other at Jand in Tehsil Pindigheb in Campbellpur district.

On the 12th March, a mob of 10,000 Muslims advanced upon Mianwali. It was only the tact and firmness of the district authorities which averted the fate of the neighbouring areas befalling the Hindus and Sikhs of this town.

On March 11, the town of Tandlianwala, in Lyallpore district and an important trading centre, was attacked by a huge Muslim mob, bent upon loot, arson and the murder of Hindus and Sikhs. Here again it was the courage displayed by Hindus and Sikhs and the firmness of the authorities which saved this town. So widespread over the Punjab was this Muslim League campaign of beating the minorities into submission.

On March 9, in the words of *The Civil bind Military Gazette* report an armed mob (of Muslims) from rural areas raided Hazro Bazar, 12 miles from Cambellpur and committed arson and loot on a large scale. Six persons were killed and two injured. The number of casualties is a gross understatement, as all such estimates given in official and quasi-official reports in those days were later proved to be.

In Khusab (Sargodha district) on March 14, Hindu shops, houses and temples were looted and burned. There was huge loss of property. A similar situation was developing in Sargodha, Bhera and Bhalwal.

A remote village, Chajian in Hazara district, where attacks on Hindus and Sikhs were made in December, 1946 and January 1947, was attacked on March 15. Hindus and Sikhs had to be evacuated to places of safety. In Peshawar Hindus and Sikhs were beleagured. Muzaffargarh, a district in Multan Division, and Montgomery, in Lahore Division, both Muslim majority districts, showed signs in these days of attacks on Hindus and Sikhs brewing.

It was significant that during this period there had been no disturbance on the part of Hindus and Sikhs in any of the non-Muslim majority districts. In Jullundur and Ludhiana towns trouble was made by Muslims, who were in a majority of 70% in each of these towns-Sikhs were in. a majority in the rural areas of Ludhiana District, and were a powerful factor in both rural Jullundur and Ferozepore. Yet no reports were received of any disturbances from these areas.

Rawalpindi Division was ablaze. Its rural Hindu and Sikh population was almost entirely in refugee camps. The biggest of these camps was at Wah, in Campbellpur District, and its population

was about 25,000. Another refugee camp, nearly as big, was situated at Kala, in Jhelum District. There were other refugee camps at smaller places. But most of the Hindus and Sikhs of this area had got so much panic-stricken that they preferred to leave this area altogether, and travelled east. The railway trains were full to capacity of destitute Hindu and Sikh refugees from places from Jhelum to Peshawar and other areas. They moved in search of shelter into the Sikh-Hindu majority districts of the Punjab, into the Punjab States, into the Jat States of Bharatpur, Dholpur, into Alwar, into Delhi and the U. P. Some moved even further east. Patiala State alone had, by April, as many as fifty thousand Sikh and Hindu refugees, who had to be fed, housed and clad, whose children had to be educated and who needed being settled in life again after being uprooted. Thousands of widows and orphans created a problem well-nigh insoluble in the face of the suddenness with which it had emerged. Destitutes were roaming every town and village of the Punjab east of Amritsar in search of food and shelter. Pitiable indeed was the condition of these people, who had become victims of an unprecedented kind of disaster. State Governments and private organizations like the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress tried to do their best to relieve the distress of these unfortunates, but the task was gigantic. So, barring a microscopic minority of these uprooted people, who had means in the East Punjab, the others remained, practically speaking, destitutes for whom life held little hope. This

was the state to which the Muslim League campaign had reduced about at least ten lakhs of enterprising, useful human beings.

But the story of the terrible carnage wrought by the Muslim League campaign of conquest of the minorities is not yet even half told. The known number of casualties in Rawalpindi Division alone is about 7,000 killed. The number of those injured must be considerably higher. Not less than between four and five thousand women were abducted or dishonoured. Houses and shops burnt were thousands, while hundreds of Gurdwaras, Hindu temples and schools were burned or desecrated. Expressing his reaction to what he saw in Rawalpindi Division in these days, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then Vice-President of the Interim Government of India said that the deeds committed in -the Rawalpindi district would shame even beasts. J. A. Scott, Deputy Inspector-General of Police in the Rawalpindi range, in a statement to the Press, declared:

It is unbelievable that barbarous acts such as were committed on innocent people in rural areas of the Rawalpindi Division could be possible in the Punjab.

All these atrocities on Hindus and Sikhs brought no condemnation whatever from the Muslim League leaders. They either kept silent about them, or continued to trot out imaginary atrocities on Muslims. This not only encouraged the Muslim

goondas, but gave them the confidence that they could go on safely with the blessings of the League leaders. Defence Leagues of Muslim lawyers and others were set up to rescue from the clutches of the law murderers and beasts in human shape who had perpetrated unspeakable atrocities on innocent and defenceless human beings. The Muslim League Press continued to protest against the so-called police excesses in Founding up Muslim bad characters and criminals, against whom action in fact was inadequate and very much belated. Such action as was taken, came when the military appeared on the scene, and when the Punjab Government decided a little to modify its disastrous policy of making the Punjab Police Department as entirely Muslim preserve.

In Multan attacks of a most destructive nature began on the 5th March, the day on which the Muslim League had decided to unleash its offensive in the Punjab. In violence, speed and the extent of destruction wrought this Multan campaign was in no way less than its Rawalpindi parallel. In both areas Hindus and Sikhs were in a small minority, and the Muslim population very inflammable. In Multan city itself the attack came on the 5th March. A procession of Hindu and Sikh students which was taken out to demonstrate against the formation of a communal Muslim League ministry in the Punjab, was suddenly and brutally attacked by a Muslim mob, with the help of the Police. Many of the students who were in this procession were killed. Then this mob fell upon Hindu and Sikh

quarters of the town. A modest estimate places the number of Hindu and Sikhs killed on the first day at 300 and those injured at 500. The Muslim mob was led by a Sayad or Muslim holy man, reputedly a descendant of the Prophet of Islam, on a white charger, inspiring the faithful with the destruction of Kafirs. The police were watching all this and moved not their little finger to stop what could be stopped with firm action in a short space of time. So virulent had been the Muslim League propaganda, and such the fury into which the League had whipped the Muslim temper, that the mob did not even spare Hindu and Sikh patients in the T.-B. Hospital. Whole families were done to death, and on the least suspicion of being a non-Muslim a man was killed. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, was on that fateful night a guest in the house of Seth Kalyan Das of Multan. Dr. Kitchlews host and his entire family were butchered and the Doctor escaped death only on his proving to his assailants satisfaction that he was a Muslim. Hindu shops were looted and burned on a large scale. More than a dozen Sikh and Hindu holy places were also burned and desecrated: Eight factories belonging to Hindus were looted and destroyed by fire. Hindu and Sikh quarters were burned to cinders.

The trouble spread to the countryside of Multan simultaneously. Police lorries, which moved to and fro ostensibly for the relief of sufferers, were really employed to carry Muslim goondas into the countryside. In Shujabad Tehsil of Multan, an attack was made on

March 7 on the Hindus of village Aliwala. Large-scale murder of Hindus occurred. Simultaneously Hindus of the villages of Chhajjushah, Mochipura and Bhojewala were also attacked. All this was done in village after village after the Muslims had given assurances of safety on the Koran to Hindus. Hindu women were molested and abducted. Altogether 50 villages in this tehsil were looted with arson, murder and abduction of women. Ears, noses and breasts of women were cut off, and they were raped in the presence of their husbands, brothers, fathers and sons. Such Hindus as approached Muslims with messages of peace were brutally and cynically murdered by these League gangs. Forcible conversions of Hindus occurred on a large scale. It is estimated that Hindus were wiped out in this district over an area of about 500 square miles. Some of the prominent villages in which this destruction occurred are these: Traggar, Matoth, Basti Ahir, Jhakkar, Birkhi, Lashkriwala and Shurewan.

In Lahore, attacks on Hindus and Sikhs started even a day earlier than they did in Multan, that is on the 4th March. Hindu and Sikh students took out a procession, protesting against the attempt to foist a purely communal, Muslim League Ministry on the Punjab. The police and officials had watched the progress of the Muslim League agitation of January-February, 1947 for 34 days. On the whole, as has been pointed out above, this agitation was dealt with in a most soft and even inadequate manner by the police, so that from being

an agitation unattended by acts of violence, this agitation soon became violent in nature. It was at no time, not even at its inception, non-violent in the sense in which the struggles of the Congress had been non-violent, for foul and vituperative abuse, provocative anti-Hindu-and-Sikh slogans, forcing non-Muslims to join the Muslim agitators, etc. had been resorted to by the League agitators as a matter of course. But all through the police contended themselves with effecting temporary arrests of the League leaders, with now and then tear-gassing the League processions and. such other mild measures. Only when the police were themselves attacked, did there occur lathi-beating and firing. All this was because the police and the civil officials had Muslim League sympathies and they were in fact, completely demoralised. Fair and impartial administration of justice could not be looked for from them. They wanted to create an atmosphere favourable for the establishment of Pakistan in the Punjab, and allowed the Muslim League agitation, which was in fact intended to usher in a Muslim League Ministry, the precursor of Pakistan. to grow more and more irresistible.

The conduct of the police at once changed even on the first day when the Hindus and Sikhs took out a procession in protest against the attempt at foisting Pakistan on the Punjab. The procession of Hindu and Sikh students was perfectly nonviolent. It only raised slogans, but these were in no way against Muslims as such. There was no evidence that this agitation would either grow violent or hold

within itself any potentialities detrimental to peace. It was constitutional agitation. Yet the police fired on this procession and several students were killed; many were injured. This was, in the words of the Sikh leader Giani Kartar Singh an attempt to crush, appositive to Pakistan with police aid. He further declared, The police did not fire in Lahore for a single day during all the 34 days of Muslim League agitation. It is amazing they could not tolerate our meetings for a single day.

That in crushing the Hindu-Sikh opposition to the attempted formation of establishing Muslim League *raj* in the Punjab, the police were acting with excessive zeal and initiative born of their pro-League bias, is shown by the statement issued by the non-Muslim ministers in the Coalition Ministry, which resigned on the 2nd March, and which ceased even to function under protest on the 4th. This statement clearly shows that the police and the authorities were not taking their directions from the Government which was still supposed to function, but were acting as an army of the Muslim League. Said the non-Muslim Ministers in their letter of March 4 (evening) in a statement to the Press:

We had agreed to continue with the Premier in his caretaker Government according to the usual conventions, but the firings and disturbances, which occurred in Lahore, on Thursday[1] resulting in many casualties, have compelled us to tender our resignations to the

Premier, since we feel that we are no longer in a position to take complete responsibility for the situation.

While on the one side the police were trying to crush and cow down the Hindus and Sikhs, and put an end to the opposition to the establishment of Pakistan, on the other, the Muslim population of Lahore, for months and months prepared for an attack on Hindus and Sikhs. This was kept in check so far only by the known stern determination of the Coalition Government to put down rioting with a firm hand. Arms of all kinds, petrol and other incendiaries, helmets and even jeeps had been collected and stored by the Muslims for some time. They were being kept against their need for such opportune time as presented itself on March 4 and after, when an all-out many-pronged assault was to he delivered on Hindus and Sikhs in all such districts in the Punjab, where the League was in a situation favourable for a successful fight. So, Muslim goondas fell upon a Hindu-Sikh procession in Chowk Matti, inside the walled city and adjoining the passage to Mochi Gate, a large and thickly-populated Muslim quarter of the town. Police separated the parties. The town was placed under curfew. The Muslims then took to stabbing and assaulting of stray Hindus and Sikhs and to setting fire to Hindu and Sikh houses and buildings. For this kind of warfare they had long been trained. Stabbing had been one of the items in which Muslims, whether members of the Muslim National Guards or not, had been given special training, as the facsimile of the certificate

given earlier will show. For efficient arson they had collected petrol and other incendiaries, which were pumped into a building, and over the sprayed woodwork a piece of burning cotton or other flaming object thrown. In a few minutes the whole place would catch fire, and the entrapped inmates would either be burnt alive, or would be killed by the Muslims who would be waiting outside to pounce upon them as they struggled out of the flames. Before this, in Calcutta and other towns Muslim Leaguers had tried this method of warfare. It left the Hindus and Sikhs aghast, as they were not provided with the means of defence against such a total war of extermination. With the police planning with, aiding and shielding the Muslim League goondas, Hindus and Sikhs felt the situation becoming desperate for them.

Stabbing and waylaying of Hindus and Sikhs became a common occurrence during these days. Hindus and Sikhs going about singly or even in small groups were almost certain to be stabbed to death. In tongas, in buses and even at the Railway Station they were not safe, for Muslims would be lurking with daggers concealed on them, which they could use skilfully and with fatal effect. There is not a doubt that hired Muslim assassins went about Lahore, (and other towns, like Amritsar) charged with the task of murdering Hindus and Sikhs on payment. These rings of assassins were financed by the big ones of the League. Sometimes when such assassins were caught they confessed to being in the pay of the Muslim League

leaders. One assailant, arrested some time later on the Mall near the Charing Cross, said to the crowd:

Please inform Begum Shah Nawaz that I have been arrested and ask her to help me to be released (*Begam Shah Nawaz ko meharbani kar ke ittlah dena ki main griftar ho gaya hun, koshish har ke muihe chhuraen*.)

That the existence of such a ring of assassins and their financiers is not a myth or figment of the imagination, but is based on authentic proof, is also supported by disclosure made in the leading article of the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore; dated June 18, 1947-three and a half months after the campaign of extermination of Hindu and Sikh minorities had been launched by the Muslim League in the Punjab. (For this see Appendix).

The incidents which occurred in Lahore from March onwards are illustrative of the sort of campaign the Muslim League was carrying on, and the widespread plot of extermination made And put into execution against Hindus and Sikhs.

A Sikh was standing at a milk-shop, buying milk. He was stabbed while standing there and killed. A Hindu was going on a bicycle. He was stopped on the road by a group of Muslims, asked to prove whether he was Hindu or Muslim, and on it being ascertained that he

was a Hindu, he was put on the road, and his throat cut with slow torture like an animal slaughtered in the Muslim way.

A Sikh was coming from Court, where he was a clerk. As he passed through a Muslim lane in Mozang, some Muslims fell upon him and finished him on the spot.

Darshan Singh, a Sikh, came out of his house to buy vegetables in Mewa Mandi. Several Muslims fell upon and fatally assaulted him. His dying declaration revealed that Mian Jalaluddin, a Corporation councillor of Lahore, was directing his murderers.

A Hindu tangawala was found murdered in his tonga on Empress Road.

Muslims in jeeps would prowl along Lahore roads, and would snipe at or stab stray Hindus or Sikhs. Such incidents occurred on Ravi Road, near the Canal, on Jail Road and Ferozepore Road.

As the month advanced, the tempo of Muslim attack on Hindus and Sikhs also increased. In March and April these attacks remained confined to stabbings and stray burning of houses. The Muslim Leaguers were feeling their way. After the elimination of minorities had been effected to a great extent in the Rawalpindi Division and in parts of the Multan Division, and a large part of Amritsar had been devastated, it was decided by the Muslim

Leaguers to drive Hindus and Sikhs out of Lahore by methods of large-scale murder, loot and arson, for which the police was very willing accomplice. The conduct of the Muslim police and magistracy during this period shows a bold and determined partisanship with the Muslim League rioters in their campaign of crime. This was noticed in the case of M. G. Cheema, a Lahore Magistrate, who abetted and got completed the ruin of a large and populous Hindu-Sikh part of the walled city of Lahore.

In May the attack on Hindus and Sikhs assumed very large proportions. Regular burning, murder and pillage started. On May 18, the Muslims of Mozang, a high Muslim majority area of Lahore attacked the Hindu and Sikh inhabitants. The Muslim mob is said to have been ten thousand and was supplied with rifles which report speaks of as having come from the armoury of the police station of Mozang, through the courtesy of the Muslim Sub-Inspector. The arms thus loaned were to be returned after use. Several Hindu and Sikh buildings were set on fire, and moving about in the Mozang area became extremely risky for any Hindu or Sikh.

On the same day, bungalows of Hindus and Sikhs, situated opposite the Sikh National College on Grand Trunk Road, were set on fire. So were the huts of Hindu labourers in this area. One Hindu temple was burned inside the Masti Gali area. Hindu houses were set on fire inside Akbari Mandi and Kucha Patpatian. A non-Muslim

was killed near Shahi Mohalla (a thickly populated Muslim zone, close to the Shahi Masjid) and his dead body was set on fire with petrol sprinkled on it.

Muslims of Baghbanpura, a Muslim suburb of Lahore near Shalimar Gardens on the road leading to Amritsar, attacked their neighbouring non-Muslim areas, Singhpura and Bharat Nagar. In the former place, which was inhabited by Sikhs mostly, several mob attacks were made, and Sikhs killed with rifle fire and houses set on fire. In Bharat Nagar several Hindu houses were burned and people venturing out of their houses were stabbed. The Punjab Government was compelled to impose a collective fine of two lakh rupees on Baghbanpura Muslims for their continued aggressive behaviour towards non-Muslims.

The announcement of the Mountbatten Plan on June 3, 1947 which conceded Pakistan and made its coming into existence on August 15, 1947 a dead certainty increased ten-fold the tempo-of attack on non-Muslims in Lahore. The Mountbatten Plan had provided for a boundary commission for the partition of the Punjab and of Bengal, should the non-Muslim legislators of either province demand partition. Considering the temper of the Muslims of these provinces, especially in the course of the year 1946 and 1947, ever since the Direct Action resolution of the Muslim League was passed on July 29, 1946 at Bombay, it was not likely that the non-Muslims of

these areas would like either province to go entirely into the proposed theocratic Muslim State of Pakistan. So, a vote for division in either case was expected-as a matter of fact, on the part of the non-Muslim legislators who in this matter fully carried out the wishes of the Hindus and Sikhs of the provinces concerned, it was known to be a foregone conclusion. The Boundary Commissions were appointed to demarcate the boundaries of the two provinces where in the event of a non-Muslim demand for partition, these provinces were to go into Pakistan and India respectively. The two commissions, which however had in Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a common chairman, were required to take into consideration, while fixing the boundaries, population and other factors. What these other factors were to be, was never precisely defined. It was thought that they would include historic and religious attachments, extraordinary economic interest and stake and no less inevitably the need for making a tenable, stable international boundary. Sikhs had a strong stake in the Montgomery, Lyallpur and Sheikhupura districts in which they had been pioneer colonists and had created unheard of prosperity through sheer dint of labour and unexampled force of hardihood and character. So, they expected that these districts, or anyway such portions of them as had a concentration of Sikh interest, would be decided to be allotted to India. The Sikhs had a further deep interest in Nankana Sahib, which is the birthplace of Sri Guru Nanak Dev, founder of Sikhism and is situated in the heart of Sheikhupura district. The Hindus of the Punjab had quite as heavy

an economic stake in these districts as the Sikhs, and more so even in Lahore, which town owed almost its entire wealth, industry, educational enterprise, and importance to the vast effort the Hindus had been expending for generations in building it up. Sikh enterprise in developing Lahore was second only to the Hindu-the Muslims there being backward and unenterprising, consisting mostly of migratory seasonal labourers or petty hawkers. A large part of the Muslim population of Lahore lived on the verge of crime and other anti-social activities, and were a ready army in the hands of gangsters, rioters and now of the Muslim League fascists. The story of the allotment of the three above-named districts of Sheikhupura, Montgomery and Lyallpur besides Lahore to Pakistan is a tragic story, and is black and gross betrayal of- the Sikhs and Hindus into the hands of those who were planning to coerce, subdue and exterminate them. It is not strictly relevant to the purpose of this booklet to go into the details of this aspect of the history of the Punjab, or into the proceedings of the Punjab Boundary Commission, before which the Sikh and Hindu case was put by eminent lawyers with unanswerable force of logic. But it appears the British Government had made up their mind not to let Pakistan be a resourceless state, and so, regardless of the fate and future of the Sikhs, the above named areas were allotted to Pakistan. The award of the Boundary Commission, which in effect was the award of Sir Cyril Radcliffe was based on the population figures and any other factors did not enter at all into its determination. And so the Sikhs

were not only cut into twain, but their best lands and holiest shrines and perhaps the most enterprising portion of their population were thrown to the wolves.

The award of the Boundary Commission was made public on the 17th August, 1947. Speculation had been rife as to what the boundary was likely to be, ever since the announcement of the Mountbatten Plan on June 3. It appears the Muslims were determined that not only Lahore, but portions of the Amritsar, Jullundur and several other East Punjab Districts must come to Pakistan. They had perhaps a long-range plan as well, of which we got hints from the way the Muslims prepared for an attack on the Hindus and Sikhs of Delhi on the Punjab scale. That plan evidently was to create centres of Muslim disaffection and rebellion against the future Government of the Indian Dominion, and to prepare the way for occupation of the East Punjab, Delhi and whatever else might come into the bag, by Pakistan. With Kashmir thrown in, the empire of Pakistan on the western side would stretch from at least the Jumna westward. This was the ambitious Pakistan Plan.

In order to make such a plan a success, it was very essential that Hindus and Sikhs must be thoroughly beaten down and driven, as far as possible, from the Muslim zone, which was designed to spread as far cast as the Jumna. While the March-May attacks on Hindus and Sikhs had made Pakistan a reality in the terms of the

Mountbatten announcement, the attacks of June onwards had even a fuller purpose. This was to drive Hindus and Sikhs out of Lahore, Amritsar and other large towns by a campaign of murder and arson. So, the month of June saw a vigorous flare-up of the trouble in Lahore and Amritsar and the occurrence of attacks on Hindus and Sikhs in towns which had so far been more or less quiet, such as Gujranwala and Gujrat.

On June 13, 1947 Mozang which has already been mentioned as figuring prominently in March in attacks on Hindus and Sikhs, was a highly disturbed area. Many Hindu and Sikh houses and shops were burned. The situation deteriorated to such an extent that a curfew, lasting 60 hours had to be imposed on the area. In this area shots were fired on Hindu and Sikh houses from adjoining Muslim houses. The area of the fires was quite wide and spread over the different parts of Mozang, a locality roughly a mile square.

Destruction by arson appears to have been from now on the settled policy of the Muslim Leaguers in Lahore. The fate of Lahore still lay in the hands of the non-Muslim legislators, who were to meet on the 23rd June to decide on the partition or otherwise of the Punjab, and later in the hands of the Boundary Commission. But the Muslim. Leaguers wanted to drive all Hindus and Sikhs from Lahore. If Lahore came to Pakistan, it would have been a good riddance and action according to plan if Hindus and Sikhs were

made to vacate Lahore. It was calculated that the vast wealth accumulated by Hindus and Sikhs for generations in this magnificent city would fall into the hands of Muslims. If Lahore by any chance was allotted to India, it would have been a good thing to have destroyed this fine city, and to make a present of heaps of ashes and cinders to the new rulers of India on August 15, 1947. Such calculation and surging hate and malice appear to have directed the course of Muslim action in Lahore in the months from the beginning of June onwards. It is said also that the Muslim goondas of Lahore were put to shame by their compeers in Amritsar, who had done extremely well in murdering Hindus and Sikhs of that city and in reducing about a quarter of the town of Amritsar to ashes. In an interview to the Press Mr. Eustace, District Magistrate of Lahore revealed that the Muslim *goondas* of Amritsar sent, as a mark of sarcastic provocation churis (glass bangles) and mehndi (henna) to the *goondas* of Lahore, implying lack of manliness and feminity in them in not having done anything against Hindus and Sikhs. The Lahore goondas were evidently stung to the quick, and stirred their manliness not a little, by setting fire to a good part of the Hindu and Sikh localities of Lahore and letting loose on the city a campaign of stabbing and looting, which went on unimpeded with active police and official support.

On the 19th June while some non-Muslim workmen were proceeding to the Railway Workshop, a bomb was thrown at the

party, injuring several. Several cases of stabbing occurred in the Muslim areas of Brandreth Road, Bull Road, Barkatali Road, Circular Road and Railway Road. Stabbing of non-Muslims also took place inside Mochi Gate (a Muslim area). The area covered by Naulakha Police Station, a thickly populated Muslim area, commanding ingress and egress from the city as it is situated near the Railway Station and the general lorry stand, beside a number of important road junctions, became dangerously active, and had to be placed under 42-hour curfew. On this day occurred the widest and longest campaign of burning down Hindu and Sikh localities hitherto experienced in Lahore. Mohalla Jalotian Sanda Kalan, Kucha Moolomata, Chohatta Wasti Bhagat, Bazar Nauharian and several other localities saw buildings set ablaze. On the evening of 19th June as many as 22 fires could be seen raging in the city of Lahore. The fire-raisers had done their job with an efficiency and skill born of long training and possession of quick incendiary materials. Sprinkling of petrol with the help of stirrup pumps and then setting the whole place ablaze with a piece of cotton set alight or a burning rocket was the process employed. Here as elsewhere the victims, Hindus and Sikhs, whose houses and localities were thus set on fire, were totally helpless in fighting the fire, or retaliating on the Muslims in kind had they had the desire to do so.

The whole plan was well laid out by the League arson squads in conjunction with the police and officials. The area marked out was

generally made the scene of a few stabbing cases or brawls. It was then placed under curfew. As the administration of the curfew was in the hands of Muslim officials and police, Hindus and Sikhs naturally had to observe the provisions of the curfew order strictly. The least appearance of a Hindu or Sikh in the balcony of a house or above the projection of a wall, drew a shot from the police. Not so the Muslim *goondas*. They were allowed to move about freely. So, during curfew hours, under cover of the police who would keep the coast thoroughly clear, the Muslim miscreants set fire to Hindu and Sikh houses. This fire would spread quickly. Any Hindu and Sikh coming out of his house even to take steps to fight this fire was liable to be shot at for defiance of curfew rules. The police kept Hindus and Sikhs completely at bay. So, the choice open to the Lahore Hindus and Sikhs from June onwards was this:

They must either have their houses and house-hold effects burnt, and themselves along with these in the fire;

Or, they, must be shot down by the police in the attempt to extinguish the fires or to escape with their lives from their burning houses.

21st June dawned terrible and grim in Lahore, even more than the two previous days. On this day a bus was stopped by Muslim goondas outside Mochi Gate, a purely Muslim locality. Hindu and

Sikh passengers were pulled out, the Muslims being asked to stand in a separate line. The Muslim goondas on such occasions used the term chhatra (a sheep) or suer (pig) for the victims, and asked the drivers if they happened to be Muslims, to surrender their prey to them. 10 of these unhappy passengers were stabbed to death and left dead on the Circular Road. On this day the city, of Lahore, both walled and new, saw altogether 46 fires raging in it. In the walled city alone, a thickly populated area, concentrating a population of 3 lakhs in a square mile or so, 20 fires were burning in the Hindu and Sikh localities. Gurdwara Baoli Sahib inside Dabbi Bazar in the walled city was attempted to be burned, but was saved by the arrival of a military patrol.

On the 22nd June, the campaign of arson took a still more widespread and all-out form. On this day the town had as many as 69 fires burning in its different localities. Shahalmi Gate, the biggest and busiest trading centre of Lahore, almost entirely Hindu, was the spot selected for destruction by Muslims this time. To close down the trading areas inside this gate would mean paralysing almost the whole of Hindu business and means of sustenance, and would cause a general exodus f Hindus from Lahore. M. G. Cheema, the notorious magistrate who figured in a High Court enquiry for excesses against Hindus and Sikhs, directed this biggest so far destruction of non-Muslim property in Lahore. Several busy shopping centres, each commanding immense trade, were

completely gutted, the houses on both sides of the narrow streets having fallen and blocked the roads with debris. Hindus attempting to escape from the flames were repeatedly fired on by the police. Mohalla Sarin, Bazar Satthan, Pipal Virha etc., were some of the other localities which were destroyed by fire. Magistrate M. G. Cheema, instead of bringing any relief to the unfortunate Hindus and Sikhs of these localities only arrested the men-folk and subjected the women-folk to shameful, humiliating and most indecent treatment, which these unfortunate ladies narrated with tears in their eyes to Pt. Nehru, Vice-President of the Interim Government of India, when soon after he visited Lahore.

With the burning of a good part of Hindu Lahore, and repeated attempts at arson in Krishan Nagar, Chauburji and other areas, there began a general exodus of Hindus and Sikhs from Lahore. Every outgoing train was full of people whose houses, shops and places of business had been destroyed and who travelled east for places where to keep their families. Thus, already in June, on the heels of the Rawalpindi refugee problem, a new refugee problem, involving more than a lakh of people, emerged for the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab.

A party of Lahore journalists went round the city of Lahore after this terrible destruction. This is the pitiful sight they described:-

It was a pitiful sight when saw in the city on Thursday morning with a party of Pressmen. Houses once inhabited by happy families now stood there deserted, blackened and burnt out. Smoke was still coming out of many of them and the air was heavy with a bitter tang which irritated the eyes and nostrils.

Shahalmi Gate, once the main centre of provisions trade, has become a wreck.

A block of 250 houses and shops has been reduced to ashes and the main street is impassable with mounds of rubble still smouldering. In order to check the fire from spreading to the nearby houses the authorities have ordered the demolition of the burnt-out or half-burnt houses.

The party then visited Mozang which had suffered heavy destruction of property. Rows of houses have been burnt out leaving behind smoking rubble, charred bricks, and twisted girders. The houses in this area were mostly empty, for the occupants of the houses anticipating trouble ahead, had migrated to safer places. The demolition of the half-burnt houses and clearing of the debris was in progress.

Ichhra and Mozang are two nearly purely Muslim areas, the Hindu and Sikh populations in them being scattered and slight. Muslim goondas of these areas indulged in a continued and

widespread campaign of arson in Hindu and Sikh houses. On June 27, the police rounded up 11 such Muslim goondas. On this very day, a steel foundary and a firewood store, both belonging to non-Muslims, were set on fire.

Misri Shah is another thickly populated Muslim area, situated on the northern side of the railway track, beyond the railway station. This area saw an intensified campaign of loot, arson and murder let loose upon its non-Muslim population, on June 30. Arms were found or collected in Muslim houses on search being made. The burning of houses and stabbing of non-Muslims became so serious that the area and to be placed under a 72-hour curfew and to be cordoned off.

July was a month of violent and widespread attacks on Hindus and Sikhs in Lahore. The elimination and extermination of these minorities by the Muslims was proceeding apace now, and the field covered was coming to embrace more and new spheres of life and activity. Moghalpura Railway Workshop was one of the biggest of its kind in undivided Northern India, employing thousands of workers, Muslims as well as non-Muslims. The area is a Muslim majority area, with Baghbanpura, a suburb notorious for its attacks on non-Muslim life and property lying hardly a mile off. Early in July, during the lunch recess, a Muslim mob got into the workshop premises and stabbed to death a large number of Sikh and Hindu workers. A still

larger number were injured. The same evening a Hindu cycling home from Mughalpura area was waylaid on the road, and his throat cut by Muslims with slow torture like that of a goat slaughtered in Muslim fashion. On July 23, a special train which used to carry workers daily from Lahore to the Harbanspura workshop was stopped near Mughalpura Railway Station, and an attack made on the Hindus and Sikhs in it. The train had been held up by placing boulders across with track. In this attack eight Hindus and Sikhs are reported to have been killed and twelve injured. More casualties were averted as the engine-driver kept his nerve, removed the obstruction from the track and drove the train away. There were on this very day reported more than half a dozen cases of stabbing and shooting down of Hindus and Sikhs from the various Muslim localities of Lahore, such as Tibbi, Bhati Gate and Naulakha area. There were several cases of arson, the most serious being the burning down of a cinema house outside Bhati Gate, belonging to a Hindu.

On July 30, a train was attacked near Tangra, a station about 15 miles distant from Amritsar, and several passengers killed. Muslim Leaguers had made train hold-ups a very important part of their method of warfare on Hindus and Sikhs. A few days before a train was similarly attacked near Hoshiarpur. The Mughalpura train attack has been mentioned just above.

Several passengers were brutally murdered at Wazirabad station after which the Muslim assailants set fire to Hindu shops and business premises. The Wazirabad branches of the Punjab National Bank and the Lakshmi Commercial Bank were gutted after being looted. The cashier of the Punjab and Kashmir Bank was stabbed.

The bazar of Malakwal, a well-known mandi, was burnt. Trains were stopped at Alha, a wayside railway station, where several people were killed.

Three persons including a two-year old child were shot dead inside a house at Rawalpindi.

A major disaster on Chakwal line was averted by the police and through courage shown by an Anglo-Indian Railway Inspector, who was travelling in that train. A gang of about half a dozen hooligans, armed with sten-guns blocked the rail between Harnal and Mandra-Bhaun section of the N. W. Railway. Noticing that there were some non-Muslims in a particular compartment the inspector, who had a revolver, immediately came out of his compartment and returned the fire. The intruders thinking that military was accompanying the train, withdrew after killing two and injuring there. Several passengers were killed at Taxila Railway Station.

Footnotes:

[1] March 4, 1947.

5. NOTE ON ATTACK ON GURDWARA DEHRA SAHIB

Firing continued to be directed against the famous Dehra Sahib Gurdwara of Lahore, site of the martyrdom of Sri Guru Arjan Dev, fifth Guru of the Sikhs. This, in spite of the fact that this place is situated at a distance of hardly five yards from the Lahore Fort, Headquarters of the Additional Police and military pickets for the city. Water-taps supplying water to the Gurdwara estate were cut off, so that the inmates about 150 in number, should be left to die through sheer thirst. After firing for some time, the Muslim National Guards advanced towards the Gurdwara, and set fire to the building adjoining the Gurdwara. The whole area was ablaze in a few minutes time. Some Sikhs had taken shelter in the Samadh (Mausoleum) of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which is separated from the Gurdwara by a distance of about 30 yards. Here the Muslim crowd, amid cries of Pakistan zindabad etc. and filthy abuse directed against the Sikhs battered at the Gates of the Samadh. Several Sikhs were shot dead. The gates of the Gurdwara and Samadh were perforated with bullets. These happenings occurred on the 13th August. On the 14th the Gurdwara was put under the guard of the Boundary Force of General Rees.

Baoli Sahib Gurdwara, situate in Dabbi Bazar, and close to two thickly populated Muslim areas, was burned on the 4th June. The place was in flames, and such Sikhs as were inside it were shot dead or roasted alive.

Gurdwara Janam Asthan was subjected to continuous attacks since June. Muslim police pickets posted ostensibly for the purpose of protection of this place abetted arson and attacks on the Gurdwara. On August 11, Baulch Military entered the Gurdwara on pretext of finding out supposed bombs concealed inside the Gurdwara, and there bayoneted or shot dead 13 Sikhs.

This is part of the systematic campaign of terror and destruction carried on by Muslims against Sikhs.

6. THE GANDHI-JINNAH APPEAL FOR PEACE

The new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, who took over from Lord Wavell in March, 1947 arrived upon a terrible scene of carnage and destruction in the Punjab, the effects of which were soon to envelop the Frontier Province in a carnage and destruction equally severe and were to spread out into most parts of Northern, Eastern and Central India in the form of serious communal rioting. The Viceroy sincerely wanted this bloodshed to end and an atmosphere of calm negotiation and preparation for the transfer of power to be created. So, in the midst of the recrudesence of communal attacks in Amritsar, following upon the uprooting of a large part of the Hindu and Sikh population of the Rawalpindi division and Multan, he initiated a peace appeal to be addressed by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to the country. This appeal, the text of which was publicized all over the country in dozens of ways known to the modern technique of publicity, was carried to the farthest corners of the country. Especially in the Punjab the publicity given to it was tremendous indeed. The *communique* announcing the appeal, bearing the signatures of the two leaders, ran as follows--

On His Excellency the Viceroys initiative and at his specific request, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah signed the following

declaration and authorized its publication:

We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought utmost disgrace to the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims.

We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends and we call upon all the communities in India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder but also to avoid, both in speech and in writing, any incitement to such acts.

This appeal, signed as it was by the two most influential men in India, did not stop acts of aggression on innocent people in the Punjab, in the Frontier Province and later in other parts of India. The reason for this appeal falling flat on the people of India is not far to seek. That reason is, that the appeal was not meant seriously and sincerely by the party which needed to back it up with sincerity and earnestness. That party was the Muslim League. The Congress had never made communal warfare its political weapon. On the contrary the Congress wanted passionately to keep a united and strongly-welded Indian nation to receive power as an undivided and powerful free India from the British Government. The League, on the contrary, wanted to achieve its separate state of Pakistan. It must

show the creation of such a state to be inevitable for a solution of the countrys problem. For showing this it argued, it was not possible for Hindus and Muslims even to live together, much less to fight for a common political objective. And knowing that Hindus (and Sikhs) would not agree to a partition of the country the League wanted to force them into accepting it, or driving them out of certain zones in which no non-Muslim populations would be left to resist partition and to demand organic political relationship with a Central Government of All-India. So, the League, from its Direct Action Day on, in August, 1946 organised warfare against the minorities of Bengal, the Frontier Province, the Punjab and later of Baluchistan and Sind as well. In this background how could it be expected that the League would relinquish by stopping communal warfare, the one weapon which would help it to achieve its objective? So the Muslims never took the appeal of Jinnah seriously. The very words of the *communique*, containing the appeal, On H. E. the Viceroys initiative vitiated its nature and diluted its-force and appeal. The appeal did not proceed spontaneously from the heart of Jinnah. He put his signature to it out of courtesy with undoubted mental reservations. That is the light in which the average Muslim took this appeal. An appeal to be effective must proceed from the heart and must have the backing of a mans will and actions. When the Congress denounced the rioting by Hindus in Bihar, it also followed up its denunciation by effective action. And the Bihar riots stopped, even though the average Hindu thought the Congress was being hard on

the Hindus. That thought was no doubt wrong, but what is intended to be shown is the way in which an appeal, if it is sincerely meant, can and should be made effective.

The Muslim League leaders pursued a path contrary to the spirit in which an appeal like the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal should have been followed up. They continued to visit troubled areas like Amritsar for further incitement and for giving directions for new attacks. They continued with a pose of hypocritical innocence, to denounce imaginary Hindu-Sikh atrocities against Muslims. A full-hearted condemnation of the Rawalpindi Carnage or the Multan destruction never came from the Muslim League. There was a train outrage near Kohat in early April, in which a number of Hindu and Sikh refugees were killed by a Muslim mob. No Leaguer condemned this barbarous act. The League silence was direct approval of and implied incitement to the repetition of such incidents, which in fact multiplied more and more as the months advanced. Wrote the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore regarding this in its issue of April 6, 1947:-

we have waited in vain for responsible League condemnation of the dastardly train outrage near Kohat. In this eight people, including four women, were murdered, 20 wounded and one woman kidnapped, while 15 men, women and children are missing, as a result of an attack made by what Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier of the

Frontier Province, describes as Muslim Leaguers in green uniforms League efforts should be made to help the authorities to trace the miscreants.

Now this was exactly what the League never did. It never condemned such acts and never helped the authorities in tracing such criminals, who in fact were its own army in action. It may be recalled that Mahatma Gandhi successfully persuaded Hindu murderers of Muslims in the Bihar Riots to surrender themselves to justice. Master Tara Singh repeatedly said, and rightly too, that the only basis on which any peace negotiations could be entered into was that the League must condemn Muslim acts of violence against Hindus and Sikhs, and help to trace Muslim criminals.

When the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal was issued, the *Civil and Military Gazette* wrote editorially on this:-

Will Mr. Jinnah honour his signature to the document by banning the unconstitutional agitation of the Muslim League in the North-Western Frontier Province?

Mahatma Gandhi was disappointed at Mr. Jinnah not following up his appeal with actions. In his New Delhi prayer meeting on May 2 he said:

It was not open to Jinnah Sahib to plead (in explanation of the ineffectiveness of the appeal) that his followers did not listen to his appeal. That would be cutting the whole ground from under his feet, because he was the undisputed leader of the All-India Muslim League, which claimed to represent the Muslim population.

Where was the authority of the League if the Muslims resorted to violence for gaining political aim which was summed up in the word Pakistan?

He said that he had expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of issuing the joint appeal unless it was certain that it meant for both the signatories all that the words thereof conveyed.

The concluding words quoted from the Mahatmas speech are significant. For Mr. Jinnah the words of the appeal did not mean all that they meant for the Mahatma. He, Mr. Jinnah, signed it with mental reservations.

Referring to Mr. Jinnahs evident disinclination to make this appeal effective, Syed Ali Zaheer said:

The riots were and are the direct result of the Direct Action resolution of the Muslim League, and they began on August 16, 1946. So long as that resolution holds the field, such appeals are a mere farce. If Mr. Jinnah had called the meeting of the Working

Committee of the League and had asked it to withdraw that resolution, the appeal would have had a more earnest ring about it. As it is, it sounds hollow

So, attacks on trains and buses, burning of whole quarters of towns, murders of thousands with unspeakable atrocities proceeded unchecked or uncondemned by the League. Its plan of action was succeeding admirably. Pakistan was coming within near sight by every act of lawlessness committed by the League adherents, for it was only another argument for separate states for two such hostile peoples as Hindus and Muslims.

7. FRONTIER PROVINCE AND D. I. KHAN

The wave of attacks on Hindus and Sikhs, travelling from the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions, spread in a wild and virulent form to the N.-W. Frontier Province and especially to the Trans-Indus Frontier District of Dera Ismail Khan, in which as all over this area, Hindus and Sikhs were in microscopic minority. The Frontier adherents of the Muslim League fell upon the handful of Hindus and Sikhs with the primitive fanaticism characteristic of the Muslims of this area.

An agitation on the lines of the Punjab agitation of January-February had been started by the Frontier Muslim League. This agitation was even from its inception accompanied by acts of violence, including arson, murder and kidnapping of Hindus and Sikhs. By the end of March, following on the Rawalpindi massacres and looting, the entire Frontier Province was ablaze with similar outrages against Hindus and Sikhs. The murders and looting, and migration of the Hindu and Sikh population of Hazara District to the Punjab, in the January of 1947 has already been told of.

Now from the N.-W. F. P. news of widespread attacks on Hindus and Sikhs began to pour in. This is the report for Sunday the 30th

March, 1947:-

Two shopkeepers were injured by two bullets in Babjani Bazar, Peshawar City, while a Muslim League procession was passing through that area on Sunday afternoon.

A case of arson has been reported from Peshawar Cantonment, where an attempt was made to set fire to a godown containing wood, behind the Khalsa School.

Four shops have been burnt in Kaghan Valley, in Hazara District.

(In Dera Ismail Khan) a Hindu was kidnapped on Saturday by three armed men a few miles from Paniala village etc.

In the Frontier Province, notwithstanding the genuine and heroic efforts of the Congress Ministry under Dr. Khan Sahib to stem the tide of communal warfare, it was discovered that the plot of the Muslim League and the British officers was so deep laid that no efforts to stop these attacks were of any avail. By April, a large part of the Hindu and Sikh population, following in the wake of the population of Rawalpindi, had had to be evacuated to Eastern districts of the Punjab or into refugee camps. The trains carrying these refugees were attacked pretty often on the way. Reads a *communique* issued by the Frontier Government on April 2:

Hindu and Sikh passengers on the railway train which left Kohat for Rawalpindi this morning was attacked by a mob armed with firearms at Gorzai, 17 miles from Kohat. Six persons were killed and 20 injured.

(In Kohat city) this morning one Hindu hawker was fatally stabbed.

ABOUT 7,000 HINDUS AND SIKHS-NEARLY A QUARTER OF THIS MINORITY POPULATION OF PESHAWAR CITY-HAVE LEFT PESHAWAR CITY FOR THE PUNJAB AND OTHER PARTS OF INDIA SINCE MARCH 20. (*Civil and Military Gazette* report, in the issue dated 3. 4. 1947).

While in the town of Peshawar some, even though very inadequate police and other protection could be looked forward to by the minorities, in the smaller towns and in the countryside none whatever could be had. There, Hindus and Sikhs were simply waylaid and killed or their houses attacked and their property and womenfolk carried away. Where the men were not killed, they were forcibly converted. Thousands of such forced converts were seen after their evacuation by the military in Amritsar and other cities of the Punjab. Pitiable indeed was their plight. They were mostly living in twos or threes in villages scattered all over the Frontier Province, doing retail shopkeeping or tilling small patches of land. They were

turned out of their houses. In most cases the Sikhs-and even old men of seventy were not spared this-were shaved and made to look like Muslims. Many were circumcised. Almost all were forced to swallow beef. All through April and subsequent months, while all the districts of the Punjab, in which Hindus and Sikhs were in a majority, remained quiet, these destitute and homeless people continued to come to the Punjab in an unending stream, seeking shelter after their harrowing experiences at the hands of the Muslim League-led mobs. Thus was Pakistan being founded and the elimination of minorities proceeding apace.

But the story of the Frontier Province is not yet over. The worst part of it is Dera Ismail Khan. On April 15, the Frontier Government *communique* stated:-

Numerous fires are raging in Dera Ismail Khan today. The situation in the city is serious A procession started from the Muslim League office this morning and divided itself into different parties. One party went towards the Courts and the post office and caused damage to the buildings. The other parties went into the city and set fire to shops and residential houses in different parts of the town.

The April 16 report says:

Half the city of Dera Ismail Khan is burned

Last night the village of Paora near Dera Ismail ban was raided by unknown persons who indulged in looting and arson. Three persons were killed in Paora and 54 shops and houses were burned. Fires are still raging in the village.

Raiders kidnapped four Hindus, including a woman last night from Hayat Khel village, six miles from Pezu in Bannu District. Another Hindu woman was murdered.

The April 17 report says:

Fires have been seen in six other villages in (Dera Ismail Khan) District. At Tank a part of the town is on fire and two persons are reported to have been killed. Full details are not yet known.

A Hindu was shot in the abdomen in his shop in the Peshwar Cantonment this afternoon.

The extent of the loss of life and property in Dera Ismail Khan is not authoritatively known, but according to unofficial estimates about 400 shops and houses have been burned, apart from the Cinema house, the Town Hall, Pawindeh Serai, two prominent places of worship and the V. B. College[1] and School.

Besides ten persons killed and injured, some more bodies are feared to be still under debris. Bazare Kalan, the grain market and

parts of the Pawindah and Bhatianwala bazar are reported to have been gutted.

The first place which was set on fire was the Cinema Hall on Circular Road. Then some shops outside Topanwala Gate were burned. Meanwhile several fires were seen raging in various parts of the city and within a short time it enveloped the prominent business centres.

The April 18 and 19 reports say:

The situation is serious in the town of Tank. Looting and burning have been extensive and several civilians have been killed.

Other disturbed places in the District (Dera Ismail Khan) are: Gomal Bazar: tribesmen raided the village last night. Paharpur: 32 shops and 60 houses burned, three persons killed, three wounded, three missing. Kotjai: 12 shops burned, one person wounded. Kotla: ten houses and shops burned, three women killed and one wounded. Kirri Khaisor: 30 persons converted to Islam. Musa Zat: about 25 shops burned, one killed, one wounded. In Gandi Umar Khan and Jatla Jalwa arson on a fairly large scale occurred.

Qazi Ataullah Khan, Revenue Minister of the Frontier Province, in a statement threw a flood of light on the widespread organized and co-ordinated way in which the Muslim Leaguers were carrying on a

parallel campaign of harassement and elimination of the minorities in the Punjab and the Frontier Province. (The story of the incitement to action offered by the Muslims of Amritsar to those of Lahore has already been told). The Revenue Minister revealed:

All was well till two days before this loot and arson when a young man came from the Punjab and made highly inflammatory speeches. He also held Conferences with the Muslim League leaders. He asked the people that if nothing else, they could at least set fire to houses of Hindus and loot their property. Soon after this speech by this young man from the Punjab young boys, supported by local Muslim League workers, began to set fire to shops.

The latest reports (19.4.47) describe the situation in Dera Ismail Khan Tehsil as still serious. In Tank town, 1,500 refugees have been removed to Police Stations and other places of safety in the town.

Some houses and shops in Tank are still burning and reports have come in of further trouble from the outlying villages of the district.

Cases of forcible conversion are reported from several villages, including Kalagor, Dhalla, Rodi Khel and Mandra. Twenty-four casualties are reported from these villages and a number of persons have been kidnapped.

Two shopkeepers in Dabgari Bazar (Peshawar) were fired at when they were sitting at their shops.

In Dera Ismail Khan the total number of shops burned with their entire stocks was 1,000 and the estimated value of the loss was Rupees two crores. In the Province there were 30,000 refugees.

According to one estimate 100 Hindus and Sikhs had been killed in Peshawar by April 20; 25 were wounded.

On April 22, eight persons were killed and 15 injured in an encounter between raiders and a police party which was evacuating evacuees from the village of Paora to Dera Ismail Khan. Trouble was also reported in Kulachi, in Dera Ismail Khan District, which houses and shops were burned in Lulachi Bazar.

Up till the end of April and later, Muslim attacks on Hindus and Sikhs in Dera Ismail Khan continued. On April 29, at Kulachi the raiders started a fire and began looting houses and shops. Two Hindus were killed. Places of worship, houses and shops were burned. At Gomal two Hindus were killed, and places of worship, houses and shops were burned.

Disclosing the background of the atrocities committed on Hindus and Sikhs in the Frontier, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in a statement on May 6, 1947 accused the Frontier Governor Sir Olaf Caroe of an

open conspiracy with the Muslim League to bathe the province in blood and said, he (the Governor) wanted to hand over power to the Muslim League, whose followers have been indulging in the murder of innocent men, women and children. The Khan asserted, if the Governor wants he can stop all lawlessness in the Frontier in two days, but how can he when he himself is guiding the violent and communal League movement?

So, here was another evidence of the League-Bureaucracy plot to create the ground and favourable atmosphere for Pakistan, for which all means, not excluding murder, loot, arson and dishonouring of women were to be employed.

Jullundur:- This district is now included in East Punjab. Before Partition its Muslim population was 45.23%, Hindus being 17.59% and Sikhs being 26.50% of the total. Adi Dharmis made up about more than 10%. The town of Jullundur itself had a very large Muslim population-about more than 70%. This place was, therefore one of the strongholds of the Muslim League in the Punjab, and the Muslim National Guards had one of their biggest rallying places in it. Mr. Jinnah, in his tours of the Punjab had given due and important attention to the potentialities of Jullundur as a Muslim League stronghold, and in 1943 one of the biggest Muslim Conferences, presided over by Mr. Jinnah was held in Jullundur. At this Conference very provocative pro-Pakistan speeches had been

made, and Hindus and Sikhs of this area had been a great deal impressed with the Muslim determination to push forward the Pakistan programme at all costs.

The Muslims of Jullundur were a well-to-do class on the whole, with part of the lucrative trade of the town in their hands. They therefore financed and organized the Muslim League and Muslim National Guards of this town and area quite efficiently. When on the 5th of March, 1947 the Muslim of Amritsar opened their severe and ruthless attack on Hindus and Sikhs, which almost completely paralysed and caught by the throat the latter, the Muslims of Jullundur too, a town less than 50 miles from Amritsar, opened an attack in their own place. On the 6th March, a large Muslim mob gathered, shouting slogans and molesting individual Hindus and Sikhs, though as yet no widespread attacks had begun. Babu Labh Singh, a former President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, important political organisation of the Sikhs and an ardent Congressman, appeared among Muslims requesting them with folded hands to desist from fighting and to save the Punjab from destruction. This appeal fell flat on the Muslims, who continued their shouting and attacks. Rather than heed the good old gentlemans peace appeals, this Muslim mob stabbed him to death. This kind of behaviour has been found to be characteristic of Muslims during the last Punjab disturbances: peace-makers and those who were specifically sent for to negotiate have been done to death. The Muslim Leaguers have

respected no canon of civilized warfare. Women and children have been murdered, atrocities committed and brutalities indulged in. Babu Labh Singhs dastardly murder sent a wave of horror among the Hindus and Sikhs of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur districts. The town of Jullundur was placed under curfew and the situation was tense, but few incidents occurred after this.

In Hoshiarpur, the District neighbouring on Jullundur, Muslims continued to Misbehave, and made attacks on Hindu and Sikh passengers in trains. Sikhs all through this period did not attack Muslims.

In Ludhiana, a Sikh majority district, but with a 70% Muslim population in the town itself, the Muslims in early March opened attacks on Hindus and Sikhs. Several Sikhs were murdered. Sikhs did not make reprisals.

All through the months from March to August, 1947 from these above non-Muslims majority districts and from Ferozepore, the four districts besides Amritsar in which Sikhs have always counted as a political force, the typical press report and Government *communiques* have been- No incidents. This alone will tell eloquently how long the Hindus and Sikhs remained calm in the face of Muslim aggression in Central, North-Western and South-Western Punjab,

and how only as a last desperate resort, they opened a counter-attack on Muslim after long months of Muslim attack and aggression.

Footnotes:

[1]These institutions belongs to the Arya Samaj.

[2]Qazi Ataullah Khans statement on the genesis of the trouble in Dera Ismail Khan has been given above.

8. ROUND ABOUT AUGUST 15, 1947

The big attacks on the Hindus and Sikhs of Lahore began to be delivered from third June. The destruction wrought in the city was so horrible and appalling that in a desperate effort to save the city from complete devastation a meeting of the three communities was called in the Town Hall on the 27th June. At this meeting, the leaders of the Hindus and Sikhs gave assurances of keeping the peace. So did the leaders of the Muslims. These latter spoke very emphatic and reassuring words, which however, were belied by their followers as soon as they were uttered. Lahore continued to bum in spite of what the Muslim League leaders said. Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Momdot, then President of the Punjab Muslim League, pledged his community to peace in these words:

On behalf of the Muslim people, I solemnly pledge to my Hindu and Sikh brothers complete justice and fairness of treatment in Pakistan. The Muslims of Pakistan will guard and protect the honour, dignity, person and property of the minorities above their own. I call upon the Muslims to honour with their life, the word I am pledging on their behalf. I call upon them to check all lawlessness, to fight against all forms of chaos, and to see that everyone who calls himself a Muslim stays his hand.

The effect of such assurances, multiplied by the utterances of other important Muslim League leaders was that exodus of Hindus and Sikhs from Lahore for the moment decreased. Hindu and Sikh capital was fast flowing out of Lahore. Banks, companies and business houses were obtaining permission to shift their headquarters from Lahore. But the effect of these assurances lasted only for a very short while. Hindus and Sikhs realized with a rude shock that the speeches of the Muslim League leaders were merely a smoke-screen to conceal their designs of securing complete elimination of the minorities from their own areas, and were meant only to lull them into a false sense of security. These very leaders were financing and guiding the operations of the goondas of the Muslim League, who in collaboration with the police did the work of arson and stabbing. It was after this appeal that on the 10th July 7 Hindus and Sikhs are reported to have been killed and 40 injured in the Muslim attack on the Lahore Loco Workshop. It was during this time that Sikhs continued to be murdered in Baghbanpura, Singhpura, Faizbagh, Mozang, Shahi Mohalla, Garhi Shahu and other areas wherever the Muslims wanted to carry on their operations. In July it was that bombs began to be thrown on non-Muslims in trains, such as at Moghalpura, and murders of groups took place in trains as at Harbanspura. In arson, Bhati Gate, Tibbi, Chauk Surjan Singh, Landa Bazar etc. figured. Sikh Gurdwaras were burned inside the city. By the end of July it was all going as the Muslims desired. Localities burned were: Shish Mahal Road,

Chaumala Sahib Gurdwara, Mela Ram Road, Pipal Vehra, Moti Panda Bazar, Fleming Road, Bazar Sathan, Moti Bazar, Bazar Tutian, Dabbi Bazar, Bazaz Hatta, Chauburji, Krishna Nagar, Mohalla Sarin and the new Shalamar Garden situated to the Western side of the city. Even the Mall was no longer safe, where several cases of arson occurred and Hindu and Sikh property was burned.

During this period attacks on the life and property of Hindus and Sikhs were going on also in the neighbouring district of Gujranwala, from where too a large exodus of Hindus and Sikhs, who owned almost the entire business and industry of this prosperous district, was taking place. Gujrat, Sargodha and Sialkot too had started in right earnest the process of the elimination of minorities.

As the date on which Pakistan was to he established, that is August 15, was drawing nearer Muslims everywhere in the Muslim majority districts and in some places even in the East were growing aggressive. With the line of demarcation between Eastern and Western Punjab still unknown and uncertain, Muslims of districts like Amritsar, Jullundur and Ferozepore held strong hopes of these districts or anyway some portions of them, being awarded to Pakistan. The attitude with which the Muslims looked upon non-Muslims was that the latter were to be held by them as a subservient people for whom a less than human treatment would just be good enough. Shri Kiron Shankar Roy, the well-known leader of Bengal,

in a statement to the press on July 22 said of the temper of East Bengal Muslims:

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

What Mr. Roy said about the Muslims of Bengal, applies with still greater force to the Muslims of the Punjab, about whom the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore said in its issue of the 30th December, 1948 that each one of them thought that he had become a Nawab.

This social arrogance made the temper of Muslim aggression grow hotter and hotter as August 15 approached. Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs everywhere, burning of their houses and shops, hounding them out of their villages and fields in every district, became the order of the day. In this campaign the police and military, which now with the partition of personnel and assets between India and Pakistan were completely Muslim on the Pakistan side, gave not only active help to the riotous Muslim mobs, but often-times led them, directed their operations and finished off the job of murder where the mobs could not succeed single-handed.

The non-Muslim population of Lahore had been reduced to only a fraction of itself by August. But still more than a lakh of Hindus and Sikhs were in Lahore. According to a *Civil and Military Gazette* report Sikhs especially had refused to leave Lahore, and said Lahore was their home. That not to have left Lahore was a mistake was proved by the destruction which rained on Hindus and Sikhs there from the 9th thousands of corpses of Hindus and Sikhs which continued in that period of lawlessness to lie unattended, emitting a foul stench which it is said was called with grim humour Pakistani boo.

About the part of the Muslim police and military in these August attacks on Hindus and Sikhs, the special correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* of Delhi stated:

Seventy per cent of the casualties of the last three weeks in West Punjab were inflicted by the communally maddened troops and policemen. The victims of their bullets numbered thousands. The massacre at Sheikhupura, which was their handiwork, puts into shade the slaughter at Jalianwala Bagh. The annihilation of thousands in Shakargarh Tehsil, when the whole story is revealed, will be found to have put to shade even Sheikhupura.

On the 10th August almost all Hindu and Sikh localities were set on fire. Fires were raging in Chune Mandi, Bazaz Hatta, Sua Bazar,

Lohari Gate, Mohalla Sathan and Mozang. Everywhere the police led the attacks on non-Muslim areas.

Non-Muslim tried to escape from this burning inferno. But all outlets were closed to them. On the 11th August at least 500 people were killed, while trying to escape from Lahore with their lives. In the streets, on the roads, and especially at the Railway Station they were killed in hundreds. Muslim goondas, Muslim National Guards and the Baluch Military who were part of the Boundary Force, all participated in this slaughter with zeal and gusto. The only non-Muslim evacuees who escaped killing on this day, were those who either by good luck or through someones help managed to reach the Lahore Cantonment Railway Station. These got into the trains reaching Ferozepore, and thus saved their lives. That was because there were Sikh soldiers in, the Cantonment area, and so Muslim aggression could not be free there. Lahore main station was completely in the grip of Muslim troops and police. Harrowed, miserable Hindu and Sikh refugees from Lahore began to be in evidence in towns of the East Punjab as far off as Ambala by the 13th August. . They came completely destitute, hungry and with a haunting terror of death at the hands of Muslims in their eyes.

Other areas which were set on fire on August 12 and 13 were: Bharat Nagar, Singhpura, Dabbi Bazar, Lohari Gate, Gali Hingaran,

Gali Kagzian, Kucha Chah Telian etc. In all these areas and many others non-Muslims were killed not in hundreds, but in thousands.

On the 13th curfew was imposed on the city. This operated as curfew operated everywhere in the Punjab during the 1947 disturbances. The way of non-Muslims trying to escape was blocked. They must either be burnt alive or be shot dead. Many died in either of these two ways. Shops were set on fire in Anarkali and on the Mall.

The famous historic Sikh Gurdwara of Chhevin Padshahi, situated at a distance of fifteen yards from the Police Station on Temple Road in Mozang, was set on fire on the morning of the 15th August. The few Sikhs who were inside the Gurdwara were burnt alive in the flames.

This was one of the numerous places of non-Muslim worship which had been burned in Lahore. Baoli Sahib, Gurdwara Chaumala Sahib and others had been burned before. Even the famous Dehra Sahib, held in highest sanctity by the Sikhs as being the place of martydom of Sri Guru Arjan Dev, fifth Guru of the Sikhs, was attacked. The Sikh guards and priests of this Gurdwara were mostly killed. Such money and valuables as were there, were looted by the Muslim police and military stationed in the Lahore Fort which is at a distance of a few yards from the Gurdwara.

In these days Lahore railway platforms presented the picture of a shambles. Such Hindus and Sikhs as managed to reach the railway station were shot down in heaps. Regular chase was given by the Muslim goondas to the unfortunate men, women and children who tried to escape with their lives.

The destruction of Lahore and of its non-Muslim inhabitants would have been complete but for the presence in the city of Dogra troops, but they were soon shifted from Lahore. It was only in the Cantonment that non-Muslims could find some safety, as Sikh troops were present there.

An account of this destruction is given by the special correspondent of The Hindustan Times in these words:

Complete lawlessness prevailed in the walled city, on the other side of the Circular Road. Starting from Railway Road, running along the circular Road in a remarkable continuity. One could see semi-circle of smoke which persisted throughout this period and has involved the entire old city. Numerous places of worship belonging to Hindus and Sikhs have been burnt, of which one finds no record in the daily papers. Coming to the loss of human lives, I am afraid I cannot put a definite figure. I have a solid example which gives me a pretty good idea of the rate of killings. I have followed these details with scientific leanings On the 13th I happened to visit Mayo

Hospital. Outside the mortuary, which must apparently be full, I saw 300 to 350 stiffs, dumped in various lanes leading to the mortuary I waited for the papers next morning wanting to know the figures of killed given by them. I got a pretty good idea when I found them giving the news as 40 killed and 100 injured. I fixed up a scale to calculate the actual casualty figures from those given in the papers. During this period, not a single day passed when we did not see three or four lorry loads of stiffs crossing our house.

The lawlessness there was so official as you probably would not believe. The military actually helped the murderers. The people trying to escape out of the burning houses were mercilessly shot, and their bodies were roasted. The Lahore Station was for days beyond the reach of Hindus and Sikhs. No ignorant person who left for the Station survived. *A Tribune* employee staying with us met the same fate. It was a perfect picture of lawlessness. We had the greatest difficulty in escaping out of Lahore, via the Lahore Cantonment Station. In fact that is the only way out for the victims.

In short, Lahore is the city of the dead and a complete picture of hell. Those in charge of this hell are so perfect in their jobs and carry out the various items of their jobs with efficiency which is unprecedented.

In dozens of places in Hindu and Sikh houses this kind of action was repeated: A group of Muslims would force open the door of a Hindu or Sikh house, no matter even though the curfew would be on. The men-folk would be led out under the pretence of interrogation by some policeman who would be in the party. Outside the men would be stabbed to death. Then the property would be systematically looted. The women were killed if they happened to be old. The younger women were abducted and raped. In the Mozang area, a Sikh family of six or seven men and as many women met such a fate. The men were led out and killed. The women jumped down from the upper store of their house to escape dishonour. They were seriously injured, though none died. But the experience was widespread.

When freedom dawned on India and Pakistan on the 15th of August, 1947 no one on either side of the border had any heart in the Punjab for joy and celebrations. In New Delhi and Karachi this freedom was inaugurated, but in the Punjab every heart was dejected and sad, owing to news brought by refugees of killings and destruction. The Sikhs everywhere spent the day in prayer and contemplation of the sufferings of their brethern and asking of the Akal Purkh for His Succour for those who were entrapped.

According to a press report on the 13th August 35 fires blazed in Lahore, during the day. The localities seriously affected were

Mohalla Sarin, Chowk Surjan Singh, Shahi Mohalla. Mohalla Sathan (inside Bhati Gate), Garhi Shahu, Mozang and Faiz Bagh area, in Chowk Surjan Singh, the fire-fighting personnel was fired upon by unknown assailant Twenty-two persons were killed and 25 injured by fire in Sadar Bazar in the Cantonment. Twenty-two persons were killed and 16 others injured ill knife attacks during the day. Three persons were killed oil the Grand Trunk Road near the Hide Market in the Faiz Bagh area in the morning. Five others were assaulted in the same locality. Three persons were fatally stabbed oil Akram Road in Sultanpura, a suburb of the city. Two more persons were killed in Bharatnagar in the same locality.

The Hindustan Times summed up the Lahore situation of the same day as:

Lahore, August 3-Sixty people are reported to have been killed and 100 injured in todays incidents in and around the walled city. Thirty-five persons were killed in stray assaults in the Mogalpura Railway Workshop and eight injured. About a dozen person were killed in an engagement between the raiders and the inmates of a place of worship near the Fort[1]. The police opened fire killing seven and injuring eight.

Most of the sectors ill the walled city are oil fire and burning fiercely. Huge tongues of fires are visible from Anarkali where 20

shops have been gutted, Empress Road, Shahi Mohalla, Chhota Ravi, the Lower Mall, Kucha Kamboan, Bhaion Ka Maidan and Mohalla Jalotian.

A serious fire is burning unchecked in Bharat Nagar where a large number of houses have been destroyed. Owing to difficulty in water supply the fire brigade was unable to function in the locality.

Troops and police fired rounds during the night to scare the rioters. A number of cases of arson have also been reported from the locality and from Badami Bagh and Landa Bazar.

At 1 P.m. the casualty figure was six killed and 5 injured.

The situation took a turn for the worse in the afternoon when some workers were attacked in the railway workshops after the lunch interval.

Two persons were stabbed near Lohari police-Station in the afternoon while another person was attacked in Lange Mandi.

A mob attacked Singhpura, a suburban part of the city, last night and set fire to houses. The residents opened fire on the miscreants and in the meantime troops reached the spot and returned the fire, killing two persons.

Two mobs collected in Gobindgarh, a suburb, last night and exchanged fire, resulting in the death of two persons.

A big building was set on fire in Dabbi Bazar. Huge columns of smoke which have covered the whole city are visible from a distance.

At 4 P.m. the casualty figure had risen to 41 killed and 18 injured. Three of the dead bore bullet wounds whilst the others were victims of stabbings.

Two shops were set ablaze in Anarkali in the afternoon. One person was killed on Ravi Road while another was murdered on the Mall near the General Post Office. Another person was assaulted near a cinema house on the Mall.

Two houses were set on fire in Shah Safdar Mali in Gowalmandi area. The police opened fire to scare away the miscreants.

About the general behaviour of the Muslim Police during the Punjab Riots a very interesting light is thrown by a part of the proceedings of the Madras Legislative Assembly. On the 11th December, 1947 when questioned by a Muslim member of the House why the recruitment of Muslims to the Madras Special Police had been stopped, the Minister in charge of Law and Order replied that this had been done in view of the behaviour of Muslim Police in

disturbances in Northern India. So, even in far-away Madras they were not free from the fear of what the Muslim Police might do in cases of emergency. From this passage alone we can form an idea of the lesson which the whole country had learnt from the open partiality of the Muslim Police in the destruction of non-Muslim life and property from Calcutta (August 1946) to October and November 1947, a period of over fifteen months.

Apart from the City of Lahore, over the entire district the same tale of horror and destruction was repeated. Kasur is an important town on the main line to Delhi which runs from Lahore via Ferozepore.

The countryside of Kasur was predominantly Sikh, though the town itself had a large Muslim majority in the population. When on the 17th August it became known that Kasur was included in Pakistan, the Muslims fell upon non-Muslims. The one way of escape for non-Muslims from Pakistan into India was closed with Kasur being disturbed. There was a large massacre of non-Muslims at the Railway Station. In the city, mohalla after mohalla of Hindus and Sikhs was attacked, and Hindus and Sikhs houses and business premises were set on fire. Hundreds of Sikhs and Hindus were killed inside the city and its outskirts in two days. It was possible for some non-Muslims to escape, as the Indian border of Amritsar district was only a few miles distant on Khem Karan side. Very few could escape

towards Ferozepore, as the bridge on the river Sutlej which was on the way, was held by Muslim troops, who shot dead all non-Muslims who approached it. Huge looting of non-Muslim property occurred. Schools, cinema houses, shops, factories, nothing was spared. Curfew was imposed, but as at other places, it only facilitated the task of Muslim goondas. The Hindus and Sikhs could not come out of their houses, and got murdered or surrounded in flames.

Raiwind, in the District of Lahore, is an important Railway junction, as it is the crossing-point of two main lines-the Lahore-Ferozepore-Delhi line and the Lahore-Multan-Karachi line. This place was the point at which trains carrying Hindu-Sikh refugees from Lahore, Montgomery, Multan and Sind used to arrive. Repeated attacks on trains occurred here. Survivors state that when they arrived at Raiwind they saw hundreds of corpses of Sikhs lying all along the railway track. Muslim goondas, police and military seldom let a train pass unattacked if it did not have a strong Hindu-Sikh escort. Especially was this the case up till the middle of September. It is estimated that after August 15, at least a dozen trains were attacked at Raiwind and thousands of Hindus and Sikhs killed. No other Railway Station was the scene of so much carnage. One such train was attacked on the 4th September, in which 300 Hindus and Sikhs were killed.

In the countryside of Lahore the policy, after the 17th August (Announcement of the Award of the Boundary Commission) was to hound out Sikhs and Hindus from their homes *en masse*. In all these attacks on villages, the police or military or both would generally lead the attack. Little quarter was given to such unfortunate people as got into the clutches of these assailants. Burning of houses, looting of property, murder of men and abduction of women and children-this oft-reported tale was repeated in these village as well. Men and women scurried for their lives like rats. It was with the greatest good fortune that some people managed to escape, sometimes through the help of a personal Muslim friend or through such Indian Military as might have happened to reach the area under attack.

The village of Wanteo was attacked right on the 18th August. In a population of about 2,000 there were only 5 or 6 Hindu and Sikh houses. These were surrounded and the inmates forcibly converted, and asked to swallow beef. On their refusing to do this, a plot was made to kill them. They managed, however, to escape by fleeing.

The village of Killa Ganjan in Chunian Tehsil, was also attacked on the 18th by a Muslim mob of 2,000 which was led by Abdul Karim, a member of the District Board. Hindus and Sikhs offered stiff resistance to the invaders, and had 12 of their side killed. They were forced to leave the village, leaving all their belongings behind them.

Some sick, old and maimed people, who were left behind were finished off by the invaders.

The important village of Manihala was attacked on the 20th August under the direction of, the notorious Magistrate M. G. Cheema. Hindus and Sikhs were ordered at 10 p.m. to quit their homes at half an hours notice, otherwise fire would be opened on them. The entire Hindu and Sikh population got ready to leave within the stipulated period, and naturally could not carry anything with them. Just outside the village, the Muslims fell upon them, and abducted a large number of women and killed some people.

Jamsher Kalan was attacked on the 24th August by a. Muslim mob accompanied by military. Mohammad Husain, M.L.A. and Sheikh Mohammad Sadiq of Shamkot were at the head of this mob, which was advancing with drums beating. Hindus and Sikhs agreed to vacate the village, but were attacked just on its outskirts. 50 men, 80 women and 70 children were killed out of its total Sikh-Hindu population of 500.

Talwandi was also attacked on the 24th by a Muslim mob and military. This attack too was led by Mohammad Hussain, M.L.A. In this attack more than 400 Hindus and Sikhs were killed. All the surviving women were abducted. Many Hindu and Sikh houses were burnt.

On and about the 26th August, Bhuchoke, Janga Araian, Pajjian etc. were attacked and devastated. Hindu and Sikh residents of 16 villages of this area left for shelter to a larger village, Bhamba. 20 to 25 families were left behind, as they could not move out quickly. These were set upon by the Muslim mob and military and were murdered to a man.

Attack on the village of Gohawa had began already on the 16th August; on the 19th with further police reinforcement sent to the Muslims by the Sub-Inspector of Bhikhi Police Station, the attack assumed full violence. A large-scale massacre of Sikhs ensued. A number of women were abducted. Survivors were very few.

The village of Sangran, in Police Station Khudian area was attacked by 2,500 Muslims supported by the military and Muslim National Guards. Out of a total Sikh population of 200 in this village not more than a dozen are known to have escaped slaughter.

In the village of Ganje Sandh, attacked on the 25th August about 60 Hindus and Sikhs were killed. Dauke Kalan was attacked on the 19th, and here the number of Hindus and Sikhs killed was 200.

Raja Jang is a fairly large village and is also a railway station on the Lahore-Ferozepore-Delhi main line. Man to man, the Muslims of this place had always admitted the superiority of Sikhs. But after the establishment of Pakistan, with police and. military thrown in, the

Muslims got their chance. The village was attacked on the 24th August, and the attack continued on the next day as well. Sikhs put up a stiff resistance. 50 Sikhs were killed in the first days attack, and many more casualties occurred on the second day. Many Hindus and Sikhs were forcibly converted, and women were abducted.

In village Halloke, on the 21st, 40 Sikhs were killed.

Chhappa and Narwar were attacked on the 19th. Here military operated against the helpless Sikh population. 400 Sikh were killed and 300 were wounded.

Talwandi in Chunian Tehsil was attacked on 8 Bhadon, which is about the end of August. Here the attack was made by beat of drum. Sikhs gave battle to the Muslim mob and military for six hours. Only 40 Sikhs survived from its entire Sikh population.

Padhana is another large village and it was a centre of Sikh influence. The attack came on the 20th in full force, with a mob of 4,000, military and police. The police harassed and insulted Sikhs, and spirited away some Sikhs in their lorries, who have never been heard of since. Sikh women were abducted. Sikhs houses and the Gurdwara were burned. About 100 Sikhs were killed and the entire village was looted.

Near the village of Hathar, which was attacked on the 19th August, a huge Muslim mob accompanied by military surrounded the entire population, which was predominantly Sikh, at Jorewala Head while it was evacuating. 1,200 were killed, including women and children. 100 women were abducted and many were forcibly converted and married to Muslims. In the attack on the Gurdwara, the Sikh scripture was desecrated.

On the 18th August, the village of Dholan was surrounded by a mob, led by military and police which also included a Sub-Inspector. The Sub-Inspector gave an ultimatum to Hindus and Sikhs to leave immediately without carrying anything, or all of them would be shot dead. The helpless Hindus and Sikhs complied with this demand. A little outside the village they were attacked, and a large number of them were killed.

Ram Thamman and Jagoowala (Chak No. 40) were attacked on the 24th August. Out of the Hindu and Sikh population of 1,400 of the latter place, only about 50 have been traceable. The rest were all killed in the general massacre.

The important village of Valtoha was attacked in the beginning of September by Pakistan Military. Sikh women and children were abducted. Such of the menfolk as were spared, were turned out of their homes in a destitute state.

In Hindal a large number of Sikhs were shot dead by Pakistan military on the 24th and 25th August. In Jia Bagga, on the Lahore-Ferozepore line, 100 Sikhs and Hindus were killed.

In Prara, immediately after the announcement of the Boundary Commission Award, lynching and murdering of Sikhs began on the 18th August. About 100 Sikhs were killed in Orara; and in the neighbourhood Gurdwaras were desecrated and houses burned and looted.

On the 19th a Hindu-Sikh refugee train was stopped near Railway Station Khudian and a huge massacre of Hindu and Sikhs occurred.

In October 1947, 9 Sikhs prisoners were released from Lahore Cenral Jail. These were pushed out of the jail Gate without any protection or escort. Muslim goondas who had already been apprised of the impending release of these unfortunate Sikhs, pounced upon them as soon as they stepped outside, and all 9 were killed on the spot.

Six Hindus and one Sikh, the last-mentioned a Professor of Sikh National College, Lahore were challaned by the police on a cooked-up charge. All were acquitted by the Magistrate, and ordered to be released. The same tale was repeated here. Muslims waiting outside the Court fell upon them and killed all seven within the area of the District Courts. This occurred on the 26th August.

On the 13th August a Muslim mob fell upon the. Lahore Loco Workshop, and killed such of the helpless Hindus as were still there.

Muslim leaders deliberately spread false and baseless atrocity stories about East Punjab, and incited Muslims everywhere to murder and drive out Hindus and Sikhs. Especially was Pakistan propaganda openly and shamelessly directed against Sikhs. Zafar Ali Khan, proprietor of the Daily *Zamindar* of Lahore is a well-known Muslim League leader, and his paper an important League organ. On the 5th September in this paper appeared on the front page a highly inflammatory poem against the Sikhs, the last and telling line of which was:

Koi Sikh rehne na pae Maghribi Punjab men (Let no Sikh be allowed to remain in Western Punjab). That this was no isolated or irresponsible piece of political propaganda is amply proved by this letter, which passed between no less responsible people, than Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of West Punjab and Mr. Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, on September 5, 1947. That men who run the State and shape policies should have made up their minds to throw Sikhs out of West Punjab, is ample proof of the solid conspiracy in Pakistan against the Sikhs. If the Governor and Governor-General thought this way, what hope of protection could Sikhs have from the officials? What was there to stop common Muslims from looting, murdering and dishonouring them?

The salient paragraphs from Sir Francis Mudies letter to Mr. Jinnah, mentioned above are:

The refugee problem is assuming gigantic proportions. The only limit that I can see to it is that set by the census reports. According to reports the movement across the border runs into a lakh or so a day. At Chuharkana in the Sheikhupura district I saw between 1 lakh and a lakh and half of Sikhs collected in the town and round it, in the houses, on roofs and everywhere. It was exactly like the Magh Mela in Allahabad. It will take 45 trains to move them, even at 4,000 people per train: or, if they are to stay there, they will have to be given 50 tons of at a day. At Gowindgarh in the same district there was a collection of 30,000 or 40,000 Mazbi Sikhs with arms. They refused even to talk to the Deputy Commissioner, an Anglo-Indian, who advanced with a flag of truce. They shot at him and missed. Finally arrangements were made to evacuate the lot. I am telling every one that I do not care how the Sikhs are got rid of as soon as possible. There is still little sign of the 3 lakh Sikhs in Lyallpur moving, but in the end they too will have to go.

Footnotes:

[1] Dera Sahib Gurdwara.

9. AMRITSAR

In the history of the Muslim League War on the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab in 1947, Amritsar occupies an outstanding position. It was in this city, along with Lahore, though with an intensity even greater than in the latter town, that the most sustained war, lasting for over five months was waged on the Hindus and Sikhs, especially the latter, by the Amritsar Muslims. In the scheme of the Muslim League, Amritsar appears to have been Theatre of War No. 1. On the degree of success achieved in Amritsar would depend the League measure of success in cowing down the minorities in the Punjab and the prospect of the establishment of Pakistan. While in Lahore the Muslim population was quite a large majority, in Amritsar it was almost balanced by the Hindus and Sikhs combined. Amritsar was the spiritual capital of the Sikhs, and Sikh history is full of wars waged by Sikhs in the pre-Ranjit Singh Era for the recovery of Amritsar from the hands of Muslims who desecrated the holy Hari Mandir (the Golden Temple of, later days) and filled the sacred Tank with sand. The Muslim League knew that Sikhs might be uprooted and even exterminated in Rawalpindi and the West, they might be driven out of Lahore, but they would make a determined, last-ditch stand in Amritsar. To surrender Amritsar to the Muslims would mean practically the writing off of Sikh history and admitting a status inferior to that of the Muslims in the Punjab-a status, in view of the

past record and declared ambitions and methods of the Muslim League, of serfdom. To break the Sikh resistance and morale in Amritsar was, therefore, of the first importance. And it was in Amritsar that the League poured all its strength and resources. It, was in Amritsar again that the Sikhs staked their lives during the long months of agony and unequal fighting from March to August, 1947. Amritsar, to use a not inappropriate parallel, became a kind of Stalingrad of this Muslim League-Sikh War. The Sikhs did live it through. They took it as London did in 1940 and 1941, or as Stalingrad did till 1944. And then the tide turned. The Sikhs successfully stood the Muslim onslaught for four months or more. And with the approach of August 15, the Muslims fearing the inevitable counter-attack on the part of the Hindus and Sikhs, rendered inevitable in this case by the accumulated sufferings and helplessness, hate and anger of months of destruction in Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi, the Frontier Province and other places, lied Amritsar in panic. It was a wonderful sight to see how within the space of a day and a night, almost no Muslim was to be seen in Amritsar when freedom dawned on August 15, expecting those who had entrenched themselves in the notorious area of Sharifpura, expecting what they knew to be well-deserved punishment for brutal and inhuman crimes against their fellow-men.

Such is the character of the story of Amritsar, which opened in the afternoon of March 5. Even during the days of the Muslim League

agitation Amritsar had been the scene of the most hectic violence seen anywhere in the Punjab. It was here that the League agitators several times attacked the police and officials, raided the courts and murdered a helpless Sikh police constable, who was stranded in their midst. Most of the train hold-ups during the League agitation period occurred in Amritsar. The Muslims of Amritsar were undoubtedly a very formidably well-organized Community and strategically well-situated to wage a relentless and even successful war against Hindus and Sikhs. Mat ultimately carried the latter through, was the dogged tenacity of the Sikh character, which has never taken defeat, even after heavy losses, as these undoubtedly were in Amritsar. To understand the nature of the War in Amritsar, and the relative strength of the Muslims, a few factors may be noticed, as given below:

(1) Out of the total Hindu-Muslim-Sikh population of Amritsar (376,824) Muslims were as many as 184,055 that is, nearly half. The Hindus were roughly 1,34,000 and Sikhs 58,769. So, in point of numbers the Muslims had great advantage and were a solid, well-knit community.

(2) In Amritsar the Muslim National Guards Organization was the strongest anywhere in the Punjab. This organisation, according to reports received by the authorities, had a membership of over 8,000 when the war started in March. Later on recruitment to it proceeded

apace in every Muslim ward and mohalla. Working hand in hand with the National Guard, were two other well-equipped Muslim organizations, the Khaksars and the Ahrars. The former of the two had a long record of secret violent training and activity. The Muslim National Guards. Headquarters were shifted from Lahore to Amritsar in March, as Amritsar was the most important front on which the League had to fight.

(3) The Muslim localities were situated in a ring quite deep *all around* the town of Amritsar. Hindu and Sikh areas were in the interior of the circle, and once the Muslims decided to close in upon these areas and shut egress and ingress into the city, Hindus and Sikhs were shut in and cut off from the rest of the world. Excepting an opening through Sultanwind Gate, which is away from the Railway Station, the Courts, Civil Hospital, Telegraph Office etc. there was no opening in the deep Muslim belt through which any Hindu or Sikh could come out without running the gauntlet of large and well-posted Muslim mobs, ever ready with their murder squads. A very large number of casualties among Hindus and Sikhs occurred round the city walls.

(4) Proportion of Muslims in the regular and additional police force in the Punjab, as has been pointed out, was everywhere very heavy, that is, over 70%. So was the proportion of officials in the Civil list. These two classes of Government employees could and

did make all the difference for the peace and safety of an area. A separate and detailed study is needed to assess the true *role* of the Muslim police and officials in riots in Bengal and in the Punjab, especially the latter. Majorities no doubt tell in such a total warfare as the Punjab Muslim League attacks of 1947, but even the majority in population without the collusion of the police and officials cannot inflict such losses as those sustained by Hindus and Sikhs in the Western districts of the Punjab. And in a place like Amritsar, where the two sides were balanced in population, without the police and officials working all out for one side, Hindus and Sikhs could not have been held at bay by Muslims for so many months. Most of the Hindu and Sikh policemen were posted in the Southern and Eastern districts of the Punjab, in which the majority in population was Hindu and/or Sikh. In Amritsar as in Lahore one might rarely come across a Hindu or Sikh policeman, else all the force was Muslim. The Muslim police helped Muslims to collect arms both lethal and firearms and ammunition. Smuggling was done in collusion with the Muslim police who were posted on all strategic points. Storage of arms and petrol, the latter for purposes of quick arson, was done in houses and buildings which were protected from detection by the Muslim police. Again, the operation of the curfew was made to work in favour of the Muslim assailants and to the detriment of the Hindus and Sikhs who might want to protect their houses from burning. Muslim goondas or even Muslim policemen set fire to Hindu and Sikh houses during curfew hours, and no Hindu or Sikh was allowed,

on pain of being shot, to come out of his house to fight the fire. This happened both in Lahore and Amritsar. The police stood guard while Muslims broke open Hindu and Sikh houses and shops and carted away the loot, at great leisure. The dumps for such looted property were known to and guarded by the Muslim police. The police went shares with the looters. Hindu and Sikh officers were generally held under terror by Muslim policemen, and in some cases were attacked, or not protected when attacked by Muslim mobs, as in Amritsar, Dera Ismail Khan and other places. Sometimes rifles and rounds were supplied by Muslim policemen to Muslim mobs. Muslim policemen went about in lorries and jeeps sniping at Hindus and Sikhs, and in several cases asking men to come out of their houses on some pretext and then shooting them dead. This happened in a number of cases in Amritsar, and in other places.

(5) Muslim Government servants other than the police behaved in the same partisan manner, and in collusion with the Muslim Leaguers. Muslim doctors in the Civil Hospital would not attend to Hindu and Sikh injured. Muslim telephone operators, who almost had the monopoly of the Department in Amritsar, cut off Hindu and Sikh telephone connections and tapped their lines and made secrecy of communication among Hindus and Sikhs impossible.

(6) Muslim colleges and schools, especially the M. A.-O. College at Amritsar, the houses and mills of Muslims notables, such as

Sheikh Sadic Hassan, President of the Amritsar District Muslim League, were regular arsenals and planning and operating centres in the war on Hindus and Sikhs.

(7) Large stores of brickbats were collected by Muslims in their houses, for their fight against Hindus and Sikhs. They would shower brickbats mercilessly on Hindus and Sikhs from the roofs of their houses. The Muslims themselves were mostly steel-helmeted, and so could even sally out on Hindus and Sikhs, while Hindus and Sikhs, being unprovided with any such defence, got serious and even fatal injuries from these brickbat showers.

(8) The Muslims methods of arson were skilled. In arson there were always two men-one who sprinkled petrol and the other who lit the match. This was a safe method. When non-Muslims retaliated, both processes that is, of sprinkling petrol and lighting the match were entrusted to the same man. This man invariably got burnt. It was long after that non-Muslims realised the nature of the Muslim technique of arson and learnt to do the thing efficiently as the Muslim army of the League had no doubt learnt by forethought long before the thing was taken up in real earnest.

(9) On the 5th March, when the attack opened, the Muslims attacked only such Hindu-Sikh areas as were mostly surrounded by heavy Muslim zones, such as Sattowali Gali, Gokal New Abadi in

Kila Bhangian, Deviwali Gali, Chhaju Misrs Gali, Islamabad, Hall Bazar etc. All this shows pre-planning.

(10) Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs were made by Muslims in Muslim National Guards uniforms, wearing steel helmets on their heads.

The attack opens:

The Muslims of Amritsar began preparations for the attack on Hindus and Sikhs on the 4th March, the day on which the Hindu-Sikh students procession was fired on by the Muslim police, and Muslim mobs and assassins had taken a good number of Hindu and Sikh lives in Lahore. The Sikhs and Hindus on the 4th evening held a public meeting in Amritsar, in which the resolve not to tolerate a communal ministry in the Punjab was reiterated. These speeches were interpreted by the Muslim League as a challenge to their design of establishing Pakistan, of which the Punjab was to be the corner-stone. So, they tried to beat down the Hindu-Sikh, especially Sikh, opposition in Amritsar, the city in which a defeat of the Sikhs would mean breaking their morale. Amritsar was rightly selected from the League view-point as the place on which the entire energy of the League must be concentrated. Defeat and rout the Sikhs in Amritsar, and they will not fight elsewhere, at least not anywhere very near -that was how the League tacticians argued.

Nothing happened on the 4th, however, although the atmosphere was tense. Hindus and Sikhs did not expect that a general mass attack would be made on them. So, they were nowhere prepared even to save their own lives in the event of a sudden attack. Everywhere they were taken by surprise, and lost heavily in life and property. The Muslims, on the other hand, were fully prepared for a large-scale offensive, big enough to surround the entire city and destroy Hindu-Sikh localities and force the inhabitants out and finish them off. Arms and petrol were stored in large quantities by Muslims. They had organised squads for committing arson, for looting, for stabbing and for general attacks and sorties. Among the proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Amritsar Muslim League, held on the 3rd March, 1947, *two days before the attacks started and at a time when no Hindu or Sikh could imagine there would be any emergency*, this body appointed a sub-committee for first aid to the injured and maintenance of an Ambulance Unit. This provision means clearly that they were preparing ahead for the fight which, they knew was coming, for it were they themselves who were to make it when the time was opportune. A Sikh lawyer, who was going to attend court on the morning of the 5th March, noticed a great rush at Muslim sword-shops, where swords were being distributed free to Muslims. Hindus and Sikhs did not take warning from this very clear action. They probably thought there would be sabre-rattling but not actual fighting, with the result that on the 5th, the opening day of attack and on the two subsequent terrible days,

Sikhs and Hindus had nowhere any arms or other means of defence. In Darbar Sahib, the holy of holiest of Sikh faith, which in the case of a general attack by Muslims would be one of the first targets of Muslim attack, as it actually would have been but for the morale of the few Sikhs who took it upon themselves to defend the holy place, there were about only two dozen *sewadars* or attendants employed by the Committee managing the shrine and its precincts. These two dozen men had swords on them, as they always had as a symbol of their being Sikhs. There were some thousand defenceless Sikh pilgrims, including women and children, who would be a problem rather than help in the defence of the holy place. There were four old and rusted twelve-bore guns and a small stock of cartridges in the place, but no one present knew how to use them. Khalsa College, the premier Sikh institution did not have even ten swords on that day, and no firearms. It was open to attack from all sides, and a large population of young students, teachers and their families were residing on its premises. The same was true of the Shahid Sikh Missionary College. And this was true of all Hindu and Sikh mohallas and areas-utter defencelessness. No one was prepared for defence, for no one naturally knew the designs and plans of the Muslim League.

Muslim Government servants with the exception of the police, were almost wholly absent from their places of work on the 5th March. Especially was this true of the Muslims in the Rationing

Department, as they knew better than others the location of Hindu and Sikh houses which were to be burned.

They were, instead, by information passed round among Muslims, keeping out of harms way or even joining in the plan for attack in their respective areas. Hindus and Sikhs did not know, very naturally, of what was going to happen, and so by the afternoon they got stuck up wherever they were-in their offices, at the Railway Station, in the Golden Temple or other holy places etc. These marooned people in most cases could not reach their houses and families right up till the 11th March, the day on which the curfew was for the first time relaxed after being imposed on the 7th.

During the day on the 5th March, a group of three or four Sikhs on behalf of the Shiromani Akali Dal went about Amritsar announcing the holding of a public meeting that very evening to protest against the design of the Muslim League to establish Pakistan in the Punjab. So little did the Sikhs expect an attack or general attack on that day. This group was attacked by Muslims with a storm of brickbats in Chowk Moni and one Sikh, Bhai Mangal Singh by name, was done to death. The news of this brutal act spread throughout the town, and Hindus and Sikhs apprehending trouble, began to close their shops. But traffic to and from the Railway Station was still continuing. In the meantime, without any provocation being given by any Hindu or Sikh, Muslim goondas in thousands collected in all

parts of the City, especially in the outskirts, near the approaches to which areas the Muslims had an overwhelmingly large population. The collecting of Muslim parties and mobs all over the town and up till a great depth from all approaches practically closed the town to those who were outside it and made it impossible for those inside it to get out. Hall Bazar, the main business centre of the City and the most important approach to and from the Railway Station and the Golden Temple, was full on both sides of large armed Muslim mobs. Hindus and Sikhs, unsuspecting any developments and incidents were going about the town, when at a signal at about 4 oclock a general attack by the Muslim in all parts of the town began. Hindus and Sikhs found in Hall Bazar, whether in tongas or going on foot or at their shops, were attacked and done to death. One of the victims of these attacks, Mohan Singh, was a student of the Khalsa College, who along with another student got caught in a Muslim mob in Hall Bazar. One of the boys escaped with a hurt; the other was killed on the spot. In this first attack a large number of Hindus and Sikhs, especially the latter, were killed. By five oclock dozens of Sikh dead were brought to the Government mortuary, but many never got traced. Hindus and Sikhs were marooned wherever they were. Telephones were somehow not functioning at this time; the Muslim operators had disconnected Hindu and Sikh lines.

The Muslims now turned to general destruction of Hindus and Sikhs. In Hall Bazar, almost all the shops were the property of

Hindus and Sikhs, and it was a prosperous business centre. The surrounding population was almost entirely Muslim. This bazar was looted fearlessly and on a large scale by Muslim mobs. A large number of shops after being looted were burned. Muslims would come out in parties from Khair Dins Mosque situated in the middle of the bazar and the M. A.-O. College, distant about half a furlong on a side. The police were just doing nothing. The City Kotwali is where the Hall Bazar ends. Within five minutes the police could be on the scene of the looting even at the other end of the fine Bazar. But the looting continued throughout the afternoon and the night, uninterrupted. Booty literally worth millions was carried away. So leisurely and assured was the conduct of the looting Muslim mob that in some cases they did not even care to take the trouble to break open the locks of the shops. All that was done was to remove a plank of the outer door, to scop a kind of manhole and to remove loot out of that. Such a thing was possible only because there was a plan behind all that was happening, and those engaged in looting knew that the police would not come, as it actually did not.[1]

A large number of Sikhs killed at this time were Sikh factory workers who left work at 5 oclock when they used to be let off, and set out for their homes, unaware of the general Muslim attack. As they approached the City gates such as Hathi Gate, Hall Bazar, Mahan Sigh Gate or Ghee Mandi Gate, they were surrounded and done to death. Another class of Sikhs who lost heavily in these first

days were the Sikh milkmen who used to carry the milk-supply of the town from the neighbouring villages. They were killed on the 5th and 6th March; and by the 6th morning, 18 dead bodies of these men had been carried to the mortuary. The total number of milkmen killed must have been very much larger, for the Muslims generally threw the dead bodies into the burning houses or otherwise disposed them of.

On the 5th March in Amritsar, there was no Government, no law and order. No ones life was safe. On all sides was killing, burning and looting. People suddenly woke up from the notions of safety and security to which they had grown accustomed during the days of British rule. Now on all sides there was complete lawlessness. The police were not merely neutral in this, but were planning for, leading and aiding the Muslim aggressors. The Muslims burnt and looted whatever area they pleased-the only thing to stop them being possible effective Hindu-Sikh resistance, which on these two days and for months after was not organised. Not Darbar Sahib itself, not any of the Gurdwaras was safe at this time. The Muslims had planned an all-out offensive, and were carrying it out very successfully. No one in the whole city ate anything on this night; no one slept a wink. The whole town was ringing with the yells of the attacking Muslims and the defiant shouts of Hindus and Sikhs. Flames were rising and tall buildings were gutted with huge fires.

The dead bodies in the Civil Hospital brought on the 5th March were seven in number; 6 Sikhs and one unidentified as Hindu or Muslim. Among these six Sikhs killed was Mohan Singh, a student of the Khalsa College, whose murder has been mentioned elsewhere. This circumstance will show more than anything else that the Muslims were aggressors in Amritsar, and they remained so for months. Figures of casualties given later on will amply prove this.

During the night, the Hindu and Sikh quarters got hell. Parties of Muslims would go about shouting Pakistan and Islamic slogans, setting fire to Hindu and Sikh houses. The method adopted for setting fire showed planning, skill and long preparation. Petrol would be sprinkled over buildings with a stirrup pump or some other device. Then a burning ball of cloth or cotton was shot over the petrol-soaked surface and he flames left to do the work of destruction. Sometimes a solution of phosphorus was just painted over the door of a shop or house and left to burn of itself within a short time. Hindus and Sikhs trying to escape from flames were lynched by the mob. A large part of Amritsar was reduced to cinders and rubble in the fires of this night and the one following it. If one stood on the top of a high building in the night, red flames could be seen rising high, spread over large areas, lending a terrible and awful glow to the darkness of the night. Hall Bazar, Kara Jaimal Singh and several other localities were almost wholly destroyed.

Attacks on various localities began as the evening fell. Firing from the attackers could be heard all through the night. By the morning thousands of man, women and children whose homes had been burnt or who had been beseiged throughout the night left as refugees to various localities where shelter could be had. Many went to Darbar Sahib and the other sites in its vicinity such as Jallianwala Bagh. Many ran out to the Civil Lines which were comparatively safe. Khalsa College received a few thousand of these hunted people whose homes were attacked.

During the night a Muslim mob tried to attack Krishna Market, one of the largest emporia of cloth in Northern India, which is close to Darbar Sahib, and Darbar Sahib itself. A pitched battle took place on the road between the Queens statue and Chowk Fawara. In this battle courage and grit shown by Sikhs and Hindus routed the Muslim assailants, and immediate danger to Darbar Sahib was averted.

Attacks on Sikhs found anywhere became a feature of the Muslim campaign in Amritsar. Any Sikh found anywhere on the road was attacked and killed. A large number of Sikhs coming from the villages around Amritsar, and many pilgrims coming from outside to visit Darbar Sahib were stabbed by Muslim parties lying in ambush.

Many of those killed were Sikh milk-sellers, who carried milk singly or in groups of two or three from villages round about Amritsar into the town. As they had to pass through Muslim localities in order to enter the city, they would be waylaid and done to death. In many cases several Muslims would fall upon a Sikh, snatch his kirpan and butcher him with the kirpan so snatched. So widespread and persistent was the campaign of stabbing that Sikhs were stabbed even at the Railway Station, which was supposed to be a comparatively safe place-one man was stabbed while actually boarding a train; the kirpan of another was snatched. Public servants were not immune from attack while engaged in doing duty. Such dastardly attacks were made by Muslims everywhere in the Punjab on public servants. In Amritsar, one Sikh wireman was murdered while repairing an electric wire connection in a Muslim locality under orders. A Hindu postman was assaulted while on his round. The most serious case of its kind was the attack made by a Muslim mob on a Sikh Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police on duty. This officer was on duty in Hall Bazar with a force of Muslim constables under him. As he was standing, a Muslim mob of about 150 attacked him. The Muslim constables whom he was supposed to command, simply stood and watched their officer being attacked by the mob, who left him for dead. Later, however, this officer recovered from his serious injuries. This is only one evidence of the spirit which actuated the Muslim police in these times.

Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs became more frequent and easier because Hall Bazar, the main thoroughfare leading into the City and to Darbar Sahib, was blocked by the ruins of burned down houses and shops, and anyone coming out and going in had to make a long *detour*, and pass for about a mile through Muslim areas to reach the Queens Statue, the place where the non-Muslim areas began. Hindu and Sikh passersby were almost daily attacked and killed here. It was only when on repeated representations and protests of Hindu and Sikhs, including several from Master Tara Singh, the Hall Bazar was made available for two-way traffic, that these attacks grew fewer. But the police morale was so much deteriorated that the existence of police in those days afforded no protection to any Hindu or Sikh.

One of the most dastardly attacks which sent a thrill of horror through every Hindu and Sikh was the attack on the 6th of March by the Muslims of Sharifpura, a suburb of Amritsar spread for a long distance south of the railway track east-west wise, on Sikhs and Hindus arriving from Pathankot side. The assailants stopped the arriving train by climbing on to the outer signal and raising it. Then the mob, concealed in Muslim houses along the railway track, fell upon the helpless Hindu and Sikh passengers, and murdered a good number, including women and children before the train could be restarted and brought to Amritsar station. Trains and lorries coining from Jullundur and Pathankot and Narowal were similarly attacked

by Muslims of this suburb and Sikhs killed with great brutality. Men, women and children were chased like animals and gored to death with spears. This was the first train-attack made anywhere in this conflict, and this kind of thing was repeated by Muslim Leaguers in many places in the subsequent months. This cowardly attack horrified all decent people everywhere.

Besides the Muslim mobs and assassins, Muslim police shot out of hand any Sikh or Hindu they could lay hands on. Muslim police are known to have gone about prowling of a night, to have sometimes called out of their homes Hindus and Sikhs and to have shot them dead on the spot. This practice they called shikar and it was a terror for Hindus and Sikhs.

These first March days were a period of extremely great disaster for Hindus and Sikhs, especially the latter, of Amritsar. With houses and shops burnt in large numbers, and with daily imposition of curfew all business was at a standstill. Thousands got unemployed in consequence of this. Thousands were rendered homeless in Amritsar itself, and destitute through destruction of household property. They had to be sheltered and fed. Over and above all this was the problem of looking after the hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing from Muslim terror in the West Punjab. No doubt the community felt it was passing through a life-and-death struggle, and it took it with characteristic Sikh calm and courage.

The Muslim police was working with full vigour in implementing its policy of partiality towards Muslims. In the extensive house searches, both in Amritsar town and in the countryside, every semblance of a weapon was taken away from Sikhs-not only spears, but even wood-choppers and knives. Licensed weapons were confiscated so that whole groups of Hindus and Sikhs were left defenceless in time of attack. The Muslims, on the other hand, could import arms and material for making spear-staves, swords, daggers and even pistols. Guns and bombs flowed freely among them. It was only rarely, when a non-Muslim might happen to be on the watch duty that such smuggling might be intercepted. Once a Hindu police-man on duty at Putlighar, on the Grand Trunk Road on the Lahore side of Amritsar, stopped a Muslim-driven truck which was carrying into the town 4,300 lathis. These were obviously intended for making spears. But while this one truck-load got intercepted hundreds such must have passed on to their destination without check. That is why Muslims could make such a terrible blitz against Hindus and Sikhs.

The attack on Sikhs was carried on by the Muslims with such vigour and organisation that the Sikhs suffered heavy casualties during all the months from March to June, and even later. The Muslims continued, with police help, to waylay individual Sikhs and to make mass attacks on them. Their plan for Amritsar City was ambitious. They wanted to keep the City beseiged, to force Hindus

and Sikhs out by arson and murder, and finally to capture two places held dear by Sikhs, and wearing a character symbolic of Sikh greatness and pride: Darbar Sahib and Khalsa College. Letters threatening destruction of these two places continued to be received by the authorities of these places from Muslims. In their confidence and feeling of being advantageously situated the Muslims did not mind declaring their plans. That during all these months Sikhs were fighting against superiorly armed and determined attacks is shown by the following official figure of casualties in Amritsar. These figure are, of course, bound to be gross underestimates, but they help to establish the proportions in which casualties were suffered. In almost all cases Sikh casualties are more than Hindu and Muslim casualties put together, or at least many more than of either community. In considering the nature and extent of the Muslim attack, Hindu and Sikh casualties may also be reckoned together.

Casualties to date

Date of report	**Hindu**	**Sikh**	**Muslim**	**Hindu & Sikh**
11.4.47	8	24	11	32
2.5.47	15	44	19	59
9.5.47	23	67	32	90
11.5.47	32	100	48	132
15.5.47	50	135	60	185

22.5.47	69	174	85	243

The moral of all this is very clear:

(a) Sikhs were the victims of a malignant and determined campaign of murder and arson, so that even according to official figures, up till 22.5.47, that is, more than two and a half months after the attack opened on March 5, as many as 174 of them had been killed as against 85 Muslims. The total number of all non-Muslims killed by Muslims during this period is 243.

(b) Sikhs did not attack Muslims anywhere in the areas where the former were in a majority. East Punjab continued to report quiet during all this period and till much later.

(c) While Muslims had a plan of subduing and even exterminating the Sikhs, the Sikhs had obviously no such plan. During all these months they suffered heavily everywhere, fought an unequal struggle against the Muslim majority organised for fighting, and the Muslim police and officials in combination.

(d) One other factor which conclusively proves that the Sikhs had not only no intention of attacking Muslims, but did not even have knowledge of any intended attack on the part of Muslims is that on and after the 5th March, a large number of Sikhs had gone on the Hola pilgrimage to Sri Anandpur Sahib, in Hoshiarpur District, and

were in fact marooned there on account of the curfew in Amritsar and several other towns. A large number of these Sikh pilgrims had to be escorted by the Patiala State police to Amritsar, Lahore and Gujranwala etc., in lorries provided by the State.

Every nook and corner of Amritsar, which was close to a Muslim area, and where a Muslim mob could gather conveniently or a few assassins hide or lurk, was a place of death for any Sikh found in its vicinity. The technique adopted by the Muslim goondas was skilled and well-thought out beforehand. These assailants would generally divide themselves into groups of three, each hiding at a distance of fifteen or twenty yards from the other along a lane or street. While the Hindu or Sikh pedestrian, cyclist or rider in tonga, as the case might happen to be, had been allowed by the first group along the line to pass, the middle group would raise a hue and cry and scare the intended victim. As he ran for life backwards or forwards, he was pounced upon by the group which happened to be nearest to him, and done to death. In this way hundreds got killed in the various Muslim localities, especially along the road leading from Hall Gate to Hathi Gate towards the West, and that leading from Hall Gate out through Rambagh, Mahan Singh and Ghee Mandi Gates to Sultanwind, either of which roads the Sikhs and Hindus must take if they were at all to enter the town from the northern side. Burj Baba Phula Singh, a Sikh shrine and kind of abbey, which is situated just outside Mahan Singh Gate, and was surrounded on all sides by

large Muslim populations was repeatedly attacked, and several of the Sikh inmates were killed.

In the attack which began on the 5th March three Sikh foot-constables of police were reported missing. Reports daily poured in of Sikhs stabbed, speared or shot dead on the outskirts of the town. Sharifpura, Mahan Singh Gate, Hathi Gate, Bhagtan wala Gate and Chauk Farid were localities especially notorious for this kind of attack on the Sikhs. M. A.-O. College, was a very active centre of attack from which Muslim groups sallied out to attack or snipe at Hindus and Sikhs. One cinema house, belonging to a Hindu and situated next door to M. A.-O. College was burned. Hindu and Sikh houses situated on all sides in the vicinity of the M. A.-O College were kept constantly under fire by gunmen from inside this College. A large number of these Hindu-Sikh houses, along with others lying between this place and Chauk Farid were burned.

There is a marked difference in the behaviour of Muslims and Sikhs towards women and children captured during this fight. While Muslims everywhere dishonoured, abducted or murdered Hindu and Sikh women and children, Sikhs never resorted to anything of which they might have reason to be ashamed. On the first day of attack, several Muslims got killed by an infuriated Sikh crowd in a locality which was at the junction of a Muslim and non-Muslim zone, not very far from the centre of the Sikh influence. More than one hundred

Muslim women and children, whose menfolk had either been killed or had run away for safety, fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Sikhs kept them safe and fed them for the two or three days that the fighting lasted and all communications in the town were cut off, and later sent them under escort to the City Police Station, These women acknowledged the chivalry and courtesy of the treatment of the Sikhs towards them.

The first round of the attack was over after the curfew partly lifted on the 11th March. The sight which was revealed to passersby and onlookers was truly terrible and pitiful. In various parts of the city huge mountains of debris and rubble were lying, blocking roads and bazars. Burnt, demolished buildings, with holes for doors and windows gaping out of damaged walls told a tale of utter and stark brutality. Merchandise and household property worth so many millions had been destroyed by fire, and some was buried under debris, which must have also killed many human beings while falling. This scene of destruction and desolation elicited from Pandit Nehru, who visited the city in March, the remark that Amritsar looked like a bomb-scarred city. The experience, thought Hindus and Sikhs, must have chastened the Muslims and made them realize the folly of a fight in which fire destroyed the neighbouring Muslim houses and shops as much as the Hindu, and in which some at least of the Muslims, no doubt as innocent as the Hindu and Sikh victims of assassination, must have lost their lives. But the Muslims were

thinking in no such way. They looked upon this first fight only as one major test of success of their methods and preparedness and the perfect co-ordination of all wings of their forces-the Muslim National Guards, the mobs, the police and officials. So, they were on the look-out for a repetition of this first attack and for winning more victories over Hindus and Sikhs.

Muslims made repeated attempts at saying prayers in the burnt Pragdas Chowk Mosque. This place is situated in the midst of Sikh-Hindu localities, though on one side it had easy approach to a vast stretch of Muslim-inhabited area, ending in Gilwali Gate. To have attempted to lead a Muslim congregation, which was bound to he well-armed, defiant and shouting slogans, was really an attempt at mischief. In those times when passions were running high, when hundreds of Sikh Gurdwaras had been burned down in Rawalpindi and Western Punjab and not a word of regret or condemnation for such acts had emanated from any Muslim Leaguer, to have tried to lead a prayer-gathering in Chowk Pragdas was both an insult to Sikhs and a calculated attempt at mischief. Sikhs opposed such a move. But the European Deputy Commissioner permitted that every Friday a limited number of Muslims say their noon prayer in Pragdas Chowk under heavy police protection. On April 11, which was again a Friday, a large Muslim crowd estimated at 4,000 to 5,000 came to Chowk Pragdas with the ostensible purpose of saying prayers. But they were well-armed and were shouting slogans vowing to take

revenge for the Muslims who had been killed in Chowk Pragdas in the early days of the attack. This naturally hurt the Sikhs. But, although provoked, Sikhs did not do anything which might lead to unpleasant occurrences. And the prayers were done peacefully. But after the prayers were over, some of the returning Muslims attacked some Sikhs. At this some Sikhs in return attacked some Muslims and rioting again started in Amritsar on April 11, after being suspended for about a month, though during this interval stabbing had continued. The Muslim crowd got out of the control of the Police, a large part of which was naturally not too conscientious about checking its activities. Muslims murdered Sikhs and set fire to Hindu and Sikh houses in several areas, including Chowk Lachhmansar, Qila Bhangian, Chauk Chira and Hall Bazar. Extensive damage was done by these fires, and the tall pillars of smoke could be seen from as far as Chheharta which is more than five miles from Amritsar.

There had been a comparative lull for sometime in the campaign of stabbing Hindus and Sikhs in the later part of March and early April. But after the Chowk Pragdas incident of April 11 narrated above, this stabbing campaign was intensified. Arson too began to be on the increase. No day went without the report of some Hindus and Sikhs being stabbed or shot dead, mostly by the hired Muslim assassins and sometimes even by the police. Hindus and Sikhs got killed in varying circumstances. They were sometimes killed while

trying to extinguish fire in their own houses. If they fought Muslim assailants in self-defence, more often than not they were shot dead by the police, which always intervened on behalf of the Muslims. If not killed, Hindus and Sikhs fighting in self-defence would be arrested, while the Muslim aggressors were let off.[2] As shown above, the death-roll of Hindus and Sikhs continued to be very high. Sikhs got killed in larger numbers than Muslims and Hindus combined.

Incidents typical of what was happening in Amritsar in April and after are given below:-

(1) The grinding mill of a Sikh was gutted by a Muslim mob on 11.4.47. On this same day one Sikh was fired on by the police for no cause whatever.

(2) Two Sikhs were surrounded by a group of Muslims near Bhagtawanwala Gate and their kirpans were seized. The Sikhs escaped by running away.

(3) The car of Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, a prominent Sikh leader, and later Minister of the East Punjab was surrounded by a Muslim mob, and he was saved only by the skill of his driver.

(4) On 2.5.47 one Sikh was stabbed outside Hakiman Gate.

(5) One Sikh, Sohan Singh was brutally murdered while going on bicycle near Chauk Farid.

(6) Two Sikhs were murdered by being shot near Rego Bridge, which is on the Grand Trunk Road, close to the Railway Station.

(7) On 21-5-47 one. Sikh was found murdered in Gol Bagh between Baijnath High School and the Railway Footbridge. On this day also were set on fire 7 Hindu and Sikh shops inside Hall Gate and several houses inside Mahan Singh Gate and Gali Lahorianwali in Katra Karam Singh. One Sikh was murdered on the Mall, and two Sikhs were assaulted and chased in the same locality.

(8) On 24.5.47 one Sikh who had gone towards Anjuman Park to buy vegetables was murdered. One Sikh was stabbed in the middle of Hall Bazar near Chartered Bank while a Muslim police constable, No. 132, was looking on. One Hindu was murdered near Hall Bazar, and two others were shot dead near Ganj-di-Mori by Muslims, while extinguishing the fire in their houses. Two Hindus were shot dead in similar circumstances in Gali Nain Sukh. Eighteen Hindus received serious injuries in two places where fire was set to Hindu houses. In these places members of the family of Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, President of the District Muslim League of Amritsar, were leading the attack.

(9) On 26.5.47 one Muslim Sub-Inspector of Police chased a Hindu from Islamabad Railway Crossing to Khalsa College, and repeatedly fired on him with a revolver. This crossing and all other crossings and junctions of roads were guarded by Muslim Police, who shot dead any Hindu or Sikh they could lay hands on.

(10) Sikhs murdered in different localities in the beginning of May, 1947 were: 9 outside Bhagtanwala Gate, near the brick klin; 7 in Daimganj; 30 outside Rambagh Gate; 12 outside Sharifpura, and a large number in the Muslim abadis of Maqbulpura and Rasulpura.

(11) The Grand Trunk Road between village Vallah and the Canal to the city was absolutely closed to Hindus and Sikhs, who inevitably got murdered if found there. Hundreds of Muslims, however, freely moved about in these areas. Muslims could also move about near Hindu and Sikh areas, but not *vice versa*.

(12) One Sikh Bal Singh of village Mulachak was killed by Muslims on 25. 5. 47 near the canal.

(13) Trucks nos. 2410, 1421, 1428 and cars nos. 676 and 3388 regularly went about the roads outside the town with Muslim goondas in them picking off Hindus and Sikhs. Information about this was conveyed by responsible Hindus and Sikhs to the authorities.

(14) On 25. 5. 47 village Mulachak was attacked by 60 Muslims with firearms. Sikhs of the village put up stiff resistance, and the assailants ran away.

(15) On 26-5-47 one Sikh was stabbed in Hall Bazar while going to the police station to give report of arson in his own house. One Hindu was murdered in Chitta Katra.

One of the most shocking and dastardly outrages took place in the Daimganj locality of Amritsar on the 10th May. A party of about a dozen Sikhs and Hindus, including women were going out to cremate the dead body of a child. They passed by the large Muslim locality of Daimganj, close to which is also the Idgah. While these Hindus and Sikhs were returning to their homer after cremating the child, the Muslims who were hiding inside the Idgah, fell upon them, killing seven on the spot. The dead bodies were sought to be made unidentifiable by being soaked in petrol and set ablaze. The smoke attracted the sight of the police force inside the Amritsar Fort, who reached the spot. The authorities imposed a fine of Rs. 20 per male adult Muslim in this entire locality.

This murder was most shocking and brutal, and it shook the conscience of the entire Hindu and Sikh population of the Punjab. Even barbarians respect the sight of death, and none but these offspring of the Muslim League doctrines with unclean minds and

souls would have done killing in the circumstances of this incident. It is significant that no Muslim Leaguer uttered a word in condemnation even of this brutal outrage. This incident intensified rioting both in Lahore and Amritsar. Muslims were already adding to the pile of Hindus and Sikhs killed and Hindu and Sikh houses burnt. Now, both in Lahore and Amritsar, Hindus and Sikhs too began reprisals. The Daimganj brutality anyway could not be forgotten. The comments of the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government of those days, Mr. Akhtar Hussain; are significant:

Some of the acts committed were shocking in their stark brutality and an attack on a funeral party of a child in which six Sikhs and one Hindu were killed has added to an already overlong list of Muslim atrocities. As a result of these happenings in Amritsar, the situation in Lahore deteriorated a few days later, on the 13th of May, and much damage has been done to life and property. In Amritsar the casualties since communal trouble started in March have been over two hundred killed and twice that number seriously injured. In Lahore over the same period, one hundred and ten persons have lost their, lives and three hundred and seventeen have suffered grave hurt. For the province the death roll exceeds three thousand three hundred while the injured number fourteen hundred.

The over-all report of the above-named Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government for the month of April and May is:-

In Amritsar, since a recredescence of trouble took place on the 11th of April, more than four hundred and sixty persons have either been killed or injured, and in Lahore since the 9th day of May, the day on which the new outbreak commenced, there have been three hundred and twenty-five victims of communal strife. The two cities have shown some distinctive features in their disorders and in Lahore stabbings had the place in favour taken by crude bombs in Amritsar. However, both have points in common, the most important of which have been arson and the signs of better organization and greater determination which have emerged. *In respect of arson Muslims have been the main culprits and there have been numerous acts of incendiarism in both places resulting in conflagrations which have taxed the available army and civil resources to their utmost limit*.[3]

The high-ups of the Muslim League were fully alive to the needs of keeping up the morale of the Muslims of Amritsar in their fight against Hindus and Sikhs of Amritsar. They constantly visited the city to plan, advise and guide this fight. Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, President of the City Muslim League was directing this entire fight and was maintaining efficient liaison. On the 17th March Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, later a Minister in the Pakistan Government,[4] Begum Shah Nawaz, prominent lady in the Punjab League circles, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, till recently Minister in the West Punjab and Siddiq Ali Khan, Salar-i-Ala of the Muslim National Guards came

to Amritsar. On the 25th March Mian Mumtaz Daultana, now President of the West Punjab Muslim League, Mian Iftikharuddin, his predecessor in that office, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi and Mian Amiruddin, League Mayor of Lahore also visited Amritsar. These visits were made ostensibly for the purpose of collecting funds for the relief of such Muslims as might have suffered in the wide-spread campaign of arson which sometimes also involved Muslim houses, but were in reality pep things to plan and direct intensification of the Muslim League War. Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, who has been mentioned earlier, visited Tarn Taran, a fairly large town near Amritsar and distributed two bags of steel helmets among members of the Muslim National Guards. On the 26th of April, Dr. Ziaul Islam and Ahmed Said, President and Organizing Secretary respectively of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation visited Amritsar. This organization contained zealous League workers, and rowdy elements. It took leading part in the war on Hindus and Sikhs, especially from its headquarters in the M. A.-O. College.

Mian Nasrullah Khan, a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, visited several villages of Amritsar District on the 17th May. So far there had been no attacks in the rural areas, but now under the instigation of Mian Nasrullah Khan, such attacks started. On the 22nd May this gentleman again visited several more villages and inspired an abortive Muslim attempt to demolish the Hansali, the

water channel which serves as a conduit for the water which is supplied to the sacred tank of Sri Darbar Sahib at Amritsar.

The tempo of the war against Hindus and Sikhs grew very fast as the fateful day of June 3, on which the British Governments award on the future government of India was to be announced, approached.

While the Punjab Government was endeavouring to take some steps for the maintenance of peace, these efforts were rendered more or less ineffective by the communally biased attitude of the Muslim personnel of the Army, which got infected with this evil by association with the Muslim police. Muslim soldiers on duty invariably acted as the Muslim police had so far done. They connived at Muslim mobs setting fire to the city and murdering Hindus and Sikhs, while they were very prompt to arrest any Hindu or Sikh found in any public place, any pretext serving for such action. Cases of arson which had so far been isolated after the first March days, now began to be widespread; and whole localities, comprising hundreds of houses and shops began to be burnt. Two of the most persistently burnt localities were Chil Mandi and Katra Karam Singh, the former not more than a hundred yards from the headquarters of the city Police and fire-brigade.

Khaiwali Gali, Sattowali Gali and Gali Kandharian were some of those localities which were surrounded by large Muslim populations. In these localities repeated attacks on Hindus and Sikhs were made, and looting and burning on a large scale done. In Katra Karam Singh, which continued to burn for three days, more than two hundred residential houses, sheltering several thousand human beings, were destroyed by fire.

Here is a brief and by no means complete list of Hindu and Sikh property burned near and after June 3, when it might be expected that in view of their Pakistan demand being conceded, the Muslims would give up aggression and settle down to have peaceful relations with Hindus and Sikhs. But no such thing happened. On the 2nd June there was widespread burning of Hindu and Sikh localities. Katra Karam Singh, Kucha Beli Ram, Kucha Khotian, Katra Sher Sinoh and Tunda Talab etc. were some of the localities which were burned extensively.

On the 7th June, a Sikhs house in Katra Bhabrian was burned, and also a Hindus house in Chuhar Beri.

On the 8th a Hindu textile factory situated inside Lohgarh Gate was burned, and on the 11th, the Parkash textile factory, which was situated near the M. A.-O. College. The Cinema house situated in this locality had been burned previously.

On the 13th, a Hindus textile factory near the Power House was burned, and fire was set to the D.A.-V. Middle School in Toba Bhai Salo on the 14th June.

On the 24th, 26th, 27th, 28th and 30th June large-scale arson in Hindu and Sikh houses occurred in Katra Sher Singh Kohna, Chauk Telian, Ghee Mandi, Katra Karam Singh, Bazar Bakarwanan and in Chauk Jaura.

On the 24th June on a search these arms were recovered from a mosque in Katra Bagh Singh in Amritsar:-

9 spears, 3 hatchets, 4 gallons of incendiary spirit, 2 gallons of kerosene oil, 1 gallon of methylated spirit and some helmets. This was by no means an isolated instance of Muslims keeping weapons and means of fire-raising in large quantities or of their using places of worship as arsenals.

On the 1st July a Hindus textile factory inside Lahori Gate was burned, and a bomb was thrown into a Hindus house.

On the 3rd July Hindus houses in Katra Bagh Singh were burned with kerosene oil.

On the 7th July a Hindus textile factory on the Batala Road was set on fire.

On the 31st July the Eduljee Ice Factory situated on the Grand Trunk Road, off a Muslim locality was set on fire.

Right into August, till only a few days before the establishment of free India and free Pakistan the Muslims continued to be aggressors in Amritsar. Bomb-throwing on Hindus and Sikhs was frequently indulged into by Muslims.

On the 23rd July a bomb was thrown on Hindu-Sikh houses on Hukam Singh Road. On the next day 3 Sikhs were attacked by Muslims near cattle-fair ground, and 2 of these were killed.

On the 27th July, several. Sikhs were murdered on the Sultanwind Road.

On the 31st July a bomb was thrown in the Hall Bazar on a tonga carrying Hindus and Sikhs. On the next day another tonga was destroyed by a bomb, and its Hindu occupants killed. On the same day one Hindu was killed in Katra Bagh Singh, one Sikh was murdered in Hall Bazar and Hindus and Sikhs were stabbed inside Sikandar Gali and Lohgarh Gate.

On the 4th August a Hindu was shot dead inside Lohgarh Gate, two Sikhs were shot dead near Burj Phula Singh, off a heavily populated Muslim area, and another in Hall Bazar, in Chauk Ghulam Hussain.

The war was getting intensified. 1,000 Muslims attacked the village of Dhapai near Amritsar. A Sikh was injured by a bomb near Khasa.

On the 9th August the police arrested a Pathan, named Mohammad Saeed, near the Railway Tonga Stand, when he was lying in ambush to murder any stray Hindu or Sikh.

On the 11th August, one Sikh and 2 Hindu were injured near Khuh Bombaywala; one Sikh was shot dead by a Muslim constable. 12 Muslims were arrested while assembling for an attack on Hindus and Sikhs. One gun and several spears were recovered from these.

On the 14th August, the Muslims celebrated establishment of Pakistan by setting fire to Hindu and Sikh buildings in Chauk Fawara, Chil Mandi, Kot Atma Singh, Chauk Phullanwala, and handloom factories on the Grand Trunk Road and in Chauk Fawara. Attacks on trains by Muslims outside Bhagtanwala Gate, their stronghold, frequently occurred.

As a result of the Muslim campaign of arson, from the 5th March onwards, more than one-fourth of the city of Amritsar has been laid in ruins-the worst sufferer in this respect among the cities of the Punjab.

Footnotes:

[1]One Hindu chemists shop is said to have been spared, as he agreed to pay a blackmail of ten thousand rupees to the Muslim League, through some Muslim friend of his.

[2]The Police would simply refuse to trace Muslim goondas whose parentage was not received. As the name of a mans father might not be known to his victim, this was a convenient excuse for not interfering with any Muslim. Sometimes several men of the same name were taken into custody and then let off.

[3]Emphasis by the present writer.

[4]Now Governor of West Punjab.

10. WEST PUNJAB ABLAZE

SHEIKHUPURA

Sheikhupura is the district next to Lahore on the Western side. Just three miles out of Lahore, after crossing the River Ravi, one enters the boundary of this district. This district contains Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of Sri Guru Nanak Dev, and the huge estate attached to this Gurdwara which before partition yielded a revenue of about twenty lakh rupees annually to the Sikh people. Most of the proprietors of land in this district were Sikhs who had fine lands and had made them rich and productive by lavishing on this land such hard labour as only the Sikh agriculturist appears to be capable of. Besides, the urban Hindu and Sikh population of this district had industrial enterprise and had set up business houses, factories and works. Sikhs and Hindus were, however, in a minority in this district, the population proportions being:-

Muslims	...	...	...	63.62%
Hindus	...	...	...	9.12%
Sikhs	...	...	...	18.85%

Sheikhupura Hindus and Sikhs were perhaps, after Rawalpindi and Multan, the worst sufferers at the hands of the Pakistani fanaticism and cold-blooded murderous frenzy. The blow fell on them suddenly and swifly-leaving between 10,000 and 20,000 of them dead in two days. The conspiracy that was hatched in Sheikhupura between the Muslim Leaguers, the Civil Officers, Police and Military for the extermination of Hindus and Sikhs of this town and the district governed by it, is perhaps the worst on human record, showing calculated devilry on such a large scale.

No incidents had occurred in Sheikhupura of any considerable nature, in spite, of all that happened since March, 1947 in Rawalpindi and Multan, Lahore, Amritsar and Gujranwala. This continued up till the day the Award of the Boundary Commission was announced, that is, August 17. Till that day there had been speculations as to which side would the part of Sheikhupura in which Nankana Sahib was situated, would go. Also, some people speculated that the other factors clause in the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission might mean for example, Sikh landed interests on the basis of which Sheikhupura or a part of it might be awarded to India. So, during the period of indecision the Muslim League trouble-makers of this district were quiet, and were in a way sitting on the fence.

As soon as the Award of the Boundary Commission was announced and they knew that Sheikhupura had been awarded to Pakistan, the Muslim Leaguers and their allies, the Pakistan Police and Military, feverishly began to perfect and execute their plans for the looting and murdering of Hindus and Sikhs. Attacks on the countryside began as early as the 18th August; and within a week Sikhs and Hindus everywhere in villages, as will be seen from the appendix of incidents at the end, were being driven out *en masse*. During this time the plan was also made by which Sheikhupura town and other towns in the district were also to be cleared of Hindus and Sikhs.

The conspiracy began on about the 10th of August, when a public meeting of Muslims was called in cattle-fair grounds, ostensibly for the purpose of saying prayers for rains, which had that year been rather scarce. At this meeting, which naturally no non-Muslim could attend, the plan for attack on Hindus and Sikhs was explained to the Muslims. Muslims were very reticent about this meeting to their Hindu and Sikh friends and acquaintances. After this meeting, Muslim E. A. C.s and other officials ceased attending the official club of which they were members. They instead held secret meetings, along with big Police Officers and Karamat Ali, a minister in the West Punjab Government and a resident of Sheikhupura. A confidential list was prepared of all leading Hindus and Sikhs of Sheikhupura, which was accidentally revealed by the Christian stenographer of the

Anglo-Indian Deputy Commissioner, Disney. This was the murder list. Haq Nawaz, Superintendent of Police, transferred from Gurdaspur to Sargodha, incited Muslims while on the way to his new charge, to murder Hindus and Sikhs. The Deputy Commissioner was a willing tool in the hands of the Muslim League plotters, the police and officials, all of whom took their inspiration and guidance from the above-named Karamat Ali, at whose residence daily meetings of these elements were held.

The situation was tense and ominous. All issue of petrol to non-Muslims was stopped. Petrol was dumped for arson. After the 20th August military used to parade the town for four or five days. But there were no incidents. Without valid ground, curfew was imposed on the 24th August. This was the first time Sheikhupura experienced curfew. Here too the curfew operated as everywhere in Pakistan. Muslims were free to move about during curfew hours, to set fire to houses of non-Muslims and to commit murders. Non-Muslim representatives approached the D. C. with the request to lift curfew, as it was being abused. But he did not agree to this request.

Muslims were making brisk preparations for the rioting of the next few days. There was a good deal of coming and going of Muslims at the residence of Karamat Ali, Minister. On the 25th, Hindu and Sikh houses were burned in Gurdwara Bazar. A false alarm was raised of an attack on a Muslim mohalla by Sikhs. All this was done to incite

Muslims to fall upon Sikhs. On the 25th also a vigorous attack was made on Ramgarha which had a Sikh population of 1,200. Sikhs were being chased. The Muslim mob was followed by the military. When Sikhs gave a fight the Muslim mob retreated. Then the military took the lead and took up positions against Hindu-Sikh areas at about 2 oclock (day). By about 5 oclock the Hindu-Sikh population of this area had been killed, and the houses were in flames. Muslim mobs now swelled and spread out to attack to different parts of the town. Street after street was surrounded by Muslim mobs, military and police. The looting, burning and murdering continued all over the town for more than 24 hours, and stopped only on the evening of the 26th. Some Hindus and Sikhs saved themselves by hiding; others ran out during the night. 3,000 Hindus and Sikhs were killed by the military in Atma Singhs factory alone. Altogether 15,000 Hindus and Sikhs were killed in this massacre. Pt. Nehru, at the time lie toured the West Punjab with Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, estimated the number of those killed in Sheikhupura at 22,000. Women were molested. Hindus and Sikhs who resisted the molesters were shot dead on the spot. In the Namdhari Gurdwara two wells were filled with the bodies of Hindu and Sikh women who committed suicide to save themselves from dishonour. Two other wells were similarly filled. Swami Nand Singh, a member of the Peace Committee was shot dead by his former Muslim colleagues on this Committee. On the night of the 25th August, the D. C. was present in the Main Bazar when arson, murder

and looting was going on. A Section 30 Magistrate, Ahmed Shafi asked Lt.-Col. Dr. Surat Singh to convey his boast to Sikh leaders that Muslims had done in two days what Sikhs might never be able to do to Muslims.

This is in brief the tragic story of Sheikhupura.

The countryside of Sheikhupura, like that of Lahore was combed for Sikhs and Hindus, who were turned out of their houses, and murdered in large numbers. Muslims fell upon Hindus and Sikhs all over the district with a brutality and thoroughness the extent of which it is difficult to imagine, and of which only a vague idea can be given in the brief accounts given below. It is not easy to estimate how many actually succeeded in reaching the river Ravi or crossing it successfully, on their way to India in the first few days after the establishment of Pakistan.

The village of Kot Pindi Das in Shahdara Tehsil was attacked on the 15th August and, was thoroughly burned and pillaged for two days. It appears those who attacked were busy in pocketing loot. So, Hindus and Sikhs managed to escape with their lives in a destitute state.

Bohar, Chak 8 and Chak 702 (all in the Tehsil of Nankana Sahib) were simultaneously attacked on the 21st August with the help of Muslim Military. The refugee train which carried Hindu and Sikh

evacuees from these places was stopped near Shahdara, a railway station five miles West of Lahore, and they were stripped of all their possessions.

Nangal Bhuchar was attacked on the 21st August. Hindus and Sikhs were forced to save their lives by fleeing, leaving their entire property behind. While crossing Pattan Bhindian (on Ravi River) they were attacked. They put up a good tight, however, and routed their assailants.

Machhochak in Shahdara Tehsil was attacked on the 22nd. Muslims from 10 surrounding villages fell upon this single village. About 50 Hindus and Sikhs Were killed. The rest left in a destitute state.

Dhanoe was attacked by a Muslim mob, accompanied by Pakistan Military, on the 24th. Hindus and Sikhs fled to seek shelter in Babakwal, a neighbouring village. Their assailants pursued them there. Here a general slaughter ensued in which between 400 and 500 Hindus and Sikhs were killed. A number of women were abducted.

Sikham, situated in the jurisdiction of Muridke Police Station, was attacked on September 1. Here 100 Sikh males were killed and 50 were wounded. 22 women were abducted, while 50 were forcibly converted and married to Muslims.

At Dharanagar lying in the area served by Sharakpur Post Office, 90 Sikhs were killed on the 27th August. Of Chak No. 49, in Shahdara Tehsil which was attacked by 50 Pakistan Militarymen on the 25th August, the entire Sikh population was wiped out.

Aiya Kalan was attacked towards the end of August, also by Pakistan Military. Here the number of Sikhs killed was about 80. Another 30 were killed on the way while evacuating from this village.

Khori and Nangal Dunna Singh (in Gujranwala District) were attacked by beat of drum. When Hindus and Sikhs of these villages were evacuating and crossing Pattan Bhindian (on Ravi River) they were again attacked, and some women were abducted.

In Ratniwala about 30 Sikhs were killed, while another 100 were killed by the police near village Wadhai Chima when they were evacuating for safety to a refugee camp. .

Chak No. 12, also called Gobindpura, was attacked on the 27th August by a force of 2,000. 25 Hindus and Sikhs were killed here.

Hindus and Sikhs of Sadh Nau Abad were forced to quit their homes and were again attacked while crossing the Ravi River, when 40 were killed.

In Awan Labana, on the 25th a big attack was made by a Muslim mob, Muslim police and military. Here 200 Sikhs and Hindus were killed, 200 women and some children were abducted. Looting and burning occurred on an immense scale.

The village of Faridabad (in Nankana Sahib Tehsil) was attacked on the 26th. Only half of the Hindu-Sikh population of this place reached India. The rest were either killed or forcibly converted.

Chak No. 4 Risala, situated within the jurisdiction of War-burton Police Station was besieged for 3 days, from 26th to 28th August. An ultimatum was given to Hindus and Sikhs to embrace Islam or to be prepared to face the consequences. The attacking force had in it 30 men armed with rifles, who marched at the head of a big mob. The Sikhs of this place were many of them ex-military-men, and they put up a very stiff resistance. On the third day all Hindus and Sikhs were forced to quit in a destitute state.

At Shah Kot brutalities were committed. One Sikhs eyes were gouged out by the Muslim mob. 1,000 Hindus and Sikhs were forcibly converted. Hindus and Sikhs of Sacha Sauda were turned out, stripped of all their possessions.

One of the memorable and heroic battles given by Sikhs took place at Bhuler Chak 119, in the jurisdiction of Sangla Hill Police Station. This large village was attacked on the 30th August. This

village is located close to the borders of other districts, notably Gujranwala and Sialkot. All through August Muslims of the neighbouring areas continued to make preparations for attacks on Sikhs, with the active complicity of Muslim officials. After the 15th August, Bhular was the centre where Hindus and Sikhs of a considerable radius around came together for shelter. On the 30th, Muslims sent an ultimatum to the Sikhs of this place to vacate Bhuler, which the Sikhs indignantly rejected. Then Muslim mobs and police attacked from all sides. On the 1st September about 25,000 Muslims had gathered for attack. This mob attack, however, failed to break the morale of the Sikhs. Then armed police and Baluch Military stepped in to help the Muslim mob. Finding that the fight was unequal, Sikhs decided to die fighting, and killed their own womenfolk to save them from dishonour. A fierce and desperate battle ensued after this. Sikhs set fire to their own homes and property. About 200 Sikhs met their death in this engagement. The rest evacuated, fighting.

Sangla Hill is a fairly large and flourishing town in Sheikhupura district. This place was attacked on the 27th August by the Muslim Military, and the attack continued for several days. Here the technique followed was the same as employed by Muslims in most other towns. Curfew was imposed, which confined Hindus and Sikhs to their houses while Muslims went about freely, setting fire with police help to Hindu and Sikh houses, killing and looting. Here

operations were directed against Sikhs by Magistrate M. G. Cheema of Lahore notoriety. 300 Sikhs were killed and a large number were shaved forcibly. Stabbing went on with police looking on. Hindus were given a false assurance of safety and ordered on pain of death not to shelter Sikhs. Later, Hindus too were looted and killed. Huge looting went on for days in this prosperous town. Searches took place in a way which outraged the modesty of Hindu and Sikh women.

Other Sheikhupura villages looted and devastated on a large scale, in which men were killed and women abducted are, Kuthiala Virkan, Khanna Labana, Chak 32, Chak 33, Malian Shekhan, Khanpur Kalla, Hariala etc.

Kathiala Virkan, in the jurisdiction of Muridke Police station was attacked on the 19th, when Sikhs began to evacuate. The evacuees were attacked between the villages of Fatehpur and Bhatianwala by Muslims of 20 neighbouring villages. 200 Sikhs were killed, and 250 women were abducted. Out of the original jatha of 5,000 only 1,500 finally reached India, the- rest having been killed on the way in attacks at various points.

Sharakpur is a Municipal town and a Sub-Tehsil of District Sheikhupura. Here leading Muslims had promised safety to Hindus and Sikhs with oath on the Koran. On the 27th August, however, the

day after the unprecedentedly large Sheikhupura Massacre, Muslims fell upon Hindus and Sikhs. Muslims armed with rifles and automatic weapons attacked Hindus and Sikhs. Only 71 out of a total Hindu-Sikh population of a thousand escaped being murdered. Women and children were not spared. Jewellery and property worth hundreds of lakhs was looted from Hindus and Sikhs.

This was another installment of the elimination of minorities from Pakistan.

LYALLPUR

Lyallpur constituted the richest spot the Sikhs possessed in the Punjab. It was purely a Sikh creation, economically speaking. Sikhs had converted by hard toil of generations a sandy waste which this area was, into the granary of the Punjab. The Lyallpur Sikhs were not only one of the most prosperous group among the Sikhs anywhere, but they were also very well-disciplined, independence-loving and had a highly developed social conscience. They had taken a leading part in the movements of education and reform which stirred the Sikh people in the twentieth century. They were a proud, assertive and militant kind of people, who would not easily take a beating from any one. It was of the Lyallpur Sikhs primarily and also of the Sheikhupura Sikhs that the official Pakistan publication said that they left the West Punjab defiantly. Yes, the

sturdy Sikhs of those areas left the West Punjab thoroughly defiantly, and not abjectly. It was they again, to turn out whom from West Punjab, Governor Mudie made up his mind firmly. In his letter to Governor-General Jinnah, quoted elsewhere, he said:

> I am telling everyone that I dont care how the Sikhs cross the border, the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible. There is still little sign of the 3 lakh Sikhs in Lyallpur moving, but in the end they too will have to go.

This letter needs being pondered over carefully to realize the deep-laid Pakistan conspiracy to turn out Sikhs from their hearths and homes in his way: I dont care how

In the town and district of Lyallpur as a whole there had been few incidents of any kind before August, 1947. That was because the Sikhs of Lyallpur were so sturdy, so well-organised and capable of giving to any assailant much more of beating than they got. So, despite their majority in the district, Muslims dared not attack the Sikhs. There had been a few stabbing incidents in Lyallpur, and curfew for a few days but that was all. While in the neighbouring districts of Multan, Sargodha and Jhang there had been trouble on a varyingly large scale, the prestige of the Lyallpur Sikhs kept the Muslims at a respectful distance. Later on it was the Pakistan Military and police which finally decided the Sikhs upon leaving. And

then they left, but in the words of the Pakistanis, defiantly offering stiff resistance in most places.

So little was the amount of disturbances in Lyallpur up till August and so great the confidence of the Sikhs in being able, despite all that had happened since March 5, 1947 to get on even in Pakistan, that they more or less made up their minds to becoming citizens of Pakistan when Pakistan came into being. One of the two Sikh members elected to go into the Pakistan Constituent Assembly was a resident of Lyallpur, Giani Kartar Singh. The other, Sardar Ujjal Singh, belonged to the neighbouring district of Sargodha.

But so determined was the policy of the Pakistan Government and of the Muslim League in ejecting all non-Muslims and especially Sikhs from Pakistan, that harassment and murder of Sikhs and Hindus began even in quiet Lyallpur, as soon as Pakistan came into being. A few days after the establishment of Pakistan two non-Muslims were stabbed to death in Lyallpur near the Clock Tower, a very central place in the town while a crowded peace-meeting was being addressed by the Deputy Commissioner there on the need for communal peace. This incident and a few others of the kind showed to Hindus and Sikhs which way the wind was blowing for them. By the end of August murder and arson by Muslims had become very common in Lyallpur, and Hindus and Sikhs moved into refugee

camps, those at Khalsa College, at the Arya School, and other places. Evacuation from these camps began somewhat later.

The way in which the Pakistan administration functioned is illustrated by such instances as these: One Sikhs hand was cut off by Muslims with the kirpan snatched from the Sikh. The police put the Sikh under arrest and nothing was done against the Muslims. 12 Sikhs were stabbed during curfew hours, in spite of which being imposed, Muslims roamed about freely, attacking Hindus and Sikhs. One woman was snatched away from a Hindu by Muslim Janglis, while the two were going to the aerodrome to take plane to India.

In the rural areas the attacks began round about the beginning of September. By that time the whole of the West Punjab was in flames, so to speak. Hindus and Sikhs were being attacked everywhere and were largely on the move to India. Lyallpur Sikhs were the last to be attacked and it was the Pakistan Military alone which felt confident of handling them.

The village of Chak 37 is situated close to the Lahore-Shorkot railway line. On the 4th September a refugee train was stopped near this village and Muslim Military attacked it, killing 50 Sikhs. After this butchery, the train was again started.

Jaranwala, a prosperous commercial town, was attacked by a large Muslim mob on the 28th August. While the townfolk (Hindus

and Sikhs) put up a good resistance at first, the mob fell upon a hospital where Sikhs who had fled from the Sheikhupura terror of August 25-26th had taken refuge. 57 of these helpless Sikhs were killed and 40 of their womenfolk were abducted.

Attack on Jaranwala continued for ten days or longer. A large number of Hindus and Sikhs, estimated at about 700 were killed in the various refugee camps, such as the Mandi, the school and Turianand Hospital. 700 women were abducted and the number of those wounded was in the vicinity of 1,000. This attack was planned after the joint visit of Pt. Nehru and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, so that the Indian Prime Minister could be shown a clean record in this part of Pakistan.

From Chak No. 143 in Samundari Tehsil which was attacked by a Muslim mob on the 4th and 5th September, not more than 3 Sikhs were known to have come to India out of its total Sikh population of 700. This fact has its own grim story to reveal.

Kamalia, a large town, was attacked near about August 15. Here Muslim officials becoming active early, got as many as 3,500 Hindus and Sikhs killed and a very large number, especially Hindus, were forcibly converted. Other details like looting etc. are better left to the imagination of the reader.

Balloki Head was the bottleneck at which Hindu-Sikh convoys coming from Montgomery, Lyallpur, Sargodha and Multan etc. had to cross over the River Sutlej into Indian territory. Here these convoys were quite often detained for days together and extensively searched. These searches were really predatory attacks in which everything of value was snatched from Hindu 12 and Sikh refugees by Pakistan Military, police and Muslim goondas. From the huge Sikh convoy of 90,000 which reached Balloki Head on or about the 13th September, a group of 4,000 was forcibly detached and diverted towards Bhai Pheru. This group was attacked on the way and out of it hardly 250 survived.

In the beginning of September, Hindus and Sikhs of 8 or 9 villages around Chak 305 (in the jurisdiction of Police Station Chatiana) were forced to quit their homes under threat of shooting. Their arms were taken away from them, and they were kept thirsty for a whole day. Then they were ordered to march. Those in the rear were repeatedly attacked and killed and their womenfolk abducted. After much further ill-treatment they were pushed into a railway train. This train was stopped at mile 5 on the Shorkot Road line and Pakistan Military and police fell upon it. This happened on the 9th September. Out of the 5,000 Hindus and Sikhs in this train, only 6 (six) survived. So thorough was the slaughter of these Hindus and Sikhs.

Hindus and Sikhs while evacuating from Pakistan were subjected to repeated attack, killing and looting. From village after village have come stories confirming this. The Hindu and Sikh inhabitants of several villages collected in Chak 272, which however, was attacked and extensively looted on September 8. The survivors of this attack evacuated from their place of shelter and were again attacked near Salooni Jhal. Here a large number of Hindus and Sikhs were killed and great loot was taken by the invaders. The unhappy survivors trials were not yet at an end, for they were once again robbed of their belongings at Balloki Head, in Pakistan, the point at which they had to cross over into India.

The Sikh and Hindu residents of Chak No. 310 and other neighbouring villages in Tehsil Toba Tek Singh had to undergo very gruesome experiences at the hands of Pakistan Military and Muslim National Guards. About the last week of August, Muslim Military began attacks on Sikh bustees. The Muslim Sub-Divisional Officer of this area lulled Sikhs into a false sense of security by repeated oaths on the Koran and promises that Sikhs would not be attacked. Finding conditions growing intolerable, on the 1st September 5,000 Sikhs left the area on foot. Still the S. D. O. promised on the Koran that he would make them entrain from Toba Tek Singh and arrange for their safe evacuation to India. Instead, however, of being taken to Toba Tek Singh, they were taken to Chak No. 95 where they were attacked by Muslim Military and Muslim National Guards. Several

women were abducted here. Finally on the 7th September these people were put in a train for India at Toba Tek Singh. This train was attacked by a large Muslim mob and the Muslim National Guards. These attacks were repeated and between Toba Tek Singh and Dabbanwala Railway Stations more than 1,500 Sikhs were killed.

A convoy of Sikhs of Chak 204 and its neighbouring villages was looted by Muslim Police at Balloki Head, the place already mentioned as being the point of junction between India and Pakistan. A portion of this convoy was diverted by the Police to Bhai Pheru, where an attack was made and 220 of the convoy were killed, 250 wounded and 15 women were abducted. Other portions of this convoy were also repeatedly attacked and looted. Near Khudian, which is close to Chhanga Manga, Muslim villagers broke the *bund* of the canal to obstruct the passages of this convoy and to entrap and slaughter it. The Gurkha Military accompanying the convoy, however, showed praiseworthy firmness. It is said the Gurkha Jemadar was wading in water up till his neck, but made the Muslims to realize that it would go hard with them if they continued to play mischief by letting flow the water of the canal. The threat of reprisals on the part of Indian Military made the Muslims realise that their own safety lay in ending the mischief. So the broken *bund* was repaired by them and the convoy passed on.

In the Loco Workshops Shed at Lyallpur Railway Station on the 3rd September, 3 Sikhs were killed in an attack. Among those killed was a child.

At Tarakabad Railway crossing, Muslim Military shot dead 60 Sikhs, who were part of a Sikh convoy which was proceeding on its way to evacuate to India. This happened on the 3rd September.

The incidents narrated above are only a very few (so few indeed as to be not more than two percent of all that happened in Lyallpur district). More names of villages attacked and casualties suffered appear in the catalogue of attacks appended towards the end of this book.

The Lyallpur Sikhs, as has been pointed out above, were a resolute disciplined body of men and in these days they were fortunate in being served by a band of selfless and cool-headed leaders, who to shame the devil, decided to co-operate fully with the regulations of the Pakistan Government, which that Government never seriously put into effect. Some of these workers had to their credit the rescue of Muslim women and children trapped in East Punjab.

In some places Sikhs in desperation followed the scorched-earth policy, destroying their own belongings when it became clear that they would in any case be looted by their despoilers, Pakistani

Muslims. No wonder the Pakistan pamphlet complained that Sikhs left West Punjab defiantly.

During the months of September and October, 1947 the roads leading from West Punjab into India revealed one unending, melancholy procession, day after day, of Sikh men, women, children and cattle, all fatigued and hungry, as they trekked into India, some with their few salvaged belongings in carts and others on foot. These begrimed and harassed Sikhs were those driven out of Lyallpur by systematic and designed Pakistan terror.

Many died on the way, especially the young, the old and the sick. The roads were all full of stench at every few yards from dying cattle. It was to this state that Pakistan had reduced the best and most prosperous colonists which India has in recent times known.

GUJRANWALA

The District of Gujranwala lies next to Sheikhupura west of Lahore. The Muslim population of this district was 70.45%, while the Hindu and Sikh population combined was 22.70%. As everywhere in the Punjab, Sikhs and Hindus were enlightened entrepreneurs, good businessmen and organisers, and the Sikhs were very good farmers and owners of rich, fertile land for which they contributed land-revenue many times their population strength.

Nizamabad in Gujranwala District is famous for its cutlery industry. Thousands of parcels of knives from this place have been despatched by the Muslim grinders to different places in the Punjab and outside to replenish the armouries of Muslim League and Muslim National Guards. Very many times the Police of Bombay, Central Provinces, the United Provinces and other provinces have intercepted these parcels in the railway yards, and thus prevented their reaching those who could have used them for murdering the followers of other religions. But while some of these parcels have been confiscated through police vigilance, many times the number so confiscated surely reached their destination.

Wazirabad, a railway junction joining the Lahore-Rawalpindi-Peshawar main line and the Jammu-Sialkot line has earned great notoriety for the attacks made on Hindu-Sikh refugee trains and for the large massacres which took place both in the town and at the station.

Gujranwala itself continued to be disturbed in June and July; and in August, like all other West Punjab towns, it rose to massacre and hound out its Hindu and Sikh population. A peace meeting had to be called in Gujranwala on the 11th July at which Muslim League leaders including Mian Iftikharuddin and the Khan of Mamdot made very glib speeches about the virtue of neighbourliness and communal harmony. But the Muslim audiences knew very well that

all Muslim League leaders peace appeals, from Mr. Jinnah downwards were meant only to do a formality, to fool the Western world and to lull Hindus and Sikhs into a false sense of security. Behind the scenes these very speech-makers were planning riots and organising and financing arson and murder.

In July stabbing attacks on Hindus and Sikhs occurred frequently. There were also some attacks on Hindu-Sikh areas and arson was attempted. But the Hindus and Sikhs of Gujranwala were a well organised and fearless people, and gave back to the Muslims better than they got. Especially was the Gurdwara attacked, from which Sikhs kept their assailants well at bay.

With the approach of August 15, however the aspect of things began to change. By the end of July when a Muslim Deputy Commissioner arrived to take over charge of the District, the Muslim determination to hound the Hindus and Sikhs out of the own was evident. Officials, police and Muslim League were working in close co-operation to this end. Hindus and Sikhs naturally sensed the imminent danger and tried to leave before loss of life occurred. The Hindu-Sikh exodus became a general flight, for which even enough transport was not available. On the 27th July stabbing of Hindus and Sikhs was going on frequently. In the curfew if the Hindus and Sikhs came out, they were arrested, while Muslims went about armed, freely doing whatever mischief they liked. Stabbing of Hindus and

Sikhs went on with the police looking on. Hindus and Sikhs houses were set on fire; even when the culprits who did this were arrested, the police did not take cognizance of the offence. A secret order was issued by Mehar Ghulam Mohammed, Inspector of Police who went from Amritsar, to the Muslim policemen to kill all non-Muslim policemen. Muslim police constables shot dead at sight any Hindu or Sikh. Between the 11th and 17th August all Hindu and Sikh localities, such as Guru Nanakpural Hakim Rai, Mandi Khajurwali, Brahm Akhara, Chauk Chashma, Sheikhupura Gate area, etc. had been burned. The murder of Hindus and Sikhs occurred on a large scale. One of the most brutal and shocking murders was that of Dr. Tej Bhans family. There were 14 members in their family. Dr. Tej Bhans house was attacked by Muslim police, but the attack was repulsed. Then Imdad Hussain Shah, Sub-Inspector came with more force. The house was set on fire at which the inmates came out. The men were first shot dead; and then the womenfolk with children in their arms. Only one minor boy and one girl escaped.

Sub-Inspector Hussain Shah, who at Lahore had burned down the vast and prosperous Hindu area inside Shahalmi Gate in collusion with Magistrate M. G. Cheema, now came to Kamoke, a prosperous Hindu-Sikh trading centre a few mites from Gujranwala. He carried on a general massacre of Hindus and Sikhs in Kamoke town and in the Ilaqa.

Asghar Ali Shah, Assistant Sub-Inspector of Naushehra Virkan got all Sikhs within his jurisdiction murdered. He would collect them under pretext of making some enquiry and get them all shot dead.

These were some of the ways in which minorities were being eliminated in Pakistan.

Village Dorhian in the area of Police Station Kila Didar Singh had a purely Sikh population. The inhabitants of this area were murdered wholesale by the police and Muslim National Guards. In Eminabad wholesale murder of Hindus and Sikhs occurred also. At Sohadra, on the 13th August, 60 Hindus and Sikhs were killed. Burji Chanda Singh was attacked repeatedly from the 16th August to the 2nd September and 125 Sikhs got killed.

The town of Gakhar was attacked on the 17th August. Here looting and killing continued for 3 days. 200 Sikhs and Hindus were killed.

Kot Des Raj was attacked on the 15th August. Here the number of Hindus and Sikhs killed was 300; 120 were forcibly converted. In Udhowali, attacked on the 27th, about 60 were killed. Almost the entire Hindu and Sikh population of Maju Chak, numbering 500 was slaughtered.

Village Ramke Chatha was attacked on the 5th September. Here Hindus and Sikhs took the life of their own womenfolk to save them being dishonoured by Muslims. Mandi Sukhoki was attacked on the 3rd September. Sikhs were ferreted out from Hindu homes and killed with brutality.

Dharaunkal was attacked on 19th August. Out of its total Sikh population of 80 only about 20 survived the attack.

A large massacre of Hindus and Sikhs occurred at Dhariwal in the jurisdiction of Kila Didar Singh Police Station. Hindus and Sikhs were evacuating, and were attacked near Lalpur. 1000 were killed.

Great destruction of Hindu-Sikh lives also occurred in the villages falling within the jurisdiction of Wadhon Police Station, which was attacked by Mohd. Azam Magistrate, and the D. S. P.

In Ladhowali Chima a big massacre occurred. 125 Hindus and Sikhs were killed and 50 wounded. 200 women were abducted. The people of village Sagar put up a heroic resistance and most of them died fighting against the Muslim assailants.

In Mari Thakran 76 were killed.

Patlemal, Mirzapur, Thapnala and Mirza Jan suffered great loss of Hindu and Sikh lives.

Muslim goondas were imported from Lahore to attack Lohianwala, a village three miles outside Gujranwala. Here 30 to 40 Sikhs were killed. Looianwala, another village was attacked by the Muslim military which got down from a train which was stopped on purpose, and attacked this village, Sikhs were hounded down and in a brief space of time 100 were killed.

In Wadd 42 Hindus and Sikhs were killed.

Kamoke is an important trading town, a few miles east of Gujranwala. Hindus and Sikhs had set up here flourishing Mills, factories and banks. Here, on the arrival of the Muslim military, on the 16th August, looting and murdering of Hindus and Sikhs started. On the 16th August 100 bags of rice were looted from shops of Hindus and Sikhs and on the next day a whole truck-ful of food looted by Muslims. One woman was shot dead. The general attack began on the 21st, when the police called 50 to 60 Hindus and Sikhs out of their houses and shot them dead. On the 23rd eight rice husking factories, all belonging to Hindus and Sikhs were burned and so were many houses of Hindus and Sikhs. When Hindus and Sikhs, on demand of the Muslim police officers, paid a sum of sixty thousand rupees, this arson and murder stopped temporarily. But soon after, these activities were resumed by Muslims and huge looting occurred which included the Central Bank and wheat in Mandi, which was worth four lakhs of rupees. On the 24th the

Gurdwara of Dam Dama Sahib was attacked. The Granthi and several Sikhs inside the Gurdwara were murdered by a Muslim mob of 1,000. Later, another 150 Hindus and Sikhs were killed while sheltering in private houses.

Towards the beginning of September, a Hindu-Sikh refugee train coming from West Punjab was attacked by a Muslim mob, abetted by the police and military, at Kamoke. The refugees in the train had been kept without water for two days. Whatever weapons of defence the refugees had, such as licensed guns, were taken away from them. The mob stabbed and speared the passengers, while the police shot down any one who tried to escape by running away. The Pakistan Military made a show of firing, but their shots were directed towards the sky and not the mob and after a short while they also joined the mob and the police in shooting down the passengers.

Most of the male refugees were butchered or shot dead. The women were sorted. The elderly ones were later butchered, while the younger ones were distributed. Children were murdered by being flung with force on the ground.

Wazirabad which was an important Hindu-Sikh trading centre, became like Raiwind, notorious for the large number of attacks on Hindu and Sikh refugee trains. On the 12th August a train left

Amritsar. Its Hindu and Sikh passengers were first attacked at Moghulpura five miles east of Lahore, and almost all of them were murdered. Some few who escaped reached Wazirabad and beyond. On the 13th a general massacre of Hindus and Sikhs occurred at Wazirabad. The Mandi was burned and huge looting took place. The same day general looting of the bazar again occurred and all available Hindus and Sikhs in the bazar were murdered. Trains coming from Wazirabad carrying Hindus and Sikhs fleeing from Muslim terror, were stopped at Nizamabad, a few miles cast, and the Muslim military escort joined Muslim goondas of the mob in murdering Hindu and Sikh passengers. 5 or 6 women were abducted from this train. Altogether about 500 Hindu and Sikhs travelling by this train were killed. The railway track to Jammu, whither Hindu and Sikh refugees were going as the nearest way out, was removed. This train was also attacked, but its escort fortunately was Sikh and thus the Muslim mob were kept at a safe distance from Hindu and Sikh passengers.

MONTGOMERY

The Sikhs of this district like those of the neighbouring district of Lyallpur were colonists mainly from the districts of Central and Eastern Punjab. Many of them were ex-soldiers or their descendants, who had got grants of land from the British Government for war service, since the beginning of the twentieth

century. These sturdy colonists cleared the jungles and made of them smiling and prosperous fields. The local Muslims were the Janglis-wild, illiterate folk, whose fanatical passions could easily be roused by the Muslim League leaders of this area, who were big absentee landlords and had neither the enterprise nor the industry and ability of the Sikhs and the Hindus, who brought prosperity to this area.

The population proportion of this district were as follows:-

Muslims	...	...	...	69.11%
Hindus	...	...	...	14.38%
Sikhs	...	...	...	13.17%

In Montgomery town trouble started on the 18th August, just the day after the announcement of the Boundary Commission Award. Montgomery, or at least those areas of it which were contiguous to Lahore and faced on to Ferozepore, in which most part of the Sikh land was situated, was one of the dispute regions before the Boundary Commission and like Sheikhupura, Lahore and part of Lyallpur, it was expected that this area in justice and fairness would be awarded to India. Men, however, the Boundary Commissions Award was announced, the Muslim Leaguers, waiting only for a signal, directed their attack on Sikhs and Hindus. On the evening of

the 18th August, Sikh and Hindu shops were looted and all Sikhs and Hindus found in the bazars were murdered. The attacked communities shut themselves up in their houses and Gurdwaras and Mandirs. The Mandir was attacked. Hindus and Sikhs, after the first day, gave tough fight, but their valour and courage could not avail them anything against the Pakistan Military, police and officials, who were planning and leading the attacks. Huge loot was collected by Muslims from deserted and burning Hindu and Sikh houses. Sikhs had taken shelter inside the big building of Gurdwara Singh Sabha. Here they resisted attacks for days. Life inside this confinement was extremely hard, as food was scanty, and so was water. Dirt continued to accumulate, but the Sikhs inside bore all such sufferings with stoic courage. Even when Sikhs came out under official permit to carry rations inside the Gurdwara, they were subjected to torture and humiliation. Sikhs and Hindus were fired on and shot at the railway station, where they were waiting for days for being transported to India.

The attack on Montgomery town was the signal for Muslim attack on Sikhs and Hindus all over the district. In village after village, as happened in Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, Gujrat or for the matter of that, any of the West Punjab districts, Sikhs were attacked, and fired on by Pakistan Military and police, which invariably directed the operations of the Muslim mobs.

The village of Mirak Shah (Police station Nurshah jurisdiction) was attacked on the 22nd August by a Muslim mob, Muslim National Guards, Police and Military in combination. An ultimatum was issued to Hindus and Sikhs to turn Muslims or to face the consequences. On their refusal to turn Muslims, they were extensively looted. The threatened population took shelter at Tandlianwala, in Lyallpur district, which is at a short distance. Tandlianwala was attacked by Muslims on the 25th August. The Gurdwara, where Hindus and Sikhs had taken shelter, was set on fire. Pakistan Military and Police fired on the Hindus and Sikhs who came out on the roof of the Gurdwara building. About 300 Hindus and Sikhs were killed here. On the 28th August, Wards Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of Tandlianwala, which had Hindu and Sikh populations, were attacked. In this attack, 1,900 Hindus and Sikhs were killed, and 400 women were abducted. The loot from this prosperous Hindu-Sikh commercial centre can only be imagined. The attacking force numbered about 25,000.

Chak 139/9L was attacked on the 1st Bhadon (about the end of August). This village and Chak No. 128/9L, which is in its neighbourhood, were simultaneously attacked. In these two villages Sikhs and Hindus from 27 surrounding villages had collected for shelter. The assailants who had come from the surrounding areas for this holy war numbered about 30,000. Sikhs put a very stiff resistance, and held out for days. Casualties were inflicted on both

sides. Ultimately Sikhs and Hindus were evacuated to India by the Indian Military.

Sikhs and Hindus from Chaks 65/4R, 65/J.D., 27, 61, 78 etc., finding a peaceful life rendered any longer impossible for them, formed, near about the 23rd August a caravan for travelling to India. No Military accompanied these people. Near Yusufwala railway station these people were attacked by a large crowd which was well armed and was led by Muslim National Guards. 18 Sikhs were killed in this attack. The evacuees were subjected to tremendous looting by Muslim mobs. Near Montgomery town police fired on this caravan. Here vast killing ensued, and 400 women were abducted. Finding the situation hopeless, a number of Sikh women immolated themselves by burning themselves or jumping into wells, to escape dishonour at the hands of Muslims. Some Sikhs took the lives of their own womenfolk. Among those who thus destroyed themselves were children of even eight and ten years of age.

In Hujra Shah Muqim the attack came on the 22nd August and continued for several days. The local Sub-Inspector of Police lulled Hindus and Sikhs into a false sense of security by promising to protect them against attack. However, a day after such assurance, the Muslim mob advanced to attack under cover of the Police and Military. Hindus and Sikhs in panic collected in 3 mohallas for safety. These 3 mohallas were set on fire by the Military. Hindu and

Sikh women in these mohallas immolated themselves to escape dishonour. The men fought back, but could do little against the Police and Military. At last word was given to them that they would be safe if they came out of these mohallas. But as soon as they came out, indiscriminate fire was opened on them and 3,100 Hindus and Sikhs were shot dead. When the survivors were at last marched towards India, they were attacked by Muslims at Husainiwala Head in Pakistan. Here several men were killed and 25 women were abducted. Some Hindus were forcibly converted, but later on they were shot dead by Muslims.

An evacuee train carrying Hindus and Sikhs was held up at Montgomery railway station (first week of September) for attack. The pretext was made was that no coal was available for the engine. Hindu and Sikh factory owners, who were awaiting evacuation agreed to give coal out of their stocks for the engine, but as coal shortage was not the real cause of the train being held up, so it was not started. An attack on this train was, however, averted at Montgomery. Later this train was attacked at Raiwind on the 4th September, where already a large number of dead bodies of Sikhs were lying along the railway track. Those of the Sikhs killed in this train were added to those which were already lying there.

Pakpattan, Harappa, Okara, Dipalpur and other places in this district were also attacked, Hindus and Sikhs were killed and their

belongings looted. In many places Muslim pirs directed these attacks and characterized them as a holy war waged against infidels, that is Hindus and Sikhs.

SIALKOT

Sialkot is a district bordering on Lahore and Amritsar beside Gurdaspur and Gujranwala. Its population proportions were as under: -

Muslims	...	...	...	62.9%
Hindus	...	...	...	19.41%
Sikhs	...	...	...	11.71%

which means that its population was divided into communities pretty much as in its neighbouring districts of Gujranwala and Sheikhupura, in both of which such huge carnage occurred among Hindus and Sikhs.

Sialkot did not have much of disturbance to speak of uptill August, 1947. Perhaps the Muslim League elements did not feel so very sure whether the district would be awarded to India or Pakistan. So, awaiting the Boundary Commissions award they lay low, waiting for their opportunity.

Sikhs were a well-organised and important element in the district of Sialkot, despite their inferiority in numbers. They were mostly sturdy peasant proprietors and there were many ex-soldiers among them. The district had also played an important part in the Akali Movement and in the various Congress struggles. So, there were among the Sikhs and Hindus good leaders, organisers and fighters.

Muslim mischief started on the 12th August, the day after it had started in a big way at Lahore. An attack was made on Mohalla Bhabrian. Police were actively helping the assailants. Sikhs put up a very stiff and heroic resistance, and fought a strongly defensive battle.

Ultimately they were overpowered with the help of the Military. There was not much arson on this day, but quite a number of Hindus and Sikhs were murdered. The exodus of Hindus and Sikhs from Sialkot began after this attack. They took either the Jammu route or the Amritsar route. On the Wazirabad route, which was the third alternative, in those days no Hindu or Sikh was safe. At Wazirabad station, as stated elsewhere, several times massacres of Hindus and Sikhs occurred. On the Amritsar route, huge massacres occurred at Narowal and in its neighbourhood. As witnessed by a police constable, who was an evacuee from the district, he saw round about the 24th and 25th August, more than 500 dead bodies, mostly Sikhs lying outside Narowal. The railway track between Sialkot and

Amritsar was strewn with dead bodies, mostly Sikhs. Village after village was attacked and pillaged. Sikhs were especially hunted down. While as a rule no non-Muslim convoy was allowed to pass a Muslim stronghold without being attacked, the main force of such attacks was directed against Sikhs, whom the Pakistan Muslims attacked with especially bitter malice. Earlier on the 17th, many Sikhs and Hindus had been murdered near Narowal when attempting to cross the River Ravi. The town was pillaged with arson and murder. Gurdwara Baoli Sahib in Sialkot was attacked on the 13th August. 20 Sikhs including women and children, who were inside the holy building, were killed or roasted alive in the flames of the burning Gurdwara.

As a matter of fact, on the 13th August, after their tame success of the 12th, Muslims made a full scale attack with the help of the police and the military. A vigorous campaign of arson, looting and murder was initiated, resulting in a large number of Hindu and Sikh houses and shops being burned and many Hindus and Sikhs being killed. The survivors fled to the railway station for safety, where on the 13th they noticed a train load of Hindus and Sikhs corpses arrive from Wazirabad side, at which station on the same day a huge massacre of Hindus and Sikhs had occurred. The famous Gurdwara of Babe di Ber was burned, so dear to Sikh sentiment as one of the places where Guru Nanak had resided for a considerable time. The

inmates of this Gurdwara were shot dead by the police. Other Gurdwaras in the city were similarly attacked and burned.

While Hindu and Sikh refugees were being brought to India, a few days after, their lorries were unaccountably stopped at the Ravi Road in Lahore. A motor cyclist went into the town and brought with him a Muslim mob, which attacked these lorries, killing 40. The entire caravan would have been murdered, but for the timely arrival of Sikh military, who rescued the remainder. The survivors of this tragedy were seen at Amritsar by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister of India.

Bhawanipur, in Tehsil Shakargarh, which was formerly part of Gurdaspur District, but since 17-8-1947 the date on which the Award of the Boundary Commission was announced has been included in Sialkot (Pakistan), was the scene of brutality and highly reprehensible and heartless duplicity on the part of Muslims. On the 24th August this. village was attacked by a Muslim mob. Those Hindus and Sikhs who escaped killing, hid in a sugarcane crop to save their lives. Muslims standing outside the field gave promises of safety in the name of Allah to all such as came out. Such of the besieged as were simple enough to believe this promise were killed on the spot as soon as they came out. Only a few women and 3 men were left. These men too were killed later. Many of the young girls were abducted.

Village Badomali was attacked and a large killing done and many women abducted. Below is the statement of Parsini, a 15 year old Hindu abducted girl, rescued by Indian Military. Her statement to the Chief Liaison Officer, East Punjab Government is:-

> About three months-back our village was raided by Muslims and our street known as Samaj Wali Gali was set on fire and the property was looted. They announced to the Hindu population that they would be given safe passage across the river Ravi towards India if they would go out peacefully. When men, women and children walked out of their houses the Muslim raiders committed atrocities with the women in the open streets and all young girls were taken away and a very large number of men and old women were killed. I was forcibly taken away by one Fazal Din alias Fajja, a tonga driver of Baghbanpura. A very large number of raiders belonged to Baghbanpura. Mst. Piari, who is now present outside and her cousin named Piari were also with me at the time. Two men named Labhu and Allah Rakha were with these two girls and were forcing them to go with them. We all the three girls with three men walked on foot and passed the night at Passianwala at the house of a Muslim whose name I do not remember. The owner of this house was uncle of Allah Rakha who had abducted the senior Piari. Next day we were marched again to Baghbanpura at about 10 in the night. I was

taken to the house of Fajja and the other two girls also spent the night at the same place. During the course of the night Labhu, against the wishes of senior Piari, who is present outside, committed rape on her and also relieved her of two gold rings. The next morning both these girls named Piari, were taken away by Allah Rakha and Labhu respectively. After 15 days or so I was forcibly married to one Farid, aged about 25 years, a relation of the said Fazal Din. I was taken to his house where he used me as wife in the face of great protest and resistance put up by me. I was given the name of Khurshid and was forcibly converted.

Jalalpur Jattan, an important town, was disturbed on and after the 12th August. The Muslims there had planned murder of Hindus and Sikhs in collusion with the District officials. On the 18th burning of Hindu-Sikh houses and the Mandir started on a big scale. Trains were held up; telegraph wires 13 were cut, and every Hindu and Sikh was blockaded. Saving of life by fleeing was rendered impossible. In the village surrounding Jalalpur Jattan, a very large number of Hindus and Sikhs were killed. In this town itself, 400 were killed; only one person out of its Hindu and Sikh population is traced as having survived.

At Thambrewal, in Tehsil Daska, on the 16th August, several Hindus and Sikhs were murdered. About two dozen were forcibly,

converted to Islam. These converts were later killed, their leaving of their ancestral creed not having satisfied the power-lust of their conquerors.

The village of Panj Grain Bajwa, in Tehsil Pasrur was attacked on the 26th by a Muslim mob and Pakistan police. Its total Hindu-Sikh population was 300 out of which only 70 or 80 survived. The rest were attacked several times and killed in large numbers on their way to Narowal, whence they intended to evacuate to India. Those who were not killed and were captured, were forcibly converted.

Hindus and Sikhs of Bhikho Chak were attacked by a party of 130 Muslims while they were leaving the village. The attack occurred on the Pattan at Ravi river. 113 of those attacked were killed; there were not more than 17 or 18 survivors.

In this village terrible butchering was done. The force which attacked it was 6,000 strong. Altogether 3,000 Hindus and Sikhs were killed by the Muslim Military with rifle fire. The number of women abducted was 300. The survivors were forcibly converted. Muslims made the attack with drums beating and possessed machine guns and such other weapons.

Of the village Bhoi in Tehsil Daska, very few Sikhs survived. In Melomer on the 29th August, as many as 1,500 Hindus and Sikhs were burnt alive in the places where they had hidden for shelter.

At Dhapai in the jurisdiction of Zaffarwal Police Station 150 Hindus and Sikhs were killed and 50 young girls were abducted.

Jassar is an important town in Sialkot District and a railway junction. A terrible massacre of non-Muslims occurred in this town on the 23rd October, 1947. This incident created great tension in East Punjab. The following telegram was sent by the Commander of J. D. Camp, Amritsar to the East Punjab Government:-

No. 3346 ShW. Situation in Amritsar has deteriorated suddenly through information about attack on train load of non-Muslim refugees which occurred at Jassar in Sialkot district, and was proceeding to Dera Baba Nanak (India Border) on foot on 23rd. Though Pakistan press has given out that 30 were killed and 200 wounded rumour in city based on story of survivors and published in local papers is 1,500 killed. About 10,000 non-Muslims collected at noon today near the Muslim refugee camp at Cattle Fair ground for the purpose of attacking camp in retaliation. They have been persuaded to turn back with considerable difficulty. But feeling in city is still high. People are insisting that some action should be taken at highest level and West Punjab Government warned that unless incidents cease on their side, it will be difficult to control people on ours. Curfew has been imposed. Additional military posted at refugee camps Cattle Fair Ground and Jandiala. Muslim refugees train detained at Beas. Arrangements are being made to reinforce

Beas. Muslim refugees train will only be passed through if railway track found in order and situation permits. Assistance of local leaders also being harnessed.

The Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur, reported about this incident:-

I visited Dera Baba Nanak with Brigade Commander and Superintendent Police yesterday in connection with the attack on the non-Muslim train near Jassar, district Sialkot. It appears all refugees were made to detrain at Jassar. The luggage had to be put aside and then short distance away attacked by armed Muslim mob. Military escort fired into air only and also shot dead three Sikh members of guard because they protested against Muslims failure shoot at mob. Only two thousand reached. Of this number about six hundred were injured; about seventy needing hospitalization. Thirty serious cases have been brought to Gurdaspur or sent to Amritsar hospital and others were being moved. It is not possible yet to give exact number dead or wounded left behind but total feared high as according some reports train carried about five thousand refugees. The property was all looted after systematic searches and a very large number of women have been abducted.

On November 1, the Governor of West Punjab wirelessed his apologies to the Governor, East Punjab taking care, however, to

minimise the number of casualties.

The message was as follows:-

Your 381-GPP. The incident at Jassar is deeply regretted by all. Full particulars were furnished immediately after verification by Provincial Government to Prime Minister, East Punjab, Refugees Minister India, Deputy High Commissioner and CLO. Casualties in this incident were 30 refugees killed and 200 wounded; action of the escort resulted in 50 attackers killed; wounded not known but must have been 300 or 400. All possible steps are being taken to prevent such occurrences and this particular case is being vigorously investigated. I.G. Police has appointed an S. P. for special enquiry.

MIANWALI

This border district of the Punjab was comparatively undisturbed during the March riots. A mob of 10,000 attacked the town of Mianwali, but the presence of mind shown by the Deputy Commissioner and the authorities averted the trouble then. On the 28th August in Mianwali Muslim mobs and military killed 250 Hindus and Sikhs inside the Gurdwara, in Sanatan Dharm Mandir and Arya Sumaj Mandir. These places of worship were also attacked.

Later, a massacre of Hindus and Sikhs occurred, in which altogether 3,500 were killed and 1,000 women were abducted.

Looting was on a very extensive scale.

After the establishment of Pakistan, however, the process of elimination of Hindus and Sikhs started in this district, as all over West Punjab, in full vigour. In this district, on the 1st September the Deputy Commissioner in an open meeting declared it to be his policy to turn out all Hindus and Sikhs from the district. . A regular time-table for this purpose was fixed, and parwanas were issued to the lower officials. Such an open declaration of policy left no doubt in the minds of the Muslim goonda elements as to their complete immunity from official action which they would have for anything done against Hindus and Sikhs.

A Sikh Captain, P. S. Grewal was shot dead by Muslim National Guards at Pai Khel railway station. No police action followed this murder.

Regular attacks on trains started after this. Hindus and Sikh passengers were combed out of trains, murdered and thrown on the platform, or along the railway track. No one checked these activities.

Non-Muslim railway employees were murdered in large numbers. The Brahman station master of Shah Alam railway station was forcibly converted, and later on shot dead when he refused to swallow beef.

A Sikh railway employee of Doratta was murdered along with his whole family.

At Kundian railway station, as many as 72 Hindu railway employees and passengers were killed.

Kundian, Harnauli, Pipla, Kullur Kot and Bhakhar were attacked in the first week of September. The number of Hindus and Sikhs killed in these various places is:-

Kundian	...	...	...	100
Harnauli	...	...	..	2,500
Pipla	...	...	...	600
Bhakkar Tehsil Total	...	...	...	6,000
Abawali	...	...	...	120
Kullur Kot	...	...	...	150

From Harnauli about 500 women and girls were abducted. The wounded were brought to the Government Hospital at Mianwali. The Muslim civil surgeon told Hindu and Sikh wounded that she would dress their wounds only if they got converted to Islam. Relief workers from among non-Muslims were repeatedly attacked and killed by Muslim mobs under the very nose of Pakistan Military.

In Darya Khan 1,500 Hindus were forcibly converted.

In Isa Khel the Deputy Commissioner got 25 Hindus besieged who were murdered by Muslim mobs. Later 50 Hindus were put under arrest. No Muslim was arrested.

In Sohla Wasti Sikhan of Bhakhar Tehsil, on 5 Sawan (beginning of September) a large number of Hindus and Sikhs were killed. 113 Hindus were forcibly converted and some women were abducted.

A Hindu-Sikh refugee train, which left Mianwali on the 13th October, was repeatedly attacked on the way between Kundian and Wan Bhuchran, at Sargodha and Shahdara. On the wav the refugees suffered acutely for lack of water, which was not given to them. Muslims sold it to Hindus and Sikhs at ten rupees a tumbler.

In Haidarbad Thal Area in Tehsil Bhakar, from the 25th August onwards villages Sadhwala, Manakera, Khin, Main, Dhinana, Wiri, Karloowala etc. were besieged and Hindus and the few Sikhs forced to quit their homes after great sufferings and being subjected to loot.

Wan Bhuchran was attacked on the 4th September. The Hindus approached the authorities for protection and were given assurance of safety. The mob nevertheless attacked the town that very night and arson and looting went on the whole night, A Hindu, who escaped from the besieged town at great risk, informed the district

authorities at Mianwali. Military arrived, but did little except driving away the raiders. No loot was returned.

JHANG

Attacks on Hindus and Sikhs began all over the district of Jhang near about the 24th August. Sikhs and Hindus were harassed, murdered and besieged in every town and village. Gurdwaras were almost everywhere burned, such as at Nanaksar and Chund.

In Mandi Shah Jiwana Sikhs and Hindus were looted on a large scale. In village Chund the Gurdwara where Hindus and Sikhs had collected for shelter was besieged. Ultimatum was given to them by Muslims to embrace Islam or face death. Hindu and Sikh women finding all hope of succour or safety gone, immolated themselves on funeral pyre to escape dishonour at the hands of Muslims. The men fought back the invaders and had 375 out of their total of 450 killed.

Population proportions in Jhang.

Muslims	...	...	...	82.61%
Hindus	...	...	...	15.80%
Sikhs	...	...	...	1.49%

BAHAWALPUR STATE

This state lies south-west of the Punjab, running along the rivers Sutlej and the extension of the Chenab, and borders on the Province of Sind. It had a minority of Hindu and Sikh population, and is ruled over by a Muslim Nawab. This state acceded to Pakistan.

After the establishment of Pakistan murder, loot and abduction were let loose on the Hindus and Sikhs of this state. Sikhs were almost all colonists, who had, like Sikhs in Lyallpur, Montgomery, Jhang and Multan, made the land productive through their hard labour. They were cut down in every village. The state authorities far from protecting them, only abetted their destruction.

At Bhattian in Rahim Yar Khan district 4000 Sikhs were collected from the surrounding villages with promises of safety by the state police. On the 23rd September, they were attacked. Out of this 4000, only 660 survived. 700 women were abducted. Looting of Sikhs property went on everywhere.

Hindus too, who as a class were prosperous, were looted and murdered everywhere. In the capital of the State, all Sikh and Hindu officials (who were not many in the civil list) were put under arrest without any cause.

In a press note the Ministry of States, Government of India, stated on December 3, 1947.

The non-Muslim population of Bawalpur state, according to the 1941 census, was 2, 40,000 which, allowing for normal increase. is now estimated at about 2,70,000.

Of these between 70,000 and 80,000 recently had to leave the state as a result of the disturbance, the number left behind being stated to he in the neighbourhood of 70,000. This leaves over 100,000 unaccounted for.

These 100,000 unaccounted for Hindus and Sikhs are the unfortunate ones who were hunted down by the Muslim mobs, Military and Police, and murdered for no other reason except that they were Hindus or Sikhs.

JHELUM

The devastation which occurred in Jhelum district in March, 1947 has been told of earlier. Very few Hindus or Sikhs were left in the countryside. They had either come down east, or had collected in refugee camps. The towns had been comparatively safe up till August. But on the establishment of Pakistan, things began to take an ugly turn for Hindus and Sikhs.

Towards the end of August, all Hindus and Sikhs in Rohtas and Sanghoi were put to death. Some women and girls were also

abducted. All this was done with the active planning of Muslim Leaguers and the Police.

The total non-Muslim population of village Mirpur in Pind Dadan Tehsil was murdered, only 2 children having escaped. Vahalee wag razed to the ground, and its population burnt alive.

Hindus and Sikhs at Khewra were attacked, and forced to leave for India, after suffering losses in life.

In Pind Dadan Khan town there was large-scale murder of Hindus and Sikhs.

The refugees trains which left Jhelum district were attacked several times on the way to India and a heavy toll bf Hindu and Sikh lives was taken. One train was attacked on the 19th September between Pind Dadan Khan and Chalisa. Here heavy loss of life occurred. A further attack was made at Harbanspura, where however the timely active intervention of a British officer drove away the assailants. At Lahore, 200 of the wounded were carried out of the train, and most of them were systematically finished.

Another train left on the 24th September. This was attacked at Kamoke, where about a thousand Hindus and Sikhs were killed, and a large number of girls and women were kidnapped.

The town of Jhelum was attacked on the 25th September. Here the planning of the attack was done by the Pakistan Military. In Govindpura Mohalla, the centre of Hindu-Sikh population, about 700 Hindus and Sikhs were shot dead. People were dragged out of their houses and killed. Women were molested and many abducted. No evacuee from Jhelum was allowed to take out more luggage than he could carry on his head. Forty truck loads of Hindu-Sikh property were looted by Muslims from the railway station of Jhelum.

In the month of November, Hindu and Sikh girls brought by Pathan raiders from Kashmir were sold in the bazars of Jhelum.

MULTAN AND MUZAFFARGA

The happenings of March, 1947 in Multan have been narrated earlier. Whatever Hindus and Sikhs were still left in that district, were mopped up after the establishment of Pakistan.

On the 26th September, a Muslim mob fell upon Makhdumpur Jaura. Here 1,500 Sikhs and Hindus were killed, and 150 women were abducted.

On the same date Rampur, in Kabirwala Tehsil was attacked. This was a Sikh village. All Sikhs to a man were killed here. Children were not spared. The women immolated themselves to escape dishonour at the hands of the Muslim marauders.

In the refugee camp of Mailsi 2,000 Hindus and Sikhs were shot dead in the beginning of October. The assailants were Pakistan Military. Later, at Mailsi railway station, another 200 were shot dead by them. The refugee train which carried the survivors of these attacks was also attacked several times on the way to India.

Chaks 571, 561, 563, 565, 566 etc. in Tehsil Vihari were attacked on the 31st August and the residents, mostly Sikhs, turned out of their hearths and homes in a destitute state. Their foot caravan was attacked several times on the way by Muslim mobs. They were safe from these attacks only when Indian Military got to know of them and escorted them to India.

In Chak 80 in Tehsil Shujabad, on the 11th September, 6 Sikhs were killed. The rest were turned out in a destitute state.

Muzaffargarh is an outlying district to the west of Multan. Here the Muslim proportion in the population was about 87%. Terrible massacres of Hindus and Sikhs occurred in this district, which was dominated by fanatical Muslim Pirs, rabid Muslim Leaguers and big feudal Muslim landlords, who flourished on the ignorance and easy impressionability of the Muslim masses around them.

On a conservative estimate. 10,000 Hindus and Sikhs were killed in this district.

Gurmani, Basti Navin and Patti Bhanwali etc. were places on which attacks started on the 9th September. Here all Sikhs and Hindus were forcibly converted by Muslims. The converted people, even the grown-up ones were circumcized and were forced to partake of beef. They were compelled to marry away their daughters to Muslims.

When these Hindus and Sikhs were later being evacuated to India, their train was attacked by Muslims near Kahna Kachha (Lahore district). The assailants were driven off by the Indian Military escort.

In Basti Sikhanwali, on the 10th September, 800 Sikhs and Hindus were killed.

The Deputy Commissioner of Muzaffargarh sent for Hindu notables, and warned them not to harbour or shelter any Sikhs as the latter had in any, case to be thrown out of Pakistan. This was about the middle of September.

At Kot Adu, on the 10th September, 1,400 people, mostly Sikhs, were killed. In this carnage women and children were not spared.

In Gobindpur, Alipur and Badra false assurances of safety were given to Sikhs. 150 Sikhs of Gobindpur were shut up in a building,

which was set oil fire, and all were burnt alive. 20 women were abducted (August 19).

In the Tehsil of Khanewal in Jahanian and Mian Channu areas all Sikh villages were attacked. In Chak 107/15L half a dozen Sikhs were killed. The Gurdwara of Multan Cantonment was besieged. Hindus in Multan were forcibly converted on a large scale.

GUJRAT

The district of Gujrat lies between Gujranwala and Jhelum. Although large-scale wiping out of Hindu and Sikh populations had occurred in Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts from March, 1947 onwards, yet the district of Gujrat as a whole had remained more or less quiet. That was perhaps because after the experience of Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Multan and the fear of Hindu-Sikh reprisals in the Eastern districts of the Punjab, the Government had tightened up security measures and large military forces were sent to the Western part of Punjab for keeping order. Anyhow, such steps were taken as kept the Muslim League elements in Gujrat under proper check.

Trouble, however, began immediately after the establishment of Pakistan, when mass murder of Sikhs and Hindus began in Sialkot, Wazirabad, Gujranwala and other parts of central and western Punjab. The district of Gujrat was particularly badly situated from the

point of view of Hindus and Sikhs. It had no easy route of escape into Kashmir State, as Sialkot had. Towards the West of it the entire Hindu and Sikh population had been evacuated or murdered in the March riots. So, in towns and villages fanatical, League-directed Muslim mobs, Pakistan Military and Police fell upon Hindus and Sikhs, as usual murdering, burning, raping, looting and abducting.

Lala Musa, which is an important junction on the Delhi-Lahore-Peshawar main line, became the scene of Muslim League operations on the 18th August.

The technique adopted was the raising of a false cry that Sikhs had attacked Muslims. The entire town was blockaded by Muslim mobs from the town and the countryside with the help of Pakistan Police and Military. A vigorous attack was started against Hindus and Sikhs. Looting and arson occurred on a large scale. The loss of life was comparatively less. One of the features of this attack was that three big Gurdwaras in the town were set on fire, and their inmates were burnt alive. Hindu and Sikh women were molested by Pakistan Military. The train which carried Hindu and Sikh refugees from Lala Musa to India was stopped near Shahdara (Lahore) and a number of these refugees were killed.

Attack on the village of Murala, which has a well-known Sikh Gurdwara and is the home of Mahant Prem Singh, M.L.A. started as

early as the 14th August, the day on which celebrations were going on in Karachi to receive the Crown of Pakistan for Mr. Jinnah from the British Viceroy. Here Muslims played a confidence trick. They got hold of all the valuable possessions of Sikhs on the pretext of guarding them from being looted. These valuables were, of course, never returned. A number of Sikhs of Village Dhalla were persuaded to come together into one house by Muslims, the reason given for such a step being that this was necessary for their safety. This house was then locked, and the trapped men, women and children left to burn inside the house which was set on fire. All were burnt alive inside. Those who tried to escape were caught hold of, thrown on the burning heap and finished in this way. On the 18th August which was the day of Id, the Dera of Murala, seat of Mahant Prem Singh and held in reverence by Sikhs, was attacked. 400 Sikhs and Hindus had taken shelter inside this Dera. All of them would have been butchered but the intervention of some Muslim notables of the area, personal friends of Mahant Prem Singh, turned back the attacking mob. The besieged, like all other Hindus and Sikhs of the area, went into the Refugee Camp at Gujrat in a destitute state. The station master of Kharian and 5 Sikhs were killed at Kharian railway station. Some Sikhs were also killed in the village of Loharian.

Jokalian and Mitha Chak and other places in this area began to be attacked on the 18th August. Muslims of this area had given assurance of safety on the oath of the Koran to their Hindu and Sikh

neighbours. On the 18th August, however, the well-known technique of raising a false alarm of attack by Sikhs on Muslims was employed and the Muslims of the area were incited to attack Sikhs. Stabbing of individuals and harassment continued for some time.

On the 3rd September Muslims from about 60 surrounding villages gathered at Jokalian for attack. The number of this mob was about 20,000. The Gurdwara of the place, where Sikhs had collected for shelter, was attacked, and in one hour 800 Sikhs including women and children, were killed. Later almost the entire remaining Sikh population was killed also. The volume of Guru Granth Sahib was tom and desecrated. Looting continued for 3 days.

After Jokalian, the Hindus and Sikhs of Mitha Chak were given the ultimatum either to embrace Islam or to face death.

People of some forty villages were forcibly converted. (A list of these villages is included in the appendix containing summary of attacks).

The Hindus of village Ghanian were threatened by Muslims with dire consequences if they made common cause with the Sikhs. This left the Sikhs altogether friendless, as their number was already very small (about a dozen in all). Finding the situation grown desperate, these brave and unbending Sikhs killed their womenfolk with their

own hands. After this the men gathered in a house, set fire to it and perished in the flames. The Muslims after the Sikhs had been finished, fell upon the Hindus who had so unwisely put trust in their promises, killed several and abducted sonic young women. These incidents occurred round about the 21st August.

Bharowal was attacked on the 17th August. Here a general massacre of Hindus and Sikhs occurred. Out of a total Hindu-Sikh population of 1,200 only 123 survived. Looting took place after this massacre on a very large scale.

Mandi Bahauddin is an important trading centre of Gujrat district. Here Muslim military came into operation early. Sikhs were taken out of their houses, bayoneted and otherwise tortured and forced to embrace Islam. The refugee camp established here was run on barbarous lines by the Muslim officials, and no torture and indignity was spared to the Sikhs. Piteous appeals for removal from this camp to India continued to come from Sikhs to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, the East Punjab Government and the Government of India.

At Dinga, a fairly large town, 3,300 Sikhs were killed.

In villages Shadiwal Kalan and Shadiwal Khurd, while Hindus were forced to accept Islam, all Sikhs were killed. These occurrences took place on the 18th and 19th August.

The Sikhs of Mangat, an important village were attacked on the 5th September. They gave a very stiff fight to the invaders and were later all evacuated to Mandi Bahauddin Refugee Camp, from where they were evacuated to India.

Hindu-Sikh refugees from Gujrat district, numbering 2,000 were being evacuated to India in trucks. Obstruction was placed in the way of these trucks near Kunjah bridge. The Indian Military escort accompanying these trucks fired on the Muslim assailants, cleared the point of obstruction and dispersed them (September 9). Later, these trucks were again attacked in the Mozang area of Lahore.

In Kotla Kasim Khan, on the 27th August a Muslim mob of 4,000 attacked Hindus and Sikhs. Many houses were burnt, 70 Hindus and Sikhs were killed and 30 were wounded. Even women and children were not spared, and were ruthlessly cut to pieces.

Kunjah, in Tehsil Phalia, was attacked towards the end of August. Here a large number of forcible conversions took place. Hindu and Sikh houses were forcibly occupied by Muslims. The Gurdwaras and their inmates were burned in flames. Not a single Sikh of this place was left alive.

SARGODHA

In this district attacks on Hindus and Sikhs began in March, 1947. On the 26th March news came of serious and widespread attacks on Hindus and Sikhs in various places in this district. These attacks were not yet on the scale on which they occurred in Rawalpindi, but they still were serious. Earlier on the 11th March, Muslims attacked Mansehra but were dispersed.

On the 14th March attacks on Hindus and Sikhs and Hindu and Sikh shops were made in Khushab. Three Hindu Sadhus were murdered.

Trouble in the district continued, so that according to a news-item of the 11th July, the Muslims of Khushab were fined Rs. 50,000 for their continued attacks on Hindus and Sikhs. Many villages in this area were collectively fined for the same offence-the fines ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 3,000.

After July, for some days there was a comparative lull in this district. On the establishment of Pakistan, however, on the 16th August attacks on Hindus and Sikhs began again with full vigour. Trains running between Malakwal and Shorkot and Malakwal and Bhera were attacked and Hindu and Sikh passengers were looted and murdered. In the villages ultimatums were given to Hindus and Sikhs to embrace Islam or die. And in many cases the threat to kill was carried out on refusal to get converted. Even the converted

were in many cases killed. Those who were not killed obstructions were placed in their way to be evacuated to India when Indian Military came to evacuate them. 325 such forcibly converted persons were found in Bandial alone.

In Bhalwal Tehsil, Bhera witnessed several stray murders of Hindus. In Lillani 10 Hindus were killed. 150 Hindus of Gondpur were murdered by order of a Sub-Inspector of Police, whose party looted all their belongings.

In Miani, which was attacked on the 10th September, 600 Hindus and Sikhs were murdered and 36 women were abducted. The estimated value of property looted is 50 lakhs.

From August 28 on up till about 10 days, Padhrar, Warcha, Jabbi, Khohri, Mitha Tiwana, Addi Kot, Girot, Mirpur and Thatta Shah Jamal were attacked. Hindus and Sikhs were killed in fairly large numbers and their belongings taken away. In several places young girls and women were abducted. In Mitha Tiwana 59 men were murdered and 17 girls were taken away.

Hindu and Sikh evacuees were not permitted to carry more than Rs. 15 each plus a few scanty belongings, such as the bedding of the season and a tumbler. No clothes other than they were wearing were permitted to be carried by them.

In Shahpur and Sargodha Tehsils incidents of murder and loot on varying scales occurred in almost all towns and villages.

A large number of those who were forcibly converted were compelled to marry away their daughters to Muslims, so that the girls so married and their families may not evacuate to India.

Residents of Chaks 45, 46, 19, 20, 26, 15, 37, 42, 44, 30, 36 etc., mostly Sikhs, were forced to quit their homes in a destitute state and they sought shelter in the Gujrat relief camp. The number of evacuees from these Chaks was about 9,000. Their evacuation was complete by the first week of September.

On the 27th August in Bhera several Hindu and Sikh shopkeepers were stabbed. Stabbing of Hindus and Sikhs continued for several days by moving parties of Muslim goondas. The Malakwal Hindus and Sikhs there forced to quit their homes after several cases of killing.

In Chaks 38B and 29 (both in Sargodha Tehsil) a large number of Sikhs were killed by the Muslim Military.

In Khiyali on the 16th August, a large number of Hindus and Sikhs were killed.

50,000 Sikh refugees from Sargodha were attacked at Tarakabad railway crossing in Lyallpur, with the active instigation of the Muslim Military escort. Many Sikhs were killed although they put up good resistance against their assailants.

11. SIND

In Sind the Sikh population was not large, though the Hindus formed about 30% of-the population of the province. Out of the total non-Muslim population of 14 Lakhs, now[1] only about 2 lakhs are left in Sind, the rest having come to India as refugees. The turning out of non-Muslims from Sind is very amply illustrative of the naked policy of turning out of Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan, for no other reason whatever except that they were not Muslims. There was a policy of systematic terrorization of Hindus. Their business premises were looted, their womenfolk molested, and the avenues of normal respectable life entirely closed to them. Thus, through terror and intimidation, within the period of less than a year twelve lakhs out of the fourteen lakhs of Hindus in Sind have been forced to migrate to India. This has happened in spite of the fact that in the words of Shri Mansukhani, Secretary, Sind Congress Refugee Relief Committee, New Delhi, not one single Muslim lost his life at the hands of Hindus in any act of retaliation or self-defence, not to talk of any act of aggression; but where from the first day of the birth of Pakistan, Hindus have been systematically done to death, by the knife, by the bullet. by the throwing out of the windows and doors of running trains. The object has been one and the goal clear. Pakistan has desired that it should be a theocratic state in the sense that all its

citizens should be Muslims. This battle has been remorselessly waged on one long front of Western Pakistan.

Hindus houses were forcibly occupied, in Karachi and everywhere else, their property and land snatched from them, and no option left for them but to, seek a safer life free from unbearable indignities, in India.

Other portions from Shri Mansukhanis article, quoted above. are:
-

Soon after August 15, 1947, was organised the ousting of Hindus and Sikhs from their residences and business premises, from their agricultural lands and industrial concerns.

No Hindus house was his castle, he had to retreat at the point of the dagger and run away from the back-door. The Police of the Province and the War-time established Rent Control Department helped legally to throw out the members of the minority community.

Traces of Hinduism Erased

It is not an uncommon phenomenon for prominent Hindus who are sticking on to the soil of Sind to be accosted while going about even on the main streets by Muslims and threateningly asked to either embrace Islam or go out of Pakistan.

Hindu passengers can travel by railway only for short journeys and during day time and that too at great risk of their lives.

Our Shrines

Our Gurmandir in Karachi became lately the residence of Sydney Cotton, the smuggler of arms to Nizams Hyderabad of yesterday. Most of our religious places, shrines, temples and Gurdwaras have been occupied by Muslims. The scriptures have been destroyed and the valuables have been pilfered and safely appropriated. Some of these places have also been turned into mosques where the Faithful congregate and read their Friday prayers to Allah. All educational institutions are similarly occupied and converted into the Schools and Colleges for Muslims.

(*The Tribune*-January 16, 1949)

As for the Sikhs, their elimination and extermination began at about the same time as in West Punjab. By August all Sikhs in large towns had left Sind, and came over to the Punjab. It was not infrequent for trains carrying these Sikh refugees to be attacked on the way. On the 2nd of August, Sikhs were attacked in several villages in Nawabshah District.

On the 1st September, 1947 one train was stopped at Nawabshah, and the Sikh passengers attacked. Of these 15 were

killed, and 17 injured.

The only Sikhs in Sind after August, were those in the interior- small tradesmen, pedlars and craftsmen. These began to be evacuated. Their condition was described in news agency reports as being extremely miserable and pitiable, as they could not ply any trade, and were in the last stage of destitution.

So much were the Muslims indoctrinated with the gospel of hate preached over years by the Muslim League, that on the 6th January, 1948, long after killing had stopped in East Punjab, a terrible massacre of evacuee Sikhs, awaiting embarkation for India occurred at Karachi. That this was no isolated incident of its kind in Pakistan is witnessed by the terrible Gujrat massacre of the 11th January, 1948, and the Parachinar massacre of the 23rd January, 1948. These three huge massacres of Sikhs and Hindus occurred in such quick succession at a time when all attacks on the Muslims in Indian territory had ceased three months before.

Certain details of this above mentioned Karachi massacre are of interest as revealing the conspiracy, cynicism and heartlessness of the Government of Pakistan, in the matter of getting Sikhs murdered.

As for the details of the massacre, the District Magistrates report from Karachi is reproduced below:

Communal trouble started in Karachi today when 184 Sikhs arrived from Shikarpur by the morning train. From the station they went to a Gurdwara near Ratan Talao. A mob of nearly 8,000 gathered on the arrival of the Sikhs and surrounded the Gurdwara and set fire to it, and started stabbing and killing and a number of persons[2] were killed,

In the town of Karachi there was looting in several quarters and there were four cases of arson.[3]

There was looting on the next day as well, in the houses of Hindus. The situation was described in an appeal, issued by the Editors of several Karachi newspapers as appalling while admitting that some Muslims gave shelter to the Hindu victims of mob frenzy.

In the Gurdwara, where the massacre took place, women and children were also killed, as admitted by the Sind Premier in his statement.

The result of the disturbances of January 6 was described in *The Civil and Military Gazette* in these words:

There was negligible loss of life suffered by the minority community (Hindus) compared to the looting that took place

throughout the city The lives of members of the minority community (Hindus) were saved at the expense of their property.

About 10,000 Hindus had to be kept in refugee camps, and Hindus had to be evacuated early to India, to save them from being murdered by Muslims. Looting went on uninterruptedly. So bold and open was this loot, that police and employees of the Chief Court of Sind openly participated in it. The Chief Court building was used as a dump for this loot. The Chief justice, an Englishman, his patience exhausted, had at last to intervene and stop the loot from being stacked at least in the Chief Court Building. This was the limit of the collapse of the law and good government in Pakistan.

Further facts in the situation are:

(1) About 800 Sikhs were killed in Karachi and not 184, as stated in the Pakistan *communique*.

(2) Not a word of regret was expressed by any responsible person in Pakistan over this tremendous loss of Sikh life. The Sind Premier made only the insulting statement that the sight of these Sikhs provoked the Muslims and only added the still more insulting directive that Sikhs be not brought to Karachi in open carriages. The Premiers statement also makes it clear that no police precautions were taken for the protection of these Sikhs, whose lives were

evidently so cheap that any one was at liberty to take them without the Pakistan Government moving its little finger.

The Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah, who sent a message of sympathy for the sufferers, did not so much as mention the Sikhs, who had been killed in overwhelming numbers. All that he said was that *he had sympathy for the Hindus in their losses*.

This was symptomatic of the attitude of the Pakistan Government, which did not regard Sikh life as worthy of any kind of protection and as meriting any sympathy.

The masses in Pakistan knew very well what their Government thought of any attack made on the Sikhs.

Jinnahs statement was, furthermore an attempt to create a rift between Hindus and Sikhs, which the Muslims have been trying to, by posing to dislike the Hindus less than the Sikhs.

All these happenings occurred at a time when in India, Mahatma Gandhi undertook his last fast to get better treatment for the Indian Muslims. That was the response in Pakistan to the Mahatmas gesture, and the faithfully carrying out of the Mahatmas instructions by Hindus and Sikhs. Exactly when Delhi was being made safe for Muslims, in Karachi 800 Sikhs were massacred, and all Hindus

looted and despoiled, had to move into refugee camps.

Footnotes:

[1]January, 1949.

[2]These were Sikhs exclusively.

[3]This is the Pakistan report of widespread looting of Hindu houses that went on unchecked in Karachi for a day or longer.

12. DID SIKHS (AND HINDUS) VOLUNTARILY LEAVE PAKISTAN?

Pakistan propagandists, in order to hide the shameful crimes of the Muslim League leaders, a part of whose programme it was to carve out a purely Muslim State and to eliminate religious minorities from it, have put forth a mischievous piece of propaganda that Sikhs (and by implication Hindus as well) left Pakistan by a design. Mat this Design could have been passes ordinary human comprehension. The official Pakistan propaganda pamphlet contains this fantastic view:

Sikhs stayed behind in Lyallpur till after the Partition and then (were) deliberately evacuated by Sikh leaders to East Punjab without any apparent immediate cause, seems to point out to a revision of the Plan necessitated by some unexpected sequence of events.

This remark contains several pieces of deliberate falsehoods and a lot of *suppressio veri*, besides mischievous suggestions. Let us analyse it here:

(*a*) *Sikhs stayed behind lit Lyallpur till after Pakistan*. Does the writer imply that it had already before the partition been decided

upon by Muslim Leaguers that no Sikhs were to stay in West Punjab after Partition, and that in view of such a Scheme it was surprising for any Sikhs to have stayed in any parts of Pakistan after August, 1947? It is obvious that no one. the Sikhs least of all, expected or anticipated anything like the total exchange of population which actually occurred. All decent people expected that on the establishment of Pakistan its leaders would afford equal protection to all its citizens, irrespective of creed, like all good Governments. That is why Sikh and Hindu leaders (see later in this chapter) exhorted Sikhs and Hindus to stay on in their homes in Pakistan. So, Sikhs continued to stay in all parts of Pakistan except in the rural areas of Rawalpindi, Campbellpore, Jhelum and Multan Districts. They stayed there because these places were their ancestral homes. The question of any Sikhs staying behind could riot arise, unless it was arranged by Muslim Leaguers, as of course it was, that no Sikhs be left in Pakistan. On August 15 all Sikhs excepting in specific areas of the districts mentioned, were in Pakistan.

(*b*) *Deliberately evacuated.* How in the name of sense and reasonableness Sikhs were evacuated because decent normal life was rendered impossible for them by the deliberate policy of massacre, loot and dishonouring of women adopted by Muslims in all parts of Pakistan. Why the Sikhs evacuated is answered by the last words in this very sentence quoted above *necessitated by some unexpected sequence of events.* This unexpected sequence of

events was the hell which was let loose on Sikhs right from the 15th of August, and which fiendish activity became operative in Lyallpur not long after this.

(*c*) If Sikhs (of Lyallpur) left because of some plan, then why did Sikhs of other districts leave? And why did Hindus leave? Did they too leave in sympathy with the Sikh Plan of evacuation, supposing for the sake of fantastic arguing that such a Plan wherein evacuation for no reason was involved, could have existed?

Muslim League leaders had long advocated exchange of population between Muslim and non-Muslim India. All those who advocated the establishment of a Muslim State also advocated as its necessary corollary the exchange of population. Rahmat Ali, Syed Abdul Latif, Mr. Jinnah, all these have been quoted earlier to have expressed strong and unmistakable views on this question of exchange of Muslim and non-Muslim populations so as to make the Muslim State more homogeneous, and to solve the minority problem. Mr. Jinnah said, referring to the driving out of Hindus from Noakhali, that it was already transfer of population in action, and some machinery should be devised for effecting it peacefully and on a large scale. Though, it may be said here that this exchange was no real exchange-it was all the driving out of non-Muslims from Muslim majority zones, while Muslims, except for the isolated case of

Bihar, where the Hindu riots were ruthlessly suppressed by the Congress Hindu Government and Pt. Nehru, everywhere were safe.

When Pakistan became a serious political proposition after H. M. G. statement of February 20, 1947 and progressively as August, 15, 1947 approached, the Muslim pace of eliminating non-Muslims from Pakistan was accelerated, till just on the eve of August 15 and after, it became a ruthless driving out, an all-out campaign.

Sikhs and Hindus could not have desired such an exchange. They would rather have preferred, and they actually did prefer, to stay on in Pakistan. They decided to join the Constituent Assembly, to continue in their occupations, business and services, and to stay in its territory with their women, children and possessions.

In order to realize the improbable and fantastic nature of the supposed Sikh attempt at leaving Pakistan in order to live under Indian rule, one has only to look at the sacrifices it would involve on the part of the Sikhs to make such a transmigration - These losses would be:

(1) Sikhs would leave behind vast lands, business, factories and institutions, for which a very poor substitute both in quantity and value could be found out of Muslim property in East Punjab.

(2) Land in East Punjab is poor, when compared with West Punjab. Even of this poor land, Muslims being mostly of the poorer classes and lower castes, had the least productive patches. These alone could be given to Sikhs if they decided to come out of Pakistan.

(3) Sikhs left behind in West Punjab their most sacred shrines, which would be ruined and desecrated if no Sikh was left in West Punjab.

So, it is not difficult, by the evidence of what Sikhs and Hindus had to leave in Pakistan, to show that they could not have left their rich possessions and their revered shrines just for a whim, fancy, or even for a political stake. Whole nations of millions do riot uproot themselves so lightly: even for political ideals-individuals and small groups may. If they bid good-bye to all that is cherished and valued by them, it is because to hold on to them is made impossible by powerful causes. And such causes were provided by Pakistan tyranny.

Hindus and Sikhs left behind in Pakistan fourteen hundred crores worth of property, innumerable banks, factories, works, business houses, their assets, lands, houses, gardens, more than five million acres of fertile land, their institutions, magnificent hospitals and what is more, their historic and sacred shrines, dearer than life. Did they

want to ruin Pakistan by having several lakhs of themselves killed, maimed, forcibly converted, their womenfolk dishonoured, their children cut to pieces and having fifty thousand girls abducted? Why, in the name of sense, if the Hindus and Sikhs wanted to migrate, did they not migrate while it was still somewhat safe to migrate-that is, before August 15, 1947. What were Hindus and Sikhs waiting for till then? After June 3 anyway, it was clear to the meanest intelligence that Pakistan would be established. Far from wishing to migrate from West Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs of the West Punjab decided to become citizens of Pakistan, and actually elected their representatives to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This does not look like migrating, but like staying on and obeying the laws of the new State. The total number of Hindus and Sikhs who migrated from the Western Districts of the Punjab east, prior to August would be less than a million. To put it at that would be making a very generous estimate. It was after August 15, when safety of life in Pakistan was rendered impossible that the forty-five lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs of the West Punjab, the entire Hindu and Sikh population of the North-Western Frontier Province, of Baluchistan and Bahawalpur, along with twelve lakh Hindus of Sind, left their ancestral homes to seek safety in India. Not only that, many Christians were forced out of Pakistan and many untouchables. From the other end of Pakistan too thousands of miles away, from East Bengal, as many as twenty-five lakhs of Hindus had to migrate to India. Even in a credulous world it Is somewhat hard to swallow

that all these people, over a crore in number, chose to be poor and miserable only for the pleasure of seeing Pakistan go ruined economically.

In reality, such fantastic things are being said by Pakistan only to cover up their own conspiracy and crimes against Hindus and Sikhs, whom they persecuted, harassed and with murder, rape, arson and loot drove out of Pakistan. Here are a few grounds for believing that Sikhs and Hindus left Pakistan under very great duress, and that they were extremely unhappy to do so, as this coming away lost to them all that was precious to them in the material and spiritual way.

II

Exchange of population or even driving out of Hindu and Sikh population from the Muslim State has from the beginning been inherent in the very conception of the State of Pakistan. This has been amply argued in the opening chapter. When Pakistan was established, this inevitable *finale* to the process of its establishment was executed with equal zeal and collaboration by the people (Muslims) and. Government of Pakistan. The process of elimination of minorities went on without check by the Muslim police, officials and military. On the contrary, they abetted the process. No responsible Pakistan or Muslim League leaders condemned such attacks on Hindus and Sikhs. Governor Mudie of West Punjab

revealed in his letter to Mr. Jinnah his determination to throw Sikhs out of Pakistan at all costs (The full text of this letter appears in the Appendix. Excerpts from it have been quoted in two places, earlier.) Jinnah did not have a word to utter about the murder of over 800 Sikhs in Karachi on the 6th January, 1948. Nor for the matter of that, a word about the massacres of Noakhali, the North-Western Frontier Province, Rawalpindi, Multan or any other.

Pakistan Press and its leaders openly advocated the elimination of Sikhs from Pakistan. Zafar Alis verse *Koi Sikh rehne na pae Maghribi Punjab men* has already been quoted. The tempo of hate against Sikhs was deliberately raised, in order to incite the Muslim masses to drive them speedily out of West Punjab.

III

Driving Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan would bring great wealth into Muslim hands. This wealth has been estimated at fourteen hundred crores in value. It includes fifty-five lakh acres of rich land, good, firmly built houses, many factories and works, institutions, innumerable shops rich in merchandise and stores and godowns full of materials whose price runs into crores upon crores of rupees. Besides these there are hundreds of well established schools, many colleges, hospitals, charitable institutions and libraries. In the banks in West Punjab, Safe Deposit Lockers alone contained valuables

worth about two hundred crores. All this was Hindu-Sikh property. And it had to be left behind.

As against all this, the total Muslim assets in the East Punjab do not come to more than two hundred and fifty crores. It would have been madness for Hindus and Sikhs to have left their own magnificent possessions for the beggarly Muslim assets, and to make a gift of all that they had to Pakistan.

IV

Sikhs have left their richest lands in West Punjab. It was their labour which turned the jungles (*Bars*) of Lyallpur, Montgomery, and Sheikhupura into rich wheat-producing land. The industry and tenacity of Sikhs made them masters of vast cultivated areas, *many times those possessed by Muslims in Districts where Muslims were in a majority in population*. Take the case of Lahore. Here Sikhs were only 18.32% in the population. Yet according to the settlement report of the Lahore District by Mr. G. H. B. Abell, I.C.S.

About 66.7% of the cultivated land (in Lahore District) is in the hands of the Jats, the great majority of whom are Sikhs. They are commonly of very fine physique and often blessed with brains as well. They represent a magnificent supply of human material. They could be and upto a point are, a very great asset to the District and

the Punjab. The communal majority in the District belongs to the Muslims and the typical zamindar of the district is Sikh Jat.

A glance at the land-revenue paid by Muslims and non-Muslims in some of the Muslim majority districts will show the relative position of Hindus and Sikhs as proprietors, and will totally falsify any notion that Hindus and Sikhs left these districts voluntarily, and not under extreme duress.

District	Total revenue	Sikh share	Hindu share	Muslim share
Lahore	14,19,455	8,41,921	1,09,745	4,62,448
Sheikhupura	13,27,783	7,39,588	91,725	4,83,241
Gujranwala	7,76,164	3,05,357	1,95,148	2,75,659
Shakargarh (Sialkot)	6,07,379	4,45,000	...	1,62,379
Narowal (do)	3,95,716	2,16,408	...	1,79,308

Apart from these facts, the following claims made in the Sikh memorandum to the Punjab Boundary Commission, in June, 1947 will give an idea of the extent of Hindu and Sikh interest in the Western Punjab, which these communities -would not lightly give up, unless compelled by overwhelming factors:

In the Lahore Division as a whole Sikhs paid 46% of the total land-revenue.

[1]Reference may be made to *The Punjab Peasant* by Sir Malcolm Darling, formerly Financial Commissioner of the Punjab. At page 41 of this book he observes: We now enter the heart of the Punjab, the tract from the Jhelum in the north to a little beyond the Sutlej in the south. It contains all that is most characteristic of the Province. It is the cradle of the Sikhs and hundred years ago was the mainstay of Ranjit Singh and his power. At page l22 of the same book the author observes: The peasant proprietor is the backbone of the colonies as he is of the Punjab. In the Lyallpur colony he holds about 80% of the land and in Shahpur nearly as much. In the latter he was mainly recruited from Northern Districts but in the former almost entirely from the central Punjab. A colony could hardly have had better material, for Ludhiana, Jullundur and Amritsar represent the flower of

the Indian Agriculture. They are the home of the Jat Sikh who has been described as the most desirable of colonists.

(In the matter of developing Colony Lands) the Jat Sikh has reached a point of development probably beyond anything else of the kind in India. In less than a generation he has made the wilderness blossom like the rose. It is as if the energy of the virgin soil of the Bar had passed into his veins and made him almost a part of the forces of nature which he has conquered. It is clear that the Jat Sikh from the central districts of the Punjab has been very largely responsible for the building up of the colony areas of Lyallpur and Montgomery in the Punjab, which form the granary of a large part of India. It may further be mentioned that the Sikhs in the central Divisions of the Punjab have largest Agricultural interests of all other communities put together.

The number of peasant proprietors in Lahore District is 1,46,522 and the cultivable area is 15,78,734 acres. The Muslim peasant proprietors number 41,029 holding 3,78,047 acres. The number of Sikh peasant proprietors, on the other hand, is 83,585 and they hold 10,01,438 acres.

LAHORE CITY

[2]The city of Lahore consisted of the old walled town, Anarkali, Civil Lines and scattered houses here and there along the Lower

Mall. Lahore began to expand in 1914 and the house building activity in Lahore received great impetus in the years 1929-37. The new Abadies (settlements) which come into existence since 1913 are Ramgali, Gwalmandi, Nisbet Road area, Rishi Nagar, Sant Nagar, Ram Nagar, Krishan Nagar, Janak Nagar, Qila Lachhman Singh, Qasurpura and Mohammad Nagar. Most of these Abadies are situate to the east and west of Lower Mall, skirting round it from almost Ravi Bridge to Nawankot. The other new settlements of importance are New Mozang, Islamia Park, Chauburji Gardens, Arya Nagar, Muslim Town, Garden Town, Model Town, Canal Park, Wasanpura, Dharampura, Misri Shah, Bharat Nagar, Singhpura and Ramgarh. A prominent feature of the new Abadis around old Lahore is that their growth has been on communal lines and that most of these Abadis are predominantly Hindu and Sikh.

A survey of Lahore carried out by the Punjab Government Board of Economic Inquiry gives the number of dwellings, their average monthly rent, ownership by communities, and distribution by localities. The survey shows that the total value of all dwelling houses owned by non-Muslims within the Corporation limits amounts to 12,27,64,800 rupees, whereas the total value of dwelling houses owned by Muslims amounts to 8.20,99,200. A complete census of the shops and commercial establishments was also taken by the Board of Economic Inquiry. The percentage of shops owned by non-Muslims in the walled city comes to 63. The percentage of outer

Lahore comes to 67. The total number of shops in Greater Lahore, is 5,332 of which non-Muslims own 3.501.

Factories in Lahore

[3]The Survey shows that out of a total number of 218 Registered Factories working in Greater Lahore in the year 1943-44 as many as 173 or 80% belong to non-Muslims. The total fixed capital invested in these factories amounted to a sum of Rs. 2 crores 40.27 lakhs. Of this the Muslim investment amounted only to 58.91 lakhs of rupees. Taking the figures of total capital investment, fixed plus circulating, we find that the total capital invested in the Registered factories in Greater Lahore amounted to Rs. 6.29 crores. The non-Muslim share in this total investment was Rs. 5.12 crores.

Lahore is an important banking and commercial centre and the money market in Lahore is fairly well developed. The Head Offices of as many as 26 Banks belonging to non-Muslim are located in Lahore. The total number of Bank Offices working in Lahore at present, however, is 90. Of the banks and branches at Lahore, only three belong to Muslims.

There are 80 offices of Insurance Companies in Lahore, 15 of them are Head Offices of such Companies. Of the Insurance Companies and offices only two belong to Muslims.

Lahore is an important educational centre of the province. The educational development has been very largely due to non-Muslim enterprise. The non-Muslim share in the promotion and development of educational institutions is stupendous. There are at present in Lahore as many as 270 educational institutions, recognised by the Education Department or affiliated to the Punjab University. Of this about 100 institutions are devoted to female education. The number of male students in these institutions is 64,902 and women students 23,447. Of the 12 Arts and Science Colleges at Lahore, giving education to 10,647 students, only one is run by the Muslims and one by the Government. The other 10 are run by non-Muslims. There are 15 professional colleges imparting education to 2,620 students. Of this number excluding three colleges run by the Government, all are run by non-Muslims. Of the 36 High Schools, imparting education to 26,647 students, only four are run by Muslims.

The total number of hospitals run on the modern allopathic lines in Lahore is 12. In addition there are four hospitals run on the indigenous methods of medicine. Not a single hospital run on modern allopathic, or on the indigenous lines is run by the Muslims.

AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE

[4]As stated above 90% of the colonists who came to colonise this tract in the Sheikhupura district and Lyallpur district hailed from Ambala, Ludhiana, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur districts. The towns of Gujranwala, Lyallpur, Gojra, Samundri and Toba Tek Singh are situate in this tract. There is an overwhelming non-Muslim population in these towns and the market is controlled by non-Muslims.

The Sikhs played a major part in the development of the rural area of this part and the urban area was built up mainly by the enterprise of Hindus. It would be correct to say that almost the entire trade, commerce and industry of the Lyallpur district and the portion of the Sheikhupura sub-district is in the hands of non-Muslims. In Lyallpur District in the year 1945-46 the non-Muslims paid Urban Immovable property Tax in the amount of Rs. 1,40,300 whereas the Muslims paid Rs. 22,900. The amount of Sales Tax paid by the non-Muslims in 1945-46 was Rs. 3,08,000 as compared to Rs. 17,000 paid by the Muslims. The Income Tax paid by the non-Muslims amounted to Rs. 59,50,000 as compared to Rs. 5,00,000 paid by the Muslims. Of the total number of 72 Registered factories in Lyallpur District, 57 factories are run by non-Muslims and only 15 by Muslims.

The tract mentioned above, comprising parts of Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Lyallpur district is one contiguous tract and is Popularly known as the Shahidi Bar. In the preceding paragraphs an

account has been given of the Sikh share in the development of this tract and there is no gainsaying that but for the Sikh enterprise the rural areas in this tract would not have been developed and but for the Hindu-Sikh enterprise the markets in this tract would not have flourished.

The peasant-proprietors again play a dominant role in the economic life of Shakargarh Sub-District. Out of the total area of this sub-district the non-Muslims own 1,72,111 acres of land as against 96,958 acres owned by the Muslims. Again the non-Muslims pay Rs. 4,45,000 on account of Land revenue in this sub-District as against a sum of Rs. 1,62,379 paid by the Muslims. The total number of villages of Shakargarh Sub-District is 744 and of this number the non-Muslim villages are 408 as against 311 Muslim villages, the remaining 25 villages are mixed.

The non-Muslims of Shakargarh Sub-District own the major portion of the urban property in the Sub-District and pay a greater portion of the taxes. As against Rs. 5,485 paid as Hasiyat Tax by the non-Muslims the Muslims pay only Rs. 2,943. The Income Tax figures for the sub-district show that no part of this amount is paid by the Muslims. Kartarpur, a place sacred to the memory of Baba Nanak is situated within the limits of Shakargarh sub-district.

NAROWAL SUB-DISTRICT

Adjoining the trans-Ravi tract of Gurdaspur District in the preceding paragraphs is the Narowal Tehsil of Sialkot District. The population of Narowal Sub-District is 2,67,598, and out of this population the Muslims are 1,46,982, the rest being non-Muslims. The cultivable area in this sub-district is 2,61,378 acres and annual land revenue assessed thereon amounts to 3,95,768 rupees. This would show that the economic interests of the non-Muslims in this sub-district of Sialkot District outweigh the economic interests of the Muslims. This argument is reinforced by the voting strength of the Muslims and non-Muslims for the District Board elections. The electoral rolls of the Narowal Sub-District for the District Board elections would show that there are 16,031 non-Muslims voters as against 12,895 Muslim voters. The income-tax figures show a greater disparity, the non-Muslims paying annually Rs. 18,523-4-0 as against Rs. 2,716-1-0 paid by the Muslims.

V

To the facts enumerated above must be added the fact that in Montgomery, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Multan Districts Hindus and Sikhs had a large number of factories, banks, business firms, urban housing property, schools, colleges and charitable institutions which outnumbered the Muslim interest in these respects many times over in spite of the fact that the

Muslims in all these districts were in an overwhelming majority in the population.

In the whole of the present West Punjab Districts, there were only two Muslim Colleges-the Islamia College at Lahore and the Zamindara College at Gujrat. As against this, there were about twenty non-Muslim colleges, including a first rate Medical College and an efficient College of Engineering. There were a large number of non-Muslim institutions also not affiliated to the University. In the matter of schools, the same proportion works out.

Sikhs have some of their most sacred Gurdwaras in the West Punjab. The freedom of these Gurdwaras and access to them for purposes of worship forms the sorest point of grievance which the Sikhs have at present against the Pakistan Government, and what is regarded as the easy attitude which the Indian Government is adopting with regard to this matter so deeply vital to Sikh religious sentiment.

The holiest of the holy of the Sikhs, Nanakana Sahib, birthplace of Guru Nanak-analogous to the Mecca of the Muslims and Jerusalem of the Christians. This Gurdwara also had a vast estate, developed along model lines as a farming colony, and it yielded an annual revenue to the Sikh community of about 20 lakhs of rupees.

There is then the famous Gurdwara Dehra Sahib in Lahore, site of martyrdom of Sri Guru Arjan Dev. There is the famous Shahidgunj, sacred in Sikh history as the place where the pioneer upholders of the Sikh Creed suffered torture and death at Muslim hands.

In Rawalpindi district there is the Panja Sahib Gurdwara, sanctified by Guru Nanak, and so is the famous Babe di Ber in Sialkot. In Gujranwala District is Eminabad. In Lahore District is Kartarpur, a place where Guru Nanak resided for a considerable time.

Besides these more famous Gurdwaras, there are hundreds of other shrines, associated with the Sikh Gurus, with holy men and with events in Sikh history.

There are then places associated with Sikh history, such as the Mausoleum of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Lahore and his birthplace in Gujranwala. Sikh history and the dearest association of the Sikhs are enshrined in these places.

To think that Sikhs and Hindus would leave en masse all that has been mentioned above, if it had been possible for them to retain these, is fantastic nonsense, worthy only of the mendacions propagandists of Pakistan.

VI

After the establishment of Pakistan, a systematic campaign of hounding Hindus and Sikhs out of Pakistan was initiated by the Muslim League, of course with the connivance of the Government. Various links in this campaign are these.-

(*a*) Governor Mudies letter to Mr. Jinnah (in the appendix).

(*b*) Orders of the Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery that no Sikhs are to be spared. The following statement made by a Hindu Magistrate in a court of law will bear out this:

> Statement of Shri P. L. Sondhi, M. I C., Ferozepore, recorded by me in the presence of Shri Banwari Lal, P. A. to D. C. and S. Mohan Singh Batra, M. I C. Fazilka on solemn affirmation.

About the last week of August, 1947, I was awaiting to be evacuated to East Punjab after I had received my posting orders to Ferozepur. I do not actually remember the date but it was on the 23rd, 24th or the 25th of August, 1947 that I happened to attend a joint meeting of the Magistracy and Police held in the Court room of Raja Hassan Akhtar, P. C. S. Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery at about 4 P.M. The D. C. in my presence gave unambiguous orders to his Magistrates and Police Officers who were present, that they must

not spare any Sikh and kill or shoot him at sight and that the Hindus may be spared for the time being. I was the only non-Muslim Magistrate who attended the meeting.

I made a similar statement before the S. D. O. Moga on or about the 30th August, 1947. I happened to meet the D. C., Ferozepore on 3-4-48, who has recently taken charge of -this District, when I narrated to him my experiences in Montgomery just before my evacuation. I told him about the above facts and he asked me to make this statement in the presence of three Magistrates in Court of the Additional District Magistrate, Ferozepore which I have hereby done.

R. 0. & A. C.	(Sd.) P. S. Multani
(Sd.) P. L. Sondhi,	Addl. District Magistrate,
M. I C. Ferozepore	Ferozepore
5-4-48	5-4-48

(*c)* The District Magistrate of Mianwali fixed dates and a time-table for the evacuation of Hindus and Sikhs from his district. Other Magistrates doubtlessly did the same.

(*d*) The District Magistrate, Sheikhupura, where the biggest massacres of all of Hindus and Sikhs took place, was an active party

to all that happened (vide statement of S. Gurdial Singh, Tehsildar of Sheikhupura, later posted at Zira, Ferozepore District, in the appendix).

(*e*) Notices were served on non-Muslim shopkeepers and others to quit Pakistan. In this connection the following revealed by the Indian Liaison Officer at Lahore will be illuminating:-

Office of the Chief Liaison Officer, East Punjab Govt.,

105, Upper Mall, Lahore
September 27, 1947

No. 118/C1003

I forward a copy of notice entitled Quit Pakistan. Such notices are being received by non-Muslim shopkeepers. They get very panic striken and most of them are leaving their shops. I do not know what action you c n take in the matter but I thought I should let you know that a large number of non-Muslims, who receive such notices do not dare to open their premises. The one, of which I am sending you the copy, was addressed to the Proprietor, Indian Stationery Shop, Hospital Road, Lahore, and was delivered by post. The original envelope and the notice are in my possession.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Ram Rattan

Encl. Copy, of notice.
Hafiz Abdul Majid Sahib, O. B. E., I. C. S.,
Chief Secretary to Government West Punjab, Lahore.

No. 119/CLO/3

Dated 29-9-1947

Copy with a copy of the notice to the Chief Secretary to Government, East Punjab, Camp Jullundur for information.

Sd/- Ram Rattan

Copy of Notice
Quit Pakistan

You have been earmarked to quit Pakistan at your earliest possible. If you dont follow this warning, none but you yourself will be responsible for the consequences.

Public dont want you to be here as fifth columnist and it would be unwise on your part to seek for Government protection which would be of no use at this stage.[5]

Pakistan

Quit Pakistan

Anti 5th Columnist Organisation,
Lahore.

VII

No Hindu or Sikh public leader ever advocated migration from Western Punjab or for the matter of that from any part of Pakistan, till it became absolutely apparent, after August 15, that life with any degree of honour had been rendered impossible in Pakistan for Hindus and Sikhs. Below are given in detail pronouncements of Sikh and Hindu leaders and newspapers advocating that Hindus and Sikhs must not quit their homes in the Muslim majority areas. These pronouncements range from the 9th April (more than a month after the Amritsar, Rawalpindi and Multan terrors) upto the 12th August, 1947 (the date on which Lahore was a shambles for Hindus and Sikhs). Below are these pronouncements.-

Tribune: 31-5-47.

Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani appealing to the refugees at Wah on 30-5-47 advised them not to leave their hearths and homes as this would spoil their cases against real culprits.

Vir Bharat: 16-6-47.

The Frontier Hindu-Sikh Relief Committee issued an appeal to the Hindus and Sikhs of Peshawar and N.-W. F. P. to return to their homes.

Ajit: 16-6-47.

L. Kotu Ram, M. L. A. of Bannu in a press statement appealed to his co-religionists to return to their homes.

Tribune: 29-6-47.

Master Tara Singh contradicted the rumour in a statement to Associated Press of India on 26-647 that he had advised Sikhs of West Punjab to come to East Punjab. He said that he was of the considered opinion that non-Muslims of Western Punjab should continue to stay on in their homes.

Vir Bharat: 29-647.

S. Ajit Singh the renowned patriot appealed to the Hindus and Sikhs not to leave their homes.

Tribune: 4-7-47.

Sardar Patel and S. Baldev Singh assured a Sikh deputation from Rawalpindi to stick to their homes in Pakistan as they would enter into a treaty with Pakistan Government for protection and safeguarding the interests of minorities in Pakistan.

Vir Bharat: 4-7-47.

L. Dev Raj Sethi, M.L.A. (Congress) in a statement on 3-7-47 stated that exodus was harmful and suggested that the people should resolve to stick to the soil in which they were rooted.

Vir Bharat: 4-7-47.

Acharya Kriplani, Congress President assured the minorities in India that they would never be treated as foreigners and they would be given every assistance in the safeguarding of their interests.

Vir Bharat: 9-4-47.

S. Jagjit Singh Man, M.L.A., in a press statement exhorted the Hindus and Sikhs who had migrated from the riot-affected areas of

Jhelum and Rawalpindi to return to their homes.

Vir Bharat: 9-4-47.

The Rawalpindi Relief Committee in a press statement advised the Hindus and Sikhs to stick to their homes.

Tribune: 13-4-47.

S. Partap Singh, M.L.A., member of the Congress High Command (later Minister, East Punjab Government) in an appeal to riot-striken people in the Punjab on 10-4-47 asked them to remember that unorganised migration of any people from the area where their ancestors had lived would add to the difficulties of every one.

Tribune: 19-4-47.

S. Sawarn Singh, President of the Punjab Riot Sufferers Relief Committee in a statement issued on 17-4-47 asked people not to migrate to places outside Rawalpindi Division, but to settle down at the various centres which Government had decided to protect.

Vir Bharat: 6-5-47.

Jathedar Mohan Singh, President, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar, in a statement to the press advised the refugees not to leave their homes and particularly they should not go out of the Punjab.

Tribune: 26-5-47.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel in an interview to Rana Jang Bahadur Singh, Editor of *the Tribune*, on 24-5-47 advised people through him not to be panicky and to stick to places and face the situation bravely.

Ajit: 8-7-47.

In the public meeting at Tarn Taran, the Honble Sir Buta Singh, Member Council of State, S. Surjit Singh, M.L.A. (Central) S. Jaswant Singh Jhabal, Jathedar Sohan Singh Jalalusman and other Sikh leaders exhorted the audience to protect the life and property of minorities.

Vir Bharat: 8-7-47.

L. Avtar Narain, Vakil of Jhelum, Member, Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, in a press statement exhorted the minorities in Pakistan that they should not leave their hearths and homes and should become good citizens of Pakistan.

Vir Bharat: 8-7-47.

At a minorities convention held at Rawalpindi on 7-7-43 Dewan Pindi Dass Sabharwal and S. Sant Singh exhorted the minorities to stick to their homes. L. Bhim Sen Sachar, L. Avtar Narain, Dr. Lehna Singh, Parbodh Chandra M.L.A. and Fazal Elahi M.L.A. (Christian) participated.

Vir Bharat: 8-7-47.

In his prayer speech Mahatma Gandhi reiterated that every Indian should be treated equally and that the question of migration of minorities does not arise.

Bharat: 10-7-47.

Goswami Ganesh Dutt sent a message to the minorities convention at Rawalpindi exhorting the Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan to stick to their homes.

Vir Bharat: 3-7-47.

Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Finance Minister, N.-W. F. P. exhorted the Hindus and Sikhs who had migrated from N.-W F. P. to return to their homes.

Vir Bharat: 15-7-47.

Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava, Leader, Congress Assembly Party wrote to Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan Mamdot, President, Punjab Muslim League to try to rehabilitate the riot sufferers of March in their original homes.

Vir Bharat: 17-7-47.

S. Ajit Singh, Minister, N.-W. F. P. in a press statement advised the Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan to rely on statements of Mr. Jinnah and to stick to their homes. The minorities, he added should be loyal citizens of Pakistan.

Vir Bharat: 25-7-47.

The Hindu-Sikh Defence Committee of N.-W. F. P. issued a press appeal to the Hindus and Sikhs that they should not migrate from their homes and at their meeting they passed a resolution to a similar effect.

Vir Bharat: 1-8-47 and *Tribune*: 1-8-47.

Mahatma Gandhi during his visit to Rawalpindi gave instructions to Congress workers and said that they were still citizens of both

Dominions and would remain so after 15-8-47 as well. He advised people not to migrate from their homes.

Tribune: 4-8-47.

Acharya Kriplani, President of the Congress told a press conference that all citizens of a particular area must be loyal to the administration and give it their honourable co-operation. He was against migration.

Tribune: 8-8-47.

Mahatma Gandhi advised Congressmen who met him at the residence of Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru at Lahore on 6-8-47 that they should die with dying Lahore.

Civil and Military Gazette: 12-8-47.

In a press appeal to the people on 10-8-47 in Lahore Sardar Sawaran Singh said, In spite of the division of the country all of us Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs--have to live together. Let us, therefore, live in peace so that the poor and the down-trodden may in the new freedom that we have achieved get enough to eat and to cover their naked bodies, leading to a happier and fuller life.

VIII

Not only the Hindus and Sikhs, but even Christians did not find it easy to stay in Pakistan. That is because in the State of Pakistan, which Mr. Jinnah, speaking at Kingsway Hall, London in December, 1946 said, would contain one hundred million, *all Muslims*, can have no place in it for any non-Muslims. The following reports will make clear the plight of Christians in Pakistan:

(1) Mr. William Joseph, President, All-Pakistan Christian League, Lahore, has, on Saturday issued the following statement to the press. In spite of the assurance given by the Qaid-i-Azam Christians are being ill-treated in the West Punjab. The rights of the Christians are being crushed in every form of life. We have, again and again, made representations to the Prime Minister of Pakistan and to the West Punjab Cabinet for our protection.

Civil & Military Gazette:
May 19, 1947

Impartial observers everywhere have felt that in the exchange of population Sikhs were terribly hard hit. It would be fantastic to imagine that Sikhs would invite these hardships on themselves unless it was absolutely impossible to live in Pakistan. 40% of them became refugees, left the best land in the Punjab in the Western Districts, and also their holiest shrines. In enumerating the losses of

the Sikhs, Mr. Ian Stephens, Editor of *The Statesman* says in the editorial of January 3-4, 1948:

Probably about 40% of this small but doughty people are in one manner or the other describable as refugees. The transference, in the main, has been from irrigated regions splendidly fertile to lands less productive. Prosperous colonies developed by an industrious and capable peasantry have been abandoned, as has much other property in rural and urban areas; some revered shrines are left on the far side of the boundary.

After reading all that has been related in the present chapter, only one conclusion is possible,-that Hindus and Sikhs and even Christians have been hounded out of West Punjab and the N.-W. F. Province according to a set scheme, in order firstly to make Pakistan a purely Muslim State, and secondly to get the property of non-Muslims for Muslims. This process only a little later extended to Sind, and to East Bengal.

In East Bengal under pressure from India, it has been only recently arrested, to be revived who knows when?

Footnotes:

[1] From the memorandum to the Boundary Commission.

[2]From Sikh Memorandum to the Punjab Boundary Commission.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]The harassment and expulsion of Sind Hindus is a process which is still a matter of daily occurrence. (*Compiler*).

13. DID THE SIKHS HAVE A 'PLAN'?

"AN OVER-BLAMED PEOPLE" - I. STEPHENS

Pakistan propaganda has sought to make the world believe that the happenings of 1947 in the Punjab were the result of what it calls Some specific Plan on the part of Sikhs. -What this Plan exactly was, what were the specific objectives which it set out to achieve is not made exactly clear, but nevertheless it is asserted that a Sikh Plan existed to destroy Muslim life. Barefaced lying has been known to go quite far in the affairs of the world but such a high degree of it as has manifested itself in Pakistan propaganda against Sikhs in particular and against India in general, is a rare treat and is hard to beat. It must be a very stupid world which Pakistan expected would swallow the stuff put forth by its propagandists.

The foregoing chapters have revealed the Muslim political objective of the last decade and a half-Pakistan, and the methods suggested and adopted for its achievement, with their final culmination in the Direct Action Programme of the Muslim League, and the mass-murders of Hindus (and Sikhs) witnessed in Noakhali, the North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab and Kashmir in pursuance of this programme.

Political activity in India since the time that, Mahatma Gandhi gave the lead to the country, has followed legitimate and non-violent methods. At times these methods involved lawbreaking, but never physical injury. The country from 1921 onward had grown used to the method of Satyagraha in its various forms-Non-co-operation, Civil disobedience and Mass Action such as was contemplated for the 1942 movement, which never really could be put into effect. But action of this kind was not the Muslim League way. The Muslim League depended for its political success on the assassins knife, the murderers bullet and the drafting into the field of thousands of fire-raisers, murderers of helpless women and children, brigands and desperadoes of all kinds. This army was led by a group of intelligent and coolly planning leaders on top, who deliberately instilled religious hate for others into the minds of their co-religionists, whipped up such hate into a violent frenzy, and then let loose these hate-inspired mobs on such helpless Hindus and Sikhs, as were in a small minority in particular areas, and so went under easily. This way the Muslim League wanted to render it impossible for one unified Government to be established in India, and to create a situation in which the political division of the country became inevitable.

Let us here refresh the memory of the reader, sum up such evidence of a well prepared and slowly matured plan of religious war against Hindus and Sikhs as has been recorded in the foregoing

sections of this book in-more or less detail. This evidence is summed up as under: -

(*a*) The Muslim League rejected the Cabinet Mission Scheme, which offered to the Muslims a wide measure of autonomy in such areas in which they were in a majority. As a matter of fact, according to this Scheme, Hindu-Sikh Punjab, Hindu Bengal, and all Assam would form part of the Muslim Zones. The Muslim League however, would be appeased with nothing short of a totally separate State.

(*b*) To achieve this separate State, the League formulated its Direct Action Programme; in support of which programme wild, threatening and violent speeches were made clearly suggesting violence and destructiveness. Murder hysteria was created in the Muslim mind. As a result of this attitude attacks on Sikhs occurred at Abbottabad in July, 1946 and on Hindus at Calcutta on and after August 16, 1946.

(*c*) Then followed Noakhali and the rest. All such mass slaughter and destruction occurred in areas in which Muslims were in an overwhelming majority, with police and official aid.

In destruction, arson and forcible conversions etc. right from 1946 up till 1948 the same pattern was followed everywhere.

(*d*) Muslim League leaders expressed no feeling of horror or even regreat at what was being done to non-Muslims by their political adherents.

(e) Accumulation of arms, dumps of petrol, skilled methods of arson, perfect integration between mobs, police and officials, train hold-ups, accumulation of brickbats in towns, marking of Muslim shops and houses before arson etc. everywhere suggest plan and preparation.

(*f*) The recruitment, training equipment and organisation on a military pattern of Muslim League National Guards points again to the existence of a Plan in the hands of the Muslim League which was to be implemented through the agency of the Goondas.

(*g*) Last but not least is the fact that the Muslims in Bengal, North-Western Frontier Province and the Punjab committed aggression which went unpunished by non-Muslims for long. As a matter of fact, it was only in the Punjab and that too, after August 15, 1947 that Sikhs and Hindus did anything to avenge the murder of hundreds of thousands of their co-religionists, the burning of thousands of houses and the abduction of women and children. Up till August 15, Muslim aggression went unchecked, not because Hindus and Sikhs did not smart under the blows of the Muslims but because in the face of the Muslim organisation and police power they were helpless. All along

Muslims thought they could go on being aggressive forever, and that there would be no reprisals. The Sikh reaction of the post-August 15 period really disillusioned and surprised the Muslims, who had never carefully studied the Sikh character nor pondered the potentialities of this people. The Sikh (and Hindu) revenge was violent, swift and terribly destructive. Muslims of East Punjab had to pay for the misdeeds of their co-religionists in West Punjab and other parts of India. This was unfortunate and not very logical either, but in human affairs it is not always logic which governs conduct, and the mass mind, once it is roused to the pitch of fury, will grow terribly revengeful, unreasoning and hysterical. That is what happened to Sikhs and Hindus in East Punjab after the terrible sufferings undergone by Sikhs and Hindus at the hands of Muslims in West Punjab and in the North-Western Frontier Province. As lakhs of Sikhs moved east from Rawalpindi Division and the Frontier Province, and uprooted men and women with ghastly stories to tell came to seek shelter from the terror of Lahore and Amritsar which were burning, the Sikh mind was deeply exercised over these happenings. Men, women and children would be seen going into towns and villages, huddled fifty in a room for shelter in Gurdwaras, Sarais, Dharamsalas-seeking lodgings in places not fit to be treated as pigsties, setting up stalls and booths on the roadside for a living-this sight was bound to make the Sikhs extremely angry. Sikhs would be less than human, they would be a nation of cowards and

chicken-hearted manikins if they had not taken the sufferings of Sikhs in other parts of India and of the Punjab much to heart.

It must be reiterated as an important fact that while by April, 1947 there were about a million Sikh and Hindu refugees from Muslim terror, who took Shelter in Wah, Kala and other refugee camps, in Amritsar, in the Sikh States, in Ludhiana, Jullundur and Ferozepore Districts, in Hardwar, Delhi, Ambala, Karnal and even as far south as Gurgaon and the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Bikaner-there were very few Muslims till then and months later who could be described as refugees. The reason was that Sikhs and Hindus had been till then the only sufferers. They were nowhere in a position to put up a fight against Muslim aggression. In Amritsar alone some Muslims were rendered homeless in certain areas of the town, where Sikhs and Hindus had been able to burn Muslim quarters after having had their own burnt. Some Muslim workers were thrown out of work because non-Muslim factory owners in these times could not trust their life and property to Muslims, any one or any group of whom would most likely turn an assassin and fire-raiser against Hindus and Sikhs. These Muslims of Amritsar, a few thousands in number, were the only members of their community in the Punjab who at this time could be described as being riot sufferers as against a million Hindus and Sikhs. This situation continued up till August 15, and several days later. Let the entire Sikh-Muslim problem be

pondered with this important factor in the situation kept very carefully in mind.

But all through the months up till August, 1947 Sikhs in every part of the present East Punjab and in the Sikh States kept peaceful. The Government *communiques* on the riot situation of the Punjab while reporting as many as 69 fires daily in Lahore, the burning of whole localities with many thousands rendered homeless, the brutalities committed by Muslim Goondas and Assassins, have but one report to make about East Punjab: East Punjab is reported quiet. Here and there minor disturbances occurred, but they were quite often of the seeking of Muslims. In Ludhiana, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur Muslims stabbed Sikhs and Hindus and there was some counter-stabbing. But on the whole there was no retaliation in East Punjab. Muslims in Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Faridkot States, all of which with the exception of Jind are Sikh majority areas, (Jind being Hindu. Sikh majority) there was not a single incident of attack on any Muslim. Muslims felt in these States perfectly secure, though in parts of Patiala Muslims did try to make mischief against the Sikh refugees from Rawalpindi and the Frontier. But even at this there was no attack on Muslims anywhere.

In Ferozepur, Ludhiana and Jullundur districts in which Sikhs were the most powerful factor in the rural population-there was no incident of attack on any Muslim anywhere. Nor in rural Lahore,

where the Sikhs were better organised and more powerful than Muslims. The only District in the rural areas of which (and that after the middle of July) some fighting did occur was Amritsar. This was the direct and inevitable consequence of the daily burning and stabbing of Hindus and Sikhs in Amritsar town, and in Lahore. Sikh villagers coming to Amritsar were quite often waylaid by Muslims outside the town and murdered. Sikh murders ran into hundreds. These murders inflamed the Sikh countryside, and attacks on Muslims began to occur-in July. In Amritsar, Muslims quite often attacked Sikhs in rural areas also first. Dhapai, Mula Chak, Bhagtanwala, Jhabal, Verka, Sultanwind, Khasa, etc. were some of the places in which attacks on Sikhs occurred, That Sikhs should have retaliated by attacking Muslims, who were in the rural areas not so strongly situated as Sikhs, was only natural. When the month of August began, Amritsar was the only district in the Punjab where fighting was going on. Not that Muslims were peaceful. Only for some strategic reason, as August approached, they appeared to have decided upon a kind of lull-as if in preparation of some very big offensive. And that big offensive came everywhere after August 10. It began in Lahore, and by the 12th and 13th was in operation in Gujranwala, Sialkot, Gujrat, Montgomery and other near districts. Mianwali, Sheikhupura, Lyallpur, Muzaffargarh etc. caught up a little later.

In Amritsar attacks on Muslims began after the 11th August, a day after the terrible massacre of thousands of Hindus and Sikhs occurred in Lahore. Refugees came from Lahore-the new wave had already reached East Punjab via Ferozepur by the 13th August. But their coming did not cause Sikhs anywhere to flare-up and to attack Muslims. Everyone somehow expected that Pakistan would have a good responsible Government, and that as soon as it was established some sort of order would be restored, more successfully than the British Government had been able to do. This hope, unfortunately, was soon belied.

The situation on the 15th August was that all East Punjab was quiet, the only part of East Punjab where attacks on Muslims had occurred was Amritsar, but Amritsar was a case apart. This was a city which had spent five and a half months in a state of siege and here Hindus and Sikhs had suffered terribly from Muslim aggression. So, punishment of Amritsar Muslims as soon as the stranglehold of the Muslim Police and officialdom was removed was only natural. A cornered, persecuted non-Muslim population fell upon their persecutors and made them flee from Amritsar in the brief space of a day and a half. But there were absolutely no repercussions of Amritsar in any part of East Punjab at this time.

Terrible news continued to pour in from Lahore after the 11th August. It was a not inaccurate picture of mass murder which

flashed to the East Punjab, through the refugees and other means. East Punjab did not celebrate Independence Day on August 15 with anything like a heart. Muslim began, however, to make mischief in East Punjab too. There appears to have been some kind of a Muslim scheme to create trouble in the nascent State of India, especially on its Pakistan border. From Jullundur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Ambala, Delhi, Alwar and other places large Muslim dumps of arms were unearthed. Near Ludhiana, on the 17th August murders of Sikhs in trains occurred. That led to murders of Muslims. Came on this scene stories of fresh atrocities in Lahore, Sialkot, Gujranwala, etc. and attacks on Muslims by infuriated Sikhs and Hindus. Thus it was that suddenly on the 21st August train services stopped. With every report of massacre in West Punjab corresponding things occurred in East Punjab. It became a race for mass murder of the opposite community. Exactly the methods which the Muslims had perfected for the genocide of Hindus and Sikhs, were employed for the destruction of Muslims in East Punjab. It was arson for arson, murder for murder, abduction for abduction, forcible conversion for forcible conversion-*ad nauseam*.

All through the period since the terrible March riots of Rawalpindi, and the beating which the Sikhs were daily taking in Amritsar, they had been jeered at by Muslims and others as cowards. It got abroad that the Sikhs had lost their old sting; that they had lost the martial spirit which they had inherited from their fathers. This thesis was so

unquestioningly accepted that certain philosophical people among Hindus and even among Sikhs began to find historical causes for this supposed deterioration of the Sikh militant character. Some attributed it to the growing urbanisation of the Sikhs, others to the decline in the standard of Sikh diet, others to the growth among them of indifference towards religion, and so on and so forth. This taunt rankled in the Sikh heart. Sikhs felt helpless everywhere. In Rawalpindi they were hopelessly out-numbered. They wanted to be qui& with Muslims in Amritsar. But the overwhelming Muslim majority in the police, the coordination between the Muslim League and the officialdom of the Punjab-and what is more-the stationing in East Punjab of the major portion of the Boundary Force-kept Sikhs totally helpless spectators of the ruin of Amritsar. Rawalpindi as the months passed, began to fade a little into history, to become more a problem for rehabilitation than for revenge. And, it was generally thought that as order would be established with the birth of Pakistan, the West Punjab evacuees would be able to return home. This hope somehow continued to grow. Amritsar remained the one active theatre of war. Lahore was similar.

In summing up the causes of the occurrence of post-August riots in East Punjab, *The Hindustan Times* in its editorial dated October 23, 1948 says:-

But the systematic manner in which Pakistan leaders are attempting to paint the people of this country as demons out to destroy innocent Muslims, while hiding, it not defending, the horrible outrages perpetrated by members of their own community from Calcutta to Sheikhupura is nothing but an attempt to defame this country and throw dust in the eyes of the outside world regarding the crimes committed by their co-religionists. They also know, as does everyone in this country, that the Punjab disaster was but the culminating act of the tragedy which began with the unprincipled campaign of communal hated and violence which they and their party leaders had been preaching for years as the only means of securing the ambition of their heart, namely, the separation of a part of this country where they could play the role of rulers, even though at the cost of unexampled suffering and misery to their own co-religionists both in Pakistan and India.

In an earlier editorial entitled Who Was Responsible? *The Hindustan Times* (July 7, 1948) has clearly been able to prove the Pakistan conspiracy and its aggression which brought on the Punjab Tragedy. Says *The Hindustan Times*: Wednesday, July 7, 1948.

Who was Responsible?

We do not know why Mr. Ghulam Mohammad[1] thought it his duty to anticipate the verdict of history regarding the responsibility of Lord

Mountbatten for the tragedy of the Punjab. He is reported to have stated at a Press Conference in London that when the history of the events of this dark chapter comes to be written a part of the blame-would rest on Lord Mountbatten. He has made two specific charges. The last British Viceroy was aware of a deep laid conspiracy by the Sikhs and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh to throttle Pakistan by eliminating Muslim and refused to take action. The other charge is that Lord Mountbatten forced partition too quickly. The British Commonwealth Relations Office has repudiated both charges. It has pointed out that it was the then Governor of Punjab who had proved himself to be an avowed partisan of Muslim League, and had looked on impotently while sanguinary riots organized by the Muslim League and the Muslim National Guards took place in North Punjab in March and April 1947. It may be convenient for Mr. Ghulam Mohammed to forget that what happened in August 1947, was a mere continuation of the bloody chain of reaction which was set in motion by the Muslim League at Calcutta in August 1946. In March and April 1947, Sikhs had been brutally massacred and looted and they were abused as cowards because they had not reacted at once with violence. As a matter of fact Lord Mountbatten yielded to his pro-Muslim advisers and stationed the major portion of the Punjab Boundary Force in East Punjab with the result that there was no force to check or control the terrible massacres of Hindus and Sikhs that occurred in Sheikhupura and other places. We should certainly like an impartial investigation into the events of those days and we

have no doubt it will be found that while, on the Indian side, it was the spontaneous outburst of a people indignant at what they considered the weakness and the appeasement policy of their leadership, on the Muslim side, the League, the bureaucracy, the police and the army worked like Hitlers team with the tacit if not open approval of those in charge of the Pakistan Government.

By the time the Sikh (and Hindu) attack on the Muslims came-the rankling shame in the Sikh mind at their own helplessness, the pouring into the East Punjab of train loads of corpses from West Punjab, of daily stories of massacres and of millions of helpless men, women and children created a revenge-hysteria among Sikhs and Hindus. That led to these riots in town after town, village after village and the murders of Muslims on the lines adopted by the West Punjab planners of Hindu and Sikh genocide.

That Sikh retaliation would come some day-was apparent to everyone except only to purblind Muslim Leaguers. Mr. Akhtar Hussain, Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government for some time before the partition, hinted at this possibility in his fortnightly review of the situation in the Province, already quoted. His words will bear a repeating here: (This report is for the first half of March, 1947) The prospect is not improved by the brutality of some of the acts committed by the majority community (Muslims) in the areas most affected. *When details of these facts become known, as inevitably*

they will, the danger of retaliation will arise in a degree fraught with much danger.

This retaliation came in the shape of the driving out of Muslims from Amritsar, from August 11, onwards. Sikhs had everywhere else in the East Punjab accepted the political situation as it was to be on August 15. They were to strive for a special treatment as minority both in the East and West Punjab. In the East Punjab they were even speculating on the future political set up, with the Muslims as a factor in the East Punjab politics always present in their mind. So, no thought of driving out the Muslims could have crossed the Sikh mind.

But there came the Lahore, Gujranwala and Sialkot massacres and the swelling stream of refugees. This upset all calculations and political manoevouring. Only one thought became upermost in the Sikh, and also the Hindu mind-revenge against Muslims. Sikhs and Hindus of East Punjab- potential rivals in the political field-were in a day thrown into a situation wherein they became natural allies in the fight against the Muslims.

II

Let us examine the Muslim accusation that the Sikhs had a Plan. A Plan for what? Pakistan propaganda suggests that it was a plan for creating a Sikh State in the Punjab. Now, every student of recent Sikh history is aware that such an objective, if it was present in any

clear shape had been abandoned by the Sikhs in 1945. When the Cabinet Mission came in 1946, Sikhs did not present a demand for a Sikh State before the Mission. The idea of the Sikh State had emerged only as a counter-blast to the Muslim demand of the independent State of Pakistan. The Cabinet Mission rejected Pakistan, Sikhs naturally did not in that case ask for a separate Sikh State. All they have been asking for is a *re-adjustment of the Boundaries of the Punjab so as to make the majority domination of Muslims impossible*. Sikhs vigorously protested against the Cabinet Mission proposals (dated 16th May, 1946), from May 18, 1946 onwards, because these proposals *contemplated not only to retain the old Punjab intact, but even to tag on to it the still larger Muslim majorities of the North-Western Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan*, with Bhawalpur, Kalat and other States to be possibly thrown in.

The Cabinet Mission Scheme failed. Its failure was scaled when it was decided to create two Constituent Assemblies-one for India and the other for Pakistan. The British Government Statement of February 20 detailing the process of transfer of power in India to one Central Government or to several Governments, was the culmination of the rejection of the Cabinet Mission Scheme.

In all these developments the Sikhs were naturally hurt and angry. No one appeared to bother about their future. Then came

the Punjab riots and the decision on June 3rd, 1941 to establish Pakistan. The Sikhs through S. Baldev Singh, Defence Minister of India, accepted the June 3 plan, which involved the creation of Pakistan. This was done not because Sikhs did not realize fully what a danger lay to their existence in being bifurcated between India and Pakistan, but because there was no other way except division, in the *impasse* between the Muslim League and the Congress and secondly because the Congress assured the Sikhs of full justice. So, Sikhs decided to make the maximum sacrifice which a people ever had made in the common interest. Sikhs had hoped that the other factors clause of the terms of reference of the Boundary Commission would be used to operate in favour of bringing the maximum number of Sikhs into East Punjab as well as the sacred shrine of Nankana Sahib.

That the Sikhs were bitter and disillusioned at the award of the Boundary Commission is perfectly true. But the West Punjab Sikhs were willing to remain in Pakistan as its citizens on the only decent terms on which any people can brook to become the citizens of a State, namely (a) that all communities would be treated without any discrimination, and (b) that protection would be afforded to the Sikh Gurdwaras situated in Pakistan.

But it was evident that Pakistan was not going to be a Secular State like India. Leaders of Pakistan were profuse in promises of fair

treatment for minorities, but no one very seriously believed such promises. One school of thought among Sikhs therefore, thought of the possibility and even necessity of the transfer into India of some part at least of the Sikh population of Pakistan. But such a transfer was thought of neither immediately, nor in any but a peaceful manner, by agreement and determination of compensation.

In all these political developments there is not an iota of the existence of any plan on the part of Sikhs to attack Muslims. As said above, Sikhs made all their calculations about the East Punjab with the Muslims therein as an existent. factor. The events which followed August 15 and which made inevitable total transfer of the non-Muslim and Muslim populations between West Punjab and East Punjab, were forced upon the Sikhs and the Hindus by Pakistan Muslims and were not of their own seeking.

The fact is that Muslims everywhere in Pakistan, had made the *life of religious minorities miserable*. How is it that as late as October 25, 1948 so responsible a person as Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal, felt constrained to say, It is no use belittling the fact that people are coming from East Bengal to West Bengal because they find life in East Bengal intolerable.

Giving instances of life being made intolerable for Hindus in East Bengal, Dr. Roy said: -

My friend (Finance Minister of Pakistan) states that there has been no case of persecution or oppression in East Bengal. Will he kindly tell us whether it is not a fact that house searches had been made in Jessore, Dinapur, Pabna, Meharpur, Barisal (This is followed by a number of charges against the East Bengal Government).

Persecution and driving out of the minorities has been the way with the Muslim League. It began with Noakhali and continued for more than a year as the story narrated in this booklet has shown.

Pakistan has made much of several irrelevant or purely imaginary factors in order to impute a plan of attack on Muslims to the Sikhs. Let us look at the situation as it was with no fact omitted.

(a) It is clear that while there was a Muslim aggression, recognised to be such even by the British Government inasmuch as collective fines are imposed on Muslims in Rawalpindi, Multan, Lahore, Sargodha and other places prior to June 1947, no attack of any considerable nature on Muslims in East Punjab occurred before August 25-about two weeks after mass murder for the second time had begun in West Punjab. This itself will show what was the plan which came first and which dragged the Sikhs into fight.

(b) The Punjab Chief Secretarys report estimates (quoted earlier) the strength of the Muslim League National Guard, at 39,000 for the

Punjab. There was no other such private army (not anyway of this formidable magnitude) in the Punjab. Leastways had the Sikhs any private army. There were the members and workers of the Shiromani Akali Dal, but they were political workers, not a private army. Pakistan has mentioned one Akal Fauj. No such body actually existed. It existed, if anywhere, only in the imagination of Pakistan propagandists. The origin of the concept is that as late as middle of February, 1947 when the well-known incident (mentioned earlier) of the blackening of the faces of the non-Muslim tonga drivers occurred in Amritsar, Master Tara Singh expressed the desire for a Sikh organisation of volunteers to fight against such aggression on the part of the Muslims. The idea of an Akal Fauj (Immortal Army) was then let adrift. In some places a few small cells were created, the total recruitment not coming to more than a few hundreds. But all along, the Muslim National Guards numbering 39,000 (according to the Government reports) existed armed and equipped, in liaison with the police, besides militant Muslim organisations like Khaksars, trained to attack and murder.

As for the Shahidi Jatha, a Sikh Volunteer organisation pledged to defend the panth, that came into existence still later on the 13th of April, 1947 (Baisakhi Day). This was an urgently needed body of volunteers to defend Sikhs from Muslim aggression everywhere, which was made worse by the open support given by the police to the Muslims. Sikhs did not want to commit *harakiri*, to go under to a

total Muslim war upon them. The Shahidi Jathas put heart into the Sikhs, and did a deal to keep the East Punjab Muslims, especially of places like Ludhiana and Jullundur reasonable, in spite of the overwhelming Muslim majority of population in them.

That the Sikhs had no notion of an attack on the part of the Muslims and that they had still less any idea of attacking Muslims is evidenced by two events: (1) When attacks on Sikhs began on March 5, 1947 in Amritsar a large number of Sikhs were away to Anandpur to attend Hola Mohalla Fair there-leaving Amritsar practically defenceless. This they would not have done, had they expected a fight, must less they had any design to begin one.

(2) In the Sikh State of Jind right up till August 31, 1947, a Muslim was Prime Minister. This could not have happened in a Sikh State if Sikhs had any plan to make their States or any part of their homelands a base for operations against Muslims.

Among those who have made an impartial study of the Punjab situation is Mr. Ian Stephens, Editor of the Statesman, one of the sanest and most responsible papers in India. Mr. Stephens brought out some months back a booklet on the Sikhs, entitled Among the Sikhs-An Over-blamed people. The second half of this title-line An Over-blamed people is the true summing up of the situation of the Sikhs. Never was truer word said in the midst of so much malicious

propaganda, so much maligning and mud-spattering. The Sikhs have been made the scapegoats for blame not only by Muslims, but also by ill-informed Hindus and other non-Muslims. The terrible sufferings of the Sikhs were totally lost sight of, as well as the constant provocation offered to them, the massacres, loot, arson, destruction of sacred places, and above all, dishonouring of their women. Only the excesses committed by Sikhs in retaliation were presented and magnified manyfold. And hence a totally false and distorted picture was presented in which the Sikh was presented as the villain of the piece. It even became fashionable in India to profess sympathy in and out of season for all kinds of Muslims, and to profess an equal abhorrence for Sikhs. To correct such a view, let us remember the wise words of Mr. Ian Stephens:-

Muslims also wrought frightful barbarities in many places as did Hindus. Members of all three communities sinned heavily during the unprecedented slaughterings and maimings and burnings all across upper India between August 46 and November, 47. To hold but one blameworthy is injustice.

Lopsided and Unchivlrous.

It seems particularly wrong, lopsided and unchivlrous when the community thus singled out is that whose personnel, if not renegades from their faith, are necessary the most noticeable. A

true Sikh may atonce be identified from the Kakars made obligatory by his last Guru.

Until members of this numerically small but virile obstinate and deeply religious community, can (like British Catholics visiting Rome or Lourdes) buy a ticket for Nanakana Sahib or Panja Sahib confident of the ordinary decencies of international travel, there will be no stable peace in the two Punjabs, nor basis for Pakistan to rank herself as the full equal of other countries in standards of civilized modern tolerance

Balance.

Perhaps however, queried the intellect, this indictment of a single community-the smallest of the three-was disproportionate, unfair? During the 14 months of unprecedented disorder from August, 46, across 1,500 miles of the Indo-Gangetic plain from Calcutta and Noakhali to Quetta and Kashmir, members of all three communities had done damnable things. Sikhs are comparatively few; could they rightly be blamed for so much?

Inquiry confirmed the doubt. It elicited, too, the appalling nature of the Sikhs own losses. About 40% of them had been made refugees. No such figure was approached by the other communities. They had no strong Press to put their case. The Editorial in *The Statesman* during January resulted.

It is obvious from the foregoing that while the Muslim League had its plan of elimination of minorities, the Sikhs and Hindus retaliated in the face of the inhuman attacks on their coreligionists. To talk of a plan with regard either to the Sikhs or Hindus is fantastic; more probably deliberate falsehood.

Footnotes:

[1] Finance Minister of Pakistan.

APPENDIX - I to X

THE KAMOKE MASSACRE

I

Statement of Shrimati Laj Wanti, widow of Shri Manak Chand Age 23 years, caste Khatri, resident of Nurpur Sethi, District Jhelum, to the Chief Liaison Officer, Lahore.

My husband Shri Manak Chand was employed in the Workshop of Alkali Chemical Corporation of India, Limited at, Khewra. We were living in the quarters attached to the Company. Towards the end of Bhadon (August 1947) a Muslim mob attacked Khewra and a large number of houses were burnt. The Manager of the Alkali Chemical Corporation of India, Limited being a European, the premises of the Company were not attacked and employees and quarters in which they were living were saved. The Manager, however, asked all Hindu employees to get ready for evacuation.

Accordingly, on the 6th of Asuj (beginning of September, 1947) the Hindu employees left Khewra by trucks. 6 trucks were loaded. I, my husband, my son 1½ years old, my uncle Ganda Mal, his wife Karma Wali and their small daughter 1½ years old were all in one truck. We left Khewra at about 4 p.m. and reached Pind Dadan

Khan at about 4.30 p.m. We found a large number of non-Muslims collected at the railway station. It was said that the train was to leave Pind Dadan Khan and would be the last train for the refugees to leave Pakistan.

Approximately 5,000 people had collected to go in the train. Out of them between 6 to 7 hundred were women. The train left Pind Dadan Khan at 10 p.m. on 7th of Asuj.

Fifteen men of the Pakistan army were with the train as guards. We were given railway tickets for Ferozepur and Rs. 3/8/- were charged per passenger.

It was said that the train would go straight to Ferozepur.

The train reached Kamoke railway station at about 8 p.m. on the 7th Asuj. In the way no water was supplied to the passengers. Even where the train stopped water was not given, as it was said that the passengers were all Hindus. No other provisions were also allowed to be purchased by the passengers for the same reason.

The train stopped at Kamoke railway station for the whole of the night. At about 8 a.m. on the 8th of Asuj Wednesday the Police came to the railway station and started searching the train. Each and every article of the passengers was searched; even the persons of the women were searched. The search continued for about two

hours. 97 guns and rifles were taken away, although all of them were licensed weapons and the licences were with the owners. Even pen-knives were taken away from the passengers. All passengers were told that the guns and rifles would be returned as soon as the train would start. After the search the passengers were asked to get into the train and their luggage into it.

When everybody had got into the train and as the engine was whistling to indicate that the train was going to start, a huge crowd of Muslims came from the side of the Mandi and factories. They were armed with rifles, chhuras, axes, barchas and other lethal weapons. They were shouting Ya Ali and came running. They entered the compartments of the train and started butchering male passengers. The police force including the Sub-Inspector and Assistant Sub-Inspector were present at the platform and they also joined in shooting down the passengers who tried to come out of the train. The Pakistan Military made a show of firing, but their fire was directed towards the sky and not the mob and after a short while they also joined the mob and the police in shooting down the passengers.

Those of the passengers who tried to run towards the platform out of the compartments were shot dead by the police and the military and those who went out of the compartments towards the maidan were butchered by the Muslim mob. In this way most of the

passengers were either butchered or shot dead. A few who were taken as dead after having been injured were later rescued.

The women-folk were not butchered, but taken out and sorted. The elderly women were later butchered while the younger ones were distributed.

I saw an old woman who cried for water being caught hold of by her feet by a Muslim and flung twice on the ground and killed. The children were also similarly murdered. All the valuables on the persons of the women were removed and taken away by the mob.

Even clothes were torn in the effort to remove valuables. My son was also snatched away in spite of my protests. I cannot say who took him away. I was taken by one Abdul Ghani to his house. He was a tonga driver. I was kept in the house for over a month and badly used. I went to other houses to look after my son. I saw a large number of children but I was unable to find my son. During these visits I also saw a large number of Hindu women in the houses of the Muslim inhabitants of Kamoke. All of them complained that they were being very badly used by their abductors.

After about a month it was announced by beat of drum that the Hindu Military had arrived and those of the inhabitants who had Hindu women and children in their possession should produce them at the police station. On this account, I and many other women

(about 150) were produced at the police station. During the period of a month, that I stayed in the house of Abdul Ghani the members of his family and he always said that there was no food in India, the relations of all Hindu women had been killed and no one was prepared to have them back into their homes and that even Mahatma Gandhi said that there was no food in India and therefore, no women or men who had been kept in Pakistan should return to India. We were also told that all the girls who would go to India would be made to stand in line and shot dead by the Indian Military because they were not fit for being returned to Hindu society and Hindu society was not prepared to take them back. Such propaganda was made in every Muslim house and all the women whom I met told me of it as I went from house to house in search of my son. One Muslim Mirassi named Barkat Ali who had also taken a young Hindu girl was boasting that he had with his own hands killed 50 men with his dagger and had been rewarded by the Sub-Inspector of Police, Kamoke, for his valour. We were also told that we must state before the police and other authorities that we were not willing to return to India. The 150 women who were produced at the station, Kamoke, were taken in tongas to Gujranwala. Out of the women collected only 20 got up and said that they wanted to return to India. I was one of them. There were 10 children with these women. The remaining lot was put into the trucks and sent back to Kamoke by the Sub-Inspector of Police. We were then taken to the

Hindu refugee camp and put into trucks which brought us to Amritsar.

My uncle, my aunt and my husband were all killed at Kamoke railway station. I have not yet been able to trace my son and the daughter of my uncle and aunt must have also been similarly killed.

Note: *Other statements on the Kamoke Massacre appear later in the Appendix.*

II

THE PARACHINAR MASSACRES
(23-1-1948)

Report made by the Chief Liaison Officer, Lahore to the Government of West Punjab about Parachinar Massacres.

On the 25th January I was informed that a train was likely to come on the 27th or 28th from Kohat carrying refugees from Parachinar. I was also approached about making arrangements for the feeding of passengers on the train by the Muslim League workers of Lahore. What they wanted was that the food should be cooked at the D. A. V. College Refugee Camp, Lahore as they were unable to arrange Hindu cooks. I agreed to get the food prepared. We were told that 1,000 passengers were likely to come.

Arrangements were made accordingly. The train arrived at Harbanspura railway station at about 8-30 p.m. S. Sampuran Singh, Deputy High Commissioner, myself and 5 district Liaison Officers including the Refugee Officer, D. A. V. College refugee camp met the train. Instead of 1,000 it carried 1,556 passengers. We were surprised to find that between 56 to 60 of them were wounded. Some of them were crying with pain. They said they had not received any food for the last two days and had received only partial medical aid in the way. The more serious of the wounded had been detained at Kohat. What I gathered from the passengers in the train was that the refugee camp at Parachinar was attacked on the 23rd instant. About 500 were killed outright. About 300 were distributed food that we had brought, but some people could not he given anything while others received an average meal. The train was stopped only for one hour as it was represented that there was not sufficient water in the engine and there were no arrangements at Harbanspura railway station to put more water into the engine.

We were told by the refugees that all property with them had been looted. There was, therefore, no luggage in the whole train. The wounded whom we saw were wearing blood-stained clothes which were mostly tom on account of wounds and cuts inflicted on their persons. They had no blankets or quilts.

As it is likely that the news of the attack at Parachinar and the sight of the wounded persons and the stories that the refugees in the train might relate may cause commotion in the East Punjab, I am trying to contact the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, and yourself on the telephone. I am also asking the Deputy Commissioner to make arrangements for feeding etc., of the passengers and medical aid for the wounded.

III

MASSACRE AT GUJRAT (11.1.48)

(*Report by the Chief Liaison Officer to the East Punjab Government*)

(1) The selected route was Mari Indus to Lyallpur to Lahore to Amritsar and to Kurukshetra. The train was scheduled to leave on the 10th. Actual time of departure not known. It contained 2,500 to 3,000 refugees. At Khushab it was diverted towards Gujrat. No reasons for this diversion are known. Gujrat did not fall in the way of the train as originally scheduled. The train reached Gujrat at 19-50 hours on the 11th. On arrival at Gujrat the engine of the train left and in spite of all the efforts on the part of the escort Commander, no engine could be found to move the train.

(2) The escort consisted of one escort Commander, 2 V.C.Os and 58 other ranks (2nd Bihar)

(3) At 0200 hours on the urgent demand of water by the refugees two men from the escort went out on the platform to fetch water. Pathans who were on the platform snatched their rifles. Firing was started by the Pathans and it went on till 0730 hours. Refugees remained in the train while the exchange of firing went on. It was when the ammunition with escort was finished that the Pathans got the upper hand and killing and loot of refugees was started. Only one V. C. O. (seriously wounded) out of the whole escort reached Gujranwala.

(4) Total casualties were about 1,600 killed and wounded and about 400 abducted. While the Pathans gave more attention to looting and abduction, the Pakistan Military are reported to have done most of the killing of the refugees and even put to death those who were wounded.

(5) Refugees started reaching Gujranwala at 5-30 p.m. on the 12th. Military trucks for their transport were provided by the Pakistan authorities. By the night of the 12th, 700 refugees had reached Gujranwala. Out of these about 120 were wounded. Most of these had sustained bullet injuries and many had also serious hatchet wounds on their heads and other vital parts of the body. Practically

all the refugees were found to be in tattered clothes. Even their coats, turbans and pullovers had been removed by the Pathans. The few tattered clothes of these who were wounded were soiled with blood.

(6) Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, Colonel Malik, Inspector General of Civil Hospitals and Khan Qurban Ali Khan, Inspector-General of Police and others reached Gujranwala at about 10 a.m. on the 12th. They attended to wounded who were put into the hospital and given quilts. Quilts were also given to other refugees in the camp.

(7) 400 refugees are reported to have been collected in Gujrat.

(8) Miss Mridulla Sarabhai and Col. Randhir Singh, Commander M. E. O. (I) reached Gujranwala at 10 a.m. on the 13th. The wounded could not, however, be removed to Lahore the whole day. Seven of them died on the 12th and 4 on the 13th. Blankets and food was rushed to Gujranwala from Lahore.

IV

Statement of Mr. Ram Nath, Advocate, High Court, formerly of the Sheikhupura Bar.

The Sheikhupura Massacre

A communal riot had never taken place in the history of Sheikhupura. It was considered a non-Muslim stronghold. The town had a majority of non-Muslims. In the District the Muslims were 68%, Sikhs 20% and Hindus 12% according to the last census figures. But the Sikhs were the most important and formidable community in the District. They considered this district as their stronghold. The most important Sikh shrines of Nankana Sahib and Sacha Sauda were located in the District.

In these circumstances, even after the announcement of the Mountbatten Plan of the partition of India, Hindus and Sikhs did not evacuate that district. Rather, Hindus and Sikhs not only from Rawalpindi Division, but from the neighbouring districts of Gujranwala, thought it safer to come here. The tehsil and town of Sheikhupura were considered safe centres for non-Muslims.

Muslims officials and non-officials declared solemnly before and after the 15th August they would protect with their lives the life, honour and property of the non-Muslims.

On the 15th August this district of Sheikhupura had assumed an added importance. One of its citizens-a lawyer of the place, Sheikh Karamat Ali, rank communalist and a member of the Muslim League High Command-became a Minister of the West Punjab Government. He had his local enmities with the non-Muslims of the town, who

opposed him in civic affairs and had dared defy him on several occasions.

The partition of the Punjab and the option exercised by the officers had removed every non-Muslim official. All the Magistrates were Muslims, the Police was also throughout Muslim. And above all, the contingent of the Boundary Force stationed at Sheikhupura was purely Muslim.

The Deputy Commissioner of the District was a weak-kneed, ease-loving Anglo-Indian.

He could be easily made a convenient tool, who while having no powers could be made to take up responsibility. It was under these circumstances that a temptation to sack the town of Sheikhupura could not he resisted.

On the evening of the 24th August, 1947 for the first time in the history of Sheikhupura a curfew order was imposed by the District Magistrate. At dead of night a house was set on fire. The Muslim Military watched as to who came to put off the fire, so that he might be shot down. Only two men could be shot by them in this way.

The night passed in harassment. Next day on she 26th August at 2 p.m. again without any cause, curfew was imposed. The petrol pump-wallas were summoned. They were ordered forthwith to give

all the petrol as emergency had arisen. The whole of the day of the 23rd and 24th Muslim shopkeepers in the vicinity of Hindu and Sikh shopkeepers had been removing their merchandise to safer places.

Under Section 144 no vehicle could enter or go out of Sheikhupura without a permit.

With the imposition of the curfew, the Magistrate (Qazi Ahmad Shafi) leading the Military started from one - end of Sheikhupura known as Akalgarh and began to march through the whole of old Sheikhupura abadi. Their work was very systematic and done with military precision. They systematically killed all men and old women, abducted young girls. A second party followed looting the property and setting fire to the houses of non-Muslims. Some Hindus and Sikhs strangled their girls and threw them into wells to save them from dishonour.

In one of the places called the New Ihatas all the Hindus and Sikhs were gathered, women-folk in one line and men in the other. Before the very eyes of the parents, brothers and husbands, the young girls began to be selected. When one of the young men objected, the whole lot of the men standing there was shot.

The worst killing took place in one of the Sikh rice factories of Sheikhupura. People were told that firing was now over and that they should go into the refugee camp situated in that factory. They

went there each with a suit-case and a bedding containing their most valuable belongings. The same occurrence was repeated at that place. Men and women were made to stand in separate lines. Women were selected after being subjected to most insulting examination and men shot down in large numbers. Bren guns and sten guns were used for this mass murder.

At another place, people were told that they could escape, if they deposited a sum of Rs. 50,000. But the two men who collected the amount and went to hand it over to the authorities never returned. The money was taken away and they were shot.

In one of the Mohallas known as Guru Nanakpura, one pucca-built concrete house of a famous Hindu which could not be broken open was bombed.

History will not ever find on record a worse case of Genocide than this.

This went on till 4 p.m. on the 26th August. About 10,000 men had been shot. Truck loads of girls had been removed. At about 4 p.m. that day some leaders like Diwan Chaman Lal and Sardar Bhupinder Singh Man came accompanied by Mr. Qurban Ali, the Inspector-General of Police, West Punjab. They had a clue from two or three persons who managed to escape in an escorted bank lorry on the morning of the 25th. And this orgy of bloodshed was thus

stopped. Out of 15,000 non-Muslims, some, about 1,500 were later gathered in the refugee camp. Some days after, when the Deputy Commissioner visited the camp, one of the Hindus well-known to him dared to ask if he could stay in Pakistan. The reply of the Deputy Commissioner was, categorically No. He further said, It is the policy of the Pakistan Government not to let any non-Muslim remain in Pakistan. They will get no protection.

This massacre of Sheikhupura had played a great part in purging Western Pakistan of its non-Muslim population.

V

Translation of the verbal statement of Sardar Gurdial Singh, Tehsildar of Sheikhupura up till 20th August, 1947 and later posted at Zira (*Ferozepore District*).

Amass meeting of Muslims was held at Sheikhupura on the Cattle-fair ground on about the 8th or 10th August, 1947 under pretext of praying for rains, which were scarce in that part of the year. But in reality in this meeting instructions had been given to Muslims by the Muslim League leaders and officials for the attack on Hindus and Sikhs, which came a little later. Muslims were very secretive about what transpired at this meeting. Nothing could be got out of any Muslim about its proceedings. I tried my Muslim orderlie, but he put me off. It was apparent after this that something

was brewing. We guessed its nature, but we naturally could not know the details of the Muslim programme. All Muslims E. A. Cs at Sheikhupura stopped coming after the date of this meeting to the Club of which all Gazetted Officers were members. They instead met in the evenings separately somewhere. Here they presumably perfected plans of the attack on Hindus and Sikhs which came about a fortnight after this meeting.

I met after this meeting Disney, the Anglo-Indian Deputy Commissioner, and told him about the panic felt by Hindus and Sikhs at the contemplated Muslim attack. But he only gave vague assurances that all was well. But we felt that all was not well.

I accidentally saw in the secret drawer of the D. Cs Indian Christian stenographer a long list containing the names of all prominent Sikhs of the town and of some Hindus. This was marked Confidential. I was at a loss to guess what this list could have been made for. It was very unprecedented that any confidential or other list about the town should be made without my knowledge, as I happened to be the Tehsildar and one moreover, who had enjoyed the D.Cs confidence. But this one was naturally not shown to me, as these were the names of the victims who were marked out for murder on some prearranged date. This conspiracy was obviously hatched by Muslims with some knowledge and probably with the

complicity of the D.C. I naturally told about what I had seen to Hindus and Sikhs, and all got forewarned.

On the 19th August Haq Namaz Khan, Superintendent of Police, who came from Gurdaspur, passed through Sheikhupura on his way to Sargodha, where he was now posted. I saw him standing outside the D.Cs house, inciting Muslims to kill Hindus and Sikhs. His propaganda went obviously a long way towards precipitating the attack.

Prominent Hindu and Sikh citizens met the D. C. and asked him what arrangements existed for the safety of their life and property. The D. C. told them that he could not guarantee no incidents, and that a serious situation was developing, which was obviously a fact.

On the 20th the Muslim Officer who was to relieve me arrived and I handed over charge of my office to him. I asked the D. C. to give me enough petrol to carry me to the border of Amritsar district but he refused to give any. In this situation I did not know how I could ever get out of Sheikhupura. All supply of petrol to non-Muslims was stopped, so there could be practically no evacuation. Petrol was issued only to Muslims who were dumping it for purposes of arson, as was clear five days later when rioting broke out.

On the 20th August an order was made prohibiting the going of vehicles outside the Municipal limits of Sheikhupura without a

permit. This order covered all kinds of vehicles including carts etc. I was, therefore, necessarily stuck up at Sheikhupura.

On the night between August 24 and 25 there were cases of arson in Gurdwara Bazar, in non-Muslim shops and houses. Before this, military had paraded in the town for 4 or 5 days. False alarms had been raised of a Sikh attack in Changar Mohalla, a Muslim locality. This was a ruse to impose curfew, which was imposed on the 24th. Immediately after curfew was imposed, on the 24th August night arson occurred with police help, while Hindus and Sikhs were shut up in their houses. Hindus and Sikhs who came out of their houses to extinguish these fires, were shot at. Non-Muslims asked the D. C. to lift the curfew, as in its presence Muslims committed crimes, but that of course was not done.

On the 25th August I saw two Muslim Magistrates going into the house of Seikh Karamat Ali, West Punjab Minister, whose house as a matter of fact was the centre of this entire anti-Hindu-Sikh conspiracy. On the 25th there was a good deal of coming and going at Karamat Alis house, and everywhere in the town brisk preparations were going on for the attack on non-Muslims which came that very day.

Towards mid-day attack was made by Muslims on the Sikh quarter of Ramagarha with a population of 1,200. I myself noticed

huge fires in this area and he attacked Sikhs attempts to escape the flames. Sikhs, however, soon after rallied and met the Muslim onslaught. The huge Muslim mob was followed by the military, who were there to cover up the mob. The Muslim mob retreated when the Sikhs put up stiff resistance. The military, which had not yet come into action, goaded back the retreating Muslim mob for a second attack. But again the Sikhs fought back and the Muslims retreated.

Now, at about 2 p.m. the military took up positions to attack the Sikhs. There was a fight between Sikhs and the military for 2 hours. It was, however, a very unequal fight, though the Sikhs fought bravely. By 5 p.m. the entire area of Ramgarh had been devastated. Many Sikhs had been killed under the heavy military fire.

After this the Muslim mob spread out in different directions for attack. Its number had now tremendously gone up. Street after street was surrounded by the mob, military and the police in large numbers. Wherever the military came, the attack was intensified. A large part of the town was burned. Looting was enormous and incalculable. The total number of those killed may be between 14,000 and 15,000. The looting, murder and arson stopped only on the evening of the 26th August.

On the 25th August night when the main bazar was burning, the D. C. was present, but he did nothing to prevent destruction.

Hindus and Sikhs had collected in various places for shelter, as in Gopal Singhs factory, in Atma Singhs factory, in the Namdhari Gurdwara etc. The military mopped them up in large numbers there, with rifle fire arid with machine guns. 3,000 were killed in Atma Singhs factory. Here women were molested. One Sikh resisted this; he was immediately shot dead. Swami Nand Singh, leader of the joint Peace Committee of Sheikhupura, was shot dead by his ex-comrades of this Committee.

Inside the compound of the Namdhari Gurdwara two wells were filled with the bodies of such Sikh girls as had immolated themselves by drowning to escape dishonour. Two other wells were similarly filled.

When this carnage was proceeding, Ahmad Shafi, Section 30 Magistrate, tauntingly told Lt. Col. Dr. Surat Singh to convey to the Sikh leaders that Muslims had done in Sheikhupura in two days what Sikhs might not be able to do in their entire history.

VI

4. THE SHARAQPUR MASSACRE

Sharaqpur is a municipal Town and a Sub-Tehsil of District Sheikhupura. It is twenty miles from Lahore situated on the main Lahore-Lyallpur Road.

Its population was ten thousand consisting of 10% Hindus and Sikhs.

Leading Muslim Leaguers of the city gave us assurance by oath of holy Quran for protection.

As advised by Mahatma Gandhi and believing the false assurance of Mr. Jinnah we determined to continue in Pakistan.

Suddenly on 27th August, 1947 we met with unprecedented brutality.

At 9 a.m. on that day a party consisting of the following men:

(1) Mr. Fazil Ilahi Kahli (President, Muslim League).

(2) Mr. Mohd. Rafiq s/o Khair Din (Secretary, Muslim League).

(3) Mr. Mohd. Rashid s/o Khair Din (Secretary, Muslim League).

(4) Mohd. Shafi Bhatti (member, Muslim National Guard).

(5) Ibrahim Kasuria (member, Muslim National Guard).

(6) Haji Mohd. Sharif (Partner of Sharaqpur Bus Society).

(7) Shapha S/o Mohd. Sadiq Bharo Motor Driver.

(8) Ch. Sadar Din, Sub-Inspector of Police.

(9) Mr. Chima, Assistant Sub-Inspector.

(10) With four constables, armed with guns, rifles 303 and sten guns, attacked the non-Muslims and began to murder Hindus and Sikhs, with brutality which cannot be expected from a human being.

It is necessary to mention here that there was not a single man from outside among those brutes. They did not even spare the Government employees, i.e., Mr. Tek Chand Nanda, Second Master, Government School, Sharaqpur was thrown off his house and shot dead. L. Moti Ram Gulati (a vendor) was first maimed and later on shot dead.

L. Labha Ram Sethi Lumbardars eye-balls were removed and later on he was thrown alive into Deg Nala.

Small children were struck against the walls and some were cut into pieces.

Total number of those escaped from those brutes was seventy-one out of one thousand. All were left penniless.

Fifteen girls were abducted and whole property of Hindu-Sikh minority was looted.

All the corpses were removed by lorries to Deg Nala.

After that gold and jewellery worth three lakhs recovered from Ch. Sadar Din, Sub-Inspector by the higher authorities and was deposited in the Treasury of Pakistan.

Now our Government have recovered only three out of the abducted girls because Pakistan Government does not agree to surrender the remaining twelve.

Another fact which I want -to tell here is that most of the assailants were Khoja Mohammadans and they had given us assurance with the oath of holy Quran for protection.

Sd. Hans Raj Gulati.
Medical Practitioner,
(Municipal Commissioner of Sharaqpur)
Now at Panipat, District Karnal.

VII

Translation of statement of Shri Ram Das, Head Constable of Police, transferred from Gujranwala to Amritsar.

On the 27th July, 1947 I was transferred from Kamoke (Gujranwala District) to Gujranwala Police Lines. At Gujranwala I found large numbers of Hindus and Sikhs being stabbed. Among those arrested by the Police, however, the proportion was somewhat like this:

Muslim - 1
Non-Muslims -20

During curfew hours if any Hindu or Sikh was found out of his house, he was arrested, while Muslims went about armed and unchecked. I found many cases of Hindus and Sikhs being stabbed with the Police looking on.

On the 13th August I came to Gujranwala Railway Station to escort a Hindu neighbour of mine. On my way back from the station, near Talao Deviwala, close to Damdama Sahib I saw a fire in a house which a Muslim police constable had raised. It was the house of Sham Singh, owner of the Milap Bus Service, in flames. Myself and Mast Ram Head Constable tried to extinguish this fire but on entering the house we were attacked by a Muslim who was already inside, probably for looting. I threw back this Muslim into the fire. Mast Ram aimed his rifle at other Muslims who were setting fire to

houses, and we arrested them, and marched them to the thana with incendiary articles on them. At the Thana these men were not taken into custody and our statements not recorded.

I used to go round the town as a member of the Police patrol. Wherever we noticed cases of arson Imdad Husain Shah, Sub-Inspector, who was leader of the Patrol, would order extinguishing if the house was a Muslims, otherwise the fire continued to blaze.

Mehar Ghulam Mohammad, Inspector of Police went to Gujranwala from Amritsar and he instigated Muslims to kill non-Muslim Policemen. Muslim constables while on patrol would shoot dead any Hindu or Sikh at sight.

On the 17th August I was in charge of the Police lock-up and had 17 Muslim constables under me. There was only 1 Hindu constable. The kirpan of a Sikh constable, Darshan Singh, was snatched from him. The Muslim constables were beating and abusing him. They said they would kill him. His situation was desperate. I appealed to Mohammad Baqir, Sub-Inspector to save this mans (Darshan Singhs) life. Darshan Singh was soon after taken away for an enquiry on the charge of abetting attacks on Muslims. I think they finished him.

On this day orders came from the Superintendent of Police that arms be taken away from Hindu and Sikh Policemen. On the

evening of the same day we left Gujranwala. Between the 11th and 17th August, all non-Muslim localities such as Guru Nanakpura, Hakim Rai Street, Mandi Khajurwali, Brahm Akhara, Chowk Chashma, Bhabra Quarters inside Sheikhupura Gate etc. had been burned.

On my way to my village in Sialkot District on the 22nd August I saw at Narowal that Police were helping Muslim mobs in looting Hindu and Sikhs houses. On the 24th August, in my own village Lalla, in Sialkot District, all Hindus and Sikhs had been looted. Hindus and Sikhs were fleeing towards Jammu to save their lives. Gujarwali, a prosperous Sikh village was looted and burned under the lead of the Sub-Inspector of Police of Kila Sobha Singh. Very few Sikhs were, however, killed here as they were generally well armed. I saw villages Gill, Man, Dipoke, Nunarch and about 40 other villages of Narowali Tehsil burning.

One non-Muslim convoy which was coming from village Alipur Sayadan, was attacked near our village of Lalla, and 20 of its members were killed. Property worth 60 to 70 thousand rupees was looted.

Some prosperous Khatris of my village left for India on the 28th August with a group of 200 people. This group was attacked near village Dhamthal. From this group of 200 only 15 escaped killing.

All the young girls who were about 25 in number, were abducted. Out of these 15 survivors all, with the exception of 3 or 4 were killed near Narowal. The loot here was worth about two and a half crores of rupees.

Some other Hindus and Sikhs of my village including my family, left the same day (28th August) in a group of 150. At Dhamthal again 2 girls out of our party were snatched and 2 Sikhs were killed. We put up resistance against our assailants, and so our losses were not heavy. At Narowal we were surrounded by a Muslim mob. I went to Ghulam Husain, Inspector of Police, who was known to me, for help. In the town I saw Sikh and Hindu holy places being looted and desecrated. On the way I counted 200 bodies of Hindus and Sikhs who had been killed. The Inspector refused to render us any help. Another Muslim officer promised safe-conduct only for my family, if I posed to be a Muslim. While on the way I found that 4 women and 2 men of our group had been thrown into a well by Muslims. Myself and my brother Gowardhan Das, who is a Police Constable, had our uniforms on. We posed to he Muslim Policemen of the place, and told the Muslim mob that this party had been given safe-conduct by the officers. The mob would not allow Sikhs to go, but anyhow we extricated the party.

When we reached Jassar, we found there 200 dead bodies of Hindus and Sikhs, who had been killed by the Baluch Military. Our

party was attacked repeatedly on the way. When I came to Jassar refugee Q--amp, we were 15 Sikhs and 30 Hindus only. Near the railway station of Jassar I saw about 150 bodies of Hindus and Sikhs. Between Jassar and Narowal along the railway track I saw 600 non-Muslim corpses, mostly Sikhs. By I reached Dera Baba Nanak, I saw another 600 or 700. From Jassar to India our train was not attacked, as Sikh Military was escorting us.

Those whom the Muslims killed, they generally speared, killing slowly and with great gusto.

VIII

From the STATESMAN, APRIL 15th, 1947.
Women jump into well to avoid capture
From the Staff Correspondent.

The story of 90 women of the little village of Thoha Khalsa, Rawalpindi District, who drowned themselves by jumping into a well during the recent disturbances, has stirred the imagination of the people of the Punjab.

They revived the Rajput tradition of self-immolation when their men-folk were no longer to defend them. They also followed Mr. Gandhis advice to Indian women that in certain circumstances even suicide was morally preferable to submission.

Thoha Khalsa, situated at the foot of a hill, until recently belonged to members of a minority.[1] It was small, prosperous and pretty.

About a month ago, a communal army 3,000 strong, armed with sticks, tommy guns and hand grenades surrounded it. The villagers defended themselves as best they could. They had two guns which they put to good use. But in the end they had to raise the white flag.

Negotiation followed. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was demanded by the besiegers. It was promptly paid. The intruders gave solemn assurance that they would not come back. The promise was broken the next day.

They returned to demand more money and in the process hacked to death 40 of the defenders. Heavily outnumbered, they were unable to resist the onslaught. Their women held a hurried meeting and came to the conclusion that all was lost except their honour. Following the example of Indian women of by-gone days, they decided to evade inglorious capture. Ninety women jumped into a small well. Only three were saved. There was not enough water in the well to drown them all.

IX

BLACKMAIL

Whether or not it is a case of cause and effect, it is a fact that the forces of law and order in Lahore and other large centres in the Punjab have received strong military reinforcement and that the large-scale trouble which was apprehended for June 2 and subsequent days has not occurred. There has, however, been no cessation of the sporadic stabbing and arson which prevent a return of public confidence and to these have been added the indiscriminate killing and maiming caused by home-made bombs. Rumour also speaks darkly of an organised conspiracy[2] which pays its criminal minions well for their desperate misdeeds. We think that fanaticism and goondaism may well contain the answer to all questions on the how and by whom of these outrages, although goondaism normally required greater opportunities for loot than are now permitted by police than one in a thousand of Lahore residents are actively concerned in the foul play. We are not convinced, however, that the remaining 999 are in complete ignorance of the perpetrators.

CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE,

June 18, 1947.

X

Statement of the following ladies, refugees in D. A.-V. College Camp, Lahore recorded in Urdu and translated into English is as

follows:

1. Mrs. Krishna Wanti, widow of Kanshi Ram Khorana, Douglaspura, Lane 10, Lyallpur.

2. Mrs. Lajwanti, widow of Tarachand Vermani, Douglaspura, Lane 10, Lyallpur.

3. Mrs. Rajrani, widow of Faqirchand Dora, Chak 232, Khemsinghwala near Risalewala, Lyallpur.

4. Mrs. Shanti Devi, widow of Nand Lal Malhotra of Jhang.

5. Mrs. Ram Piari, widow of Bahadur Chand Gillu of Kandawala, Post Office Langar (Jhang).

6. Mrs. Phul Rani, wife of Malik Des Raj Sehgal, Putli Cotton Mills, Douglaspura, Lyallpur.

7. Mrs. Lajwanti, widow of Piarey Lal Janiji, Douglaspura, Lyallpur.

8. Mrs. Rani Bai, widow of Jiwandas Kharbandi, Douglaspura, Lyallpur.

We all with our men and children started for D. A.-V College Camp, Lahore on Sunday, 28-8-47 by a private truck belonging to Muslim Pathan, Daud Haider. Two hundred rupees were paid to him in advance as fare, and it was settled and promised that if we all reached our destination safe and sound, we should pay him Rs. 2,000 more.

We reached village Lange-ki-Thatha safely. Afterwards the road was flooded with water and upto further four miles we went on in the water but at last we reached a place which was over flooded and there was no possibility of our truck crossing further. At that place the said Pathan Driver, Daud Haider insisted on being paid the rest of the money. Our men refused first and reminded him of his promise and agreement but the fellow began to quarrel. Afterwards we thought it proper lest any danger should happen, to pay him the balance of Rs. 2,000 there and then. After a short time a huge mob armed with axes, chawis, birchas, etc. from neighbouring villages with the conspiracy of Daud Haider driver himself attacked our truck and our all men 30 in number, 7 old women and five children were killed on the spot and dead bodies were thrown away in near canal adjacent to a village school.

Before attack, the raiders threatened us and snatched away all luggage, gold ornaments and cash which we had. After a great hue and cry suddenly Pir Sahib of Faizpur who was also Headmaster of

the School of that village accompanied by some other men reached the spot, and the rest of us under his own protection were saved. We all remained under his protection for five days. Out of us some women and children were put under Mian Yasins protection and we all were protected.

Two goondas, Sabku and Phatu of village Lange-ki-Thatha asked us to embrace Islam and we were threatened many a time. All the people of the village desired the same, but Pir Sahib and Mian Yasin were against this act. Thus all the people of his village turned against him and many a time he was threatened that he should hand over the Kaffirs. Otherwise he shall have to bear the consequences.

After that about ten Muslim Military men reached that village and threatened Pir Sahib for keeping us in his detention. So they suggested him to hand over us to them with assurance that we shall be sent safely in D. A.-V. College Camp, Lahore.

Pir Sahib agreed to their suggestion out of fear and handed us over to the Military men who took us to the trucks standing on the road. We had our seats in. But after a short period we were made to get down on the pretence of delay and were told we would be leaving next day. We stayed in the village school.

At night the Military men harassed us and did shameful acts with us.

(Here follow unprintable details of rape and brutality to these helpless women at the bands of Pakistan Military and Muslim goondas.)

Next morning Pir Sahib came to see us and was grieved after hearing our painful stories. Military men handed us over to him. He took us in a Mosque and protected us.

Next day the brother of Pir Sahib, who is an employee in Lahore came there and took us in tongas upto Lahore Residency under his protection. He also took two or three men with him for our safety from that place. He arranged a military truck for us and sent us to the D. A.-V. College Camp.

In addition to that the villagers of Lange-ki-Thatha snatched from one of us Mrs. Vidya Wanti, two girls, Sarla aged 4, Kanwal Kumari aged 5 and one Sikh woman named Gurcharan Kaur, and Ram Rakhi with her child Hari Ram. Besides this two aged women Parvati and mother of Bijliwala were also kept there. One girl Suresh Kumari, aged ten and a boy Charanjit Lal, aged 13 have been detained by the villagers of Faizpur.

> *1. Sd/- Krishna Wanti, widow of Kanshiram.*
> *2. Sd/- Lajwanti, widow of Tara Chand.*
> *3. Sd/- Rajrani, widow of Faqirchand.*
> *4. Sd/- Shanti Devi, widow of Nandlal.*

> *5. Sd/- Ram Piari, widow of Bahadur Chand.*
> *6. Sd/- Lajwanti, widow of Piare Lal.*
> *7. Sd/- Phullan Rani, wife of Malik Desraj.*
> *8. Sd/- Rani Bai, widow of Jiwan Das.*

Footnotes:

[1] Sikhs (Present writers note).

[2] The Muslim League conspiracy of organized murder.

APPENDIX - XI to XX

XI

Statement made by Lt. B. W. OConnor of 2 Marhattas.

I recovered two married ladies from a Muslim house in Chak No. 32, District Sargodha. Actually they had been taken away from the Lalian Camp by the police guard of the camp at 2 p.m. on the 31st October, 1947. On my arrival, I received reports about this abduction from their husbands and went in search of them. I searched the above chak and recovered them at about 10-30 a.m. on the 1st November, 1947. I have now brought them to the D. A.-V. College Camp. Their statements should also be taken separately if it is so desired.

Sd/- B. W. OConnor, Lt.
1-11-1947.

XII

Statement of Sh. Santosh Kumari, wife of Puran Nath Sethi (20) Care of Garrison Engineer, Ranchi.

My father Ch. Manohar Lal Anand, Overseer, was employed in Dandot factory at Dandot. A refugee train left Pind Dadan Khan on September 23, 1947. My parents and younger sister, aged 9. and two brothers, aged 4 and 13, and my daughter of one year, were with me in the train. This train reached Kamoke Railway Station at 6 p.m. the same day and was stopped there by the Muslim Military escort with the train. They said that there was danger ahead. They further said that the train would stop at Kamoke Railway Station for the night. We spent the entire night in the train. The Muslim escort was on the platform. Next morning at 8 a.m. Kamoke police came there and searched the train for weapons. During the night an attack was apprehended but it did not materialise, as they knew that refugees had a lot of arms and would be able to defend themselves. During the search the police took possession of all the weapons which were with the refugees. The military officer incharge of the train at first did not agree to the search and he told the police that a search would be conducted at Lahore station. Shah Didar Hussain, Sub-Inspector of Police, Kamoke, however, insisted that he must carry out the search then and there. When the search was made a lot of ornaments and cash were taken away and at this even the Military escort consented to the search. After this police, led by the said Sub-Inspector wanted to attack the train, but once again the Military officer told him that he would prevent the attack on the train. The Sub-Inspector aimed his pistol at the Military officer and made him agree to the attack on the train. At about 12 p.m. a concerted attack was made on the train by

the police and military and the armed mob. The attack continued till 5 p.m. The attackers had with them knives, spears and other lethal weapons. Military and police fired at those refugees who got down from the train and tried to escape. No man was spared. Women and children were snatched away and taken to the neighbouring villages round Kamoke. A Muslim resident of Gakhar caught hold of me and dragged me out of the train and threw me on the railway platform. At this I became unconscious and when I regained my consciousness, I found myself in the house of this Muslims relative. When I was dragged from the train my baby girl was with my mother. When I was thrown on the platform I saw my father still alive. Only 2-3 male refugees were on the platform and the remaining had been finished. The women of the household in the house of the Muslim asked me to remove my bloodstained clothes, which I did. They gave me instead old and worn out clothes which I put on. The women left me and I went upstairs. They also tried to dissuade me from crying. After they had gone I dozed off and was awakened by a girl who came to snatch away the dopatta which had been given to me and was slightly better than the other clothes. After the girl had taken away the dopatta I heard noise outside the house. The Muslims entered the house and shouted to the women to take me upstairs and from there take me to the other side of the village from where the man would take me in the tonga to Gakhar. I told him that I would jump off the roof, as I was under the impression that Hindu military was there and was trying to rescue me. The

neighbours told the Muslims that all the houses would be searched and as the authorities knew that I was in that house they would be able to recover me. I then myself came down and found the Muslim Leaguers blocking the door. They told me that in case I accompanied them to the camp of girls from the train I should be able to meet my kith and kin. I accompanied them to a flour mill where I was put in that room along with them. This was in the town of Kamoke. They told us that they had in their possession other children who would be delivered to us next morning, but they contradicted each other as the other denied this fact. Members of Muslim League told us that we would all be killed. They also said that we should be married to Muslims and made to live with them. They opened the door of that room and a crowd of Changars, Sweepers, and other Kamins of various castes came in and took away most of the girls. Only 5 to 7 were left in one corner. The, Sayed who owned the mill told us that he took strong exception to the behaviour of Muslims and that he would protect us. He told us to move into the adjoining room which was a bit dark. Then one policeman came there and said that all the girls must be returned and that they (the police) would dispose them of as they wished. Excepting 3 or 4 the rest of the girls were brought to the mill. The members of the Muslim League then started distributing the girls by handing one to each. I was sent to the house of one Mohd. Shafi, ex-Sub-Divisional Officer, Bhawalpur State and a brother of Police Head Constable Ghulam Dastgir. We were confined in that mill for 4

or 5 days and the distribution of girls took place after that. The Muslims in this period used to threaten us but did not molest us. When I reached the house of Mohd. Shafi I found his womenfolk there. Mohd. Shafi behaved nicely enough. I was married to him before I left the mill. At the time of Nikah I told Mohd. Shafi I had my uncleared other relations alive in Pakistan and also my husband and others in India and that I would wait for six months. If during this period I was riot rescued I should then continue to live there. Mohd. Shafi agreed to this arrangement. I told Mohd. Shafi my father was also in service in Bhawalpui. State. Mohd. Shafi paid due consideration to this fact. Another Hindu girl, Parkash of Dandot, was brought there and she lived with me. About two months ago the police came to the house and enquired about me. They said I should be sent to the police station to meet the Superintendent of Police. My younger brother Kanwal Nain was in the house of one Maulvi Lal Dirt. When he came to the mill one day he told me about my brother and he left my brother with me. Since then my brother lived with me until our rescue. The police asked me whether I wanted to go back to India. I told them unless my brother, mother and my daughter were rescued I should remain there. I was also interrogated by the Superintendent of Police, Gujranwala at Gujranwala. After that they brought me to Lahore. At Gujranwala where I went for my statement I was kept in the house of one Sheikh among his womenfolk and they treated me nicely. From Gujranwala I was brought to Lahore and was produced before the Inspector-

General, Qurban Ali Khan. He told me that enquiry had been made from Delhi about me by somebody and if I wanted to go back, he promised he would make arrangements for my going to India. I told him that I would go to India and he should make arrangements for rescuing my mother, brother, sister and my child. He then rang up Mr. Bakshi, Secretary to the Deputy High Commissioner, who brought me from the Inspector-General of Police. I came over to the Deputy High Commissioners residence about 6 days back. During the days that I was in the possession of the Muslims they did not misbehave. Other girls who met me complained about bad treatment and non-provision of food and various other discomforts.

A Hindu doctor who has been converted to Islam is residing at Kamoke. Two refugees girls named Ram and Raj of Pind Dadan Khan were married to his two sons.

Parkash, the girl who came to the house in which I was confined was left there when I was called to the Police Station, as she was taking her bath. I could not inform that I was going to the Police Station where I made no mention about her. I, however, mentioned this fact to the Inspector-General of Police, Lahore.

(24-11-1947)

Note:- *Other statements on the Kamoke massacre appear earlier in the Appendix.*

XIII

Statement of Raj Rani, daughter of L. Ganga Ram Kapur of Village Ratniwala Garla, Thana Shahdara, District Sheikhupura, dated 21-10-1947.

On the 18th August, 1947, I came to the village Babakwal with my father and other relations, for fear of life. On the 24th/25th August night about 20,000 Muslims attacked Babakwal with the help of the Muslim Military. They killed about 3,000 Hindu and Sikh residents of the town and abducted 200 Hindu and Sikh ladies. I was one of them. Myself, Lilawanti, daughter of Labha Shah and Parkash, daughter of Dayal Chand along with nine others were taken by Fateh, and he kept us in his house. He kept us there for 12 days. After that he sold us off to different persons. He sold me to Ghulam Mohd. of village Karaul. Ghulam Mohd. kept me for 1½ months. I was put to great insult and hardship. Being tired of life I sent a message to Bawa Singh of Rattanpura. Bawa Singh who had become a Muslim, paid Rs. 140 to Ghulam Mohd. and brought me to his house. About 8-9 days ago he brought me to his house with the aid of Military (Hindu) Bawa Singh brought me to Sir Ganga Ram Hospital day before yesterday, i.e., 19-10-1947 I was brought to D. A.-V. College Camp. As I was confined to bed I was spared badfeli (rape). The other girls were badly raped in my presence. The treatment is most horrible to remember.

(THUMB IMPRESSION OF RAJ RANI)

XIV

Copy of paragraph 1 of a report dated 6-10-1947 submitted by S. Harbhajan Singh, Magistrate 1st Class, Gurdaspur to the Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur.

Rape.

On 4-10-47, a small caravan of about fifteen non-Muslims tried to cross the bridge Ravi from Pakistan to this side. They were entrapped by the Muslim Military picket on the other side of the bridge. That caravan included four women. The male members of the caravan were murdered during the night. Our Military picket on this side of the bridge heard shrieks and cries of the victims. The Gurkha Jamadar in charge of the picket saw the women with Military (Muslim). They kept those women in their tents during the night and the military picket on our side heard their shrieks too during the night as if they were being raped. Later on those women never crossed the bridge on this side. The above facts were conveyed to the police by the Additional Police Head Constable, Ranjit Singh who is also with the police picket at the bridge. The S. H. O. verified these facts from the Gurkha Jamadar too.

XV

Murder and Abduction (*Jhelum*)

On the night between the 4th and 5th December, 1947 two non-Muslim evacuees were killed and two young girls were carried away forcibly and the property of the rest was looted near Khanpur, District Jhelum.

XVI and XVII

REPORTS OF INDIAN LIAISON OFFICERS

Sale of women

Girls abducted from Mirpur side are sold in Jhelum city at Rs. 10 or 20 each. The local police refuses to interfere on the ground that the girls were not removed from the Punjab and also they express their helplessness because of the attitude of the armed Pathans possessing these girls. I am bringing this to the notice of the West Punjab Government but I am afraid nothing would come out of it and in our helplessness all these girls shall have to stand hardships for all their lives and suffer misery.

Abducted Girls Sold.

According to the information received most of the girls abducted from Jammu and Kashmir States and some of the girls abducted

from Gujranwala, Jhelum, Mianwali, Jhang and Dera Ghazi Khan districts are taken to the North-west Frontier Province and from there to the tribal territory. At Mansera and some other places (North-West Frontier) there are regular camps where Hindu girls are being sold.

XVIII

THE MUZAFFARABAD MASSACRE.

Statement of S. Khazan Singh, son of S. Chain Singh of Village Kotli, Tehsil and District Muzaffarabad (*Jammu and Kashmir State*).

On the 3rd of Kartak (October, 1947) our village was attacked by the Pathan raiders who butchered all those who came across them. According to my estimate 20 persons were shot dead in the assault launched by the raiders. The rest fled away in confusion to proceed into the interior of the state to village Chakaor, in the same district. In the way they were surrounded by a mob of Afridis, who were armed with automatic weapons. The entire Hindu and Sikh population showed an intention to surrender to the raiders and were taken by them to Domel.

From other places (villages and towns) in the district of Muzaffarabad, Hindu and Sikh population including aged and young people, women, girls and children were concentrated at Domel.

They segregated the girls and the women from the males and the children. The males were then made to put off their clothes at the bank of the river near the customs post. Afridis then requested the Nawab of Boiwala to open the nefarious job of shooting down the Hindus and Sikhs by firing the first shot himself. He did so and then a general massacre ensued in which practically all of them were shot dead and thrown into the river. The least number shot down must be over 1000.

I may mention here that while travelling with the other Hindus and Sikhs, I lost my son and daughter in the jungle and Went in search of them with my wife, while the caravan was marching past. I thus, was able to save my life and was an eye witness to all this tragic incident from the top (peak) of a detached hill. Among those who were shot dead, were my two real brothers, and their 7 sons and other relations. In all I lost my 50 relatives far and near.

After the grown ups and the aged were done to death the children were butchered most mercilessly by striking them against the rocks. Afridis had earlier remarked that the evil should be nipped in the bud.

They said that if they spared the children they would grow up and be a menace for Pakistan.

I was captured by the villagers of Ranwar and taken to this village. I was converted to Islam. After 20 days some military

personnel of Pakistan Army happened to visit this village and when they came to know of me, they came to me and brought me to Pattan Khurd, post office Kohalla, District Hazara. A part of the village people were in favour of my being killed while the others opposed the proposal. I spent 3 months there. They were unable to support me and on my expressing a desire to settle down in some town in Pakistan and earn my livelihood, they agreed to send me away. I was sent with two guides, a Maulvi and a resident of the village to escort me safely to Rawalpindi. They left me there and went back.

From Rawalpindi I managed to escape and travelled by train to Lahore. Here, fortunately I came to know of a refugee camp for the non-Muslims and I after a good deal of hard labour reached there.

On the strength of my personal observation and what I learnt from other sources, I give below certain tips regarding location of the abducted girls:-

Tahsil Mansehara	300
Ghari Habib Ullah	50
Ghari Tahsil District Muzaffarabad	100
Muzaffarabad area	500

Abducted by Afridis out of the group that marched to Domel, 13 girls and one boy of my village viz-Kotla are with a barber of village Patan Khurd. Three girls are the daughters of one Hira Singh of my village.

Three girls of my village were abducted by the residents of my village and were given in marriage to the local Mohammadens.

Dated 17.1.48.

Sd. Khazan Singh

XIX

From The Hindustan Times, Friday, April 16, 1948.

THE SACK OF RAJORI-TOWN RAZED TO GROUND
HUNDREDS MASSACRED

(*From The Special Correspondent*)

RAJORI, April 14 (1948) - This is the story of what happens when the raiders retreat from a town. I am writing it just as it has occurred in the old Moghul town of Rajori, known as the Granary of Jammu Province, and where Emperor Jehangir died on his way back from Srinagar. Our guns are still firing intermittently in the distance

and the raiders are still carrying out desultory snipping and mortaring, in the nearby hills and ridges.

This is the story of the death of a town-of a horrible and ghastly tragedy which the advancing Indian troops, in spite of their best efforts, have been unable to prevent and of which they are mere helpless spectators. Here is its sequence:

First, the raiders and their officers order the inhabitants of the town to collect in the public square together with all their movable belongings and cattle.

Rumours spread to the mud-houses and streets of Rajori, where men and women sit cross-legged on charpoys. Word passes from mouth to mouth that Indian troops are advancing from Naushahra and are likely to be in the town in a day or two.

At once there are two parties among the inhabitants-one consisting of a few who want to flee in panic and the other, an overwhelming majority, who want to stick to their ancient homes and calmly await the arrival of the Indian troops.

But the townmen have no choice. Those who dont want to collect in the town square are made to do so by the raiders at the point of the bayonet.

Then the raiders take charge of all the cattle and drive the animals into the hills. Next, Muslim inhabitants are ordered to separate themselves from the non-Muslims.

As soon as this is done, the Muslims are ordered to flee into the interior along a particular route taking their movable belongings with them in bullock carts, and the non-Muslims are ordered to form themselves into a line.

Then begins a systematic massacre of all males except those between 25 and 35 who are healthy and strong. These are formed into a slave labour gang and ordered to dig new positions for the raiders on nearby hills and ridges. The women and their belongings are distributed by the tribesmen among themselves.

Then starts the application of the scorched earth policy to the town. All houses are set fire to and those which appear capable of resisting the flames are ordered to be demolished one by one with picks and shovels. The local inhabitants (a few of whom are still hanging about the place) protest and one or two of them are shot out of hand.

Darkness is now descending and columns of smoke can be seen belching out of the town. But men of the Indian armoured column cant do much to save the town until the infantry arrives; and from the

ridges and hills, commanding the approaches to the town, the tribesmen are systematically mortaring and snipping our troops.

So there is natural delay as the Indian infantry plods across its weary way from hill to hill, from feature to feature.

The troops are making superhuman efforts to reach Rajori as quickly as possible, because they know that every second is precious now, every minute counts and every quarter of an hour may mean all the difference between life and a sordid death to many innocent inhabitants of the town. But they are unable to make any substantial advance until the morning. The gods seem to have conspired against them; darkness, terrain and an unknown route have caused the delay.

When they enter Rajori, they are just too late. The town has been razed to the ground and all that can be seen are a few mutilated corpses, including some of women and children which lie scattered.

During the last week that I have been following the advance of the Indian troops in this sector, mile by mile, yard by yard, I have seen this story repeated on a smaller and less dramatic scale in half a dozen places. I have seen it happen in Chingas, I have seen it happen near Raj Pur Saraj, I have seen it repeat itself in the innumerable clusters of hamlets which lie dotted along these hills near Rajori.

No accurate estimate of the number of people massacred here in cold blood by the retreating tribesmen is yet possible. But there can be no question that it has been a massacre on a major scale, and one or two people who have now managed to make their way into the Indian lines declare that the town had a population of well over 5,000 a week ago.

But the terror tactics of the raiders are having an inevitable result. They are producing hatred and revulsion against these self-styled Islamic Liberators even among -the Muslim population of this area. I have just been talking to Khuda Bux, a former resident of Rajori, who has managed to escape from the clutches of the raiders and he declares that the people in the area want nothing more than to get rid of the raiders.

And the Indian Army High Command has just decided to launch an intensive propaganda drive to enable the local inhabitants to save themselves from the raiders. Hurriedly prepared posters and leaflets are being dropped from the air on all nearby villages and towns asking the local inhabitants to feel and make their way to the Indian lines where they would be adequately protected.

XX

Statement of Shrimati Chander Kanta, daughter of Bhagat Gobind Ram, aged 13, of village Choba Bhagatan, Tehsil Kahuta,

District Rawalpindi, to the Chief Liaison Officer, Lahore.

My father was a teacher at Mirpur. We had left our village and had gone to Mirpur to seek shelter from the disturbances which had started in March last. When the raiders came we, the people of Mirpur ran and at Akalgarh the Muslim Military surrounded us and they sorted out young girls. Abdur Rahman captured me and took me to Sakhrana, Tahsil Kahuta. I was married to him at Sakhrana and lived with him as his wife for one month. The police visited Sakhrana and found me out and took me to Rawalpindi Camp. I was lodged in the camp at Rawalpindi for a month and ten days, when I was brought to Lahore with Pandit Nihal Chand. There are 48 girls in the Camp at Rawalpindi. The Muslims who visited the camp to meet the girls to whom they are married usually threatened them that if they go to India they would be killed by the Sikhs and Hindus and thus warned them that they should not express their willingness to be evacuated.

APPENDIX - XXI to XXX

XXI

Tales of Abductions.

Statement of Shrimati Viranwati, Daughter of Shri Sewa Singh aged 16/17 years, village Ilbhagwan, Tehsil Mirpur, to the Chief Liaison Officer, Lahore.

About 2½ months ago a Muslim mob attacked my village. My father and mother were killed in this attack. Nawab Pathan one of the raiders abducted me and took me to Hoti Mardan. My younger sister Gian Kaur, aged about 6 years also accompanied me. The attack took place on the refugee camp at Mirpur where lots of people from the neighbouring villages were gathered. The raiders took away 4500 girls with them. From Hoti Mardan he took me to Maj Garhi. I remained with him for over a month. I was married to him at Maj Garhi. He was hiding me from place to place as the police was in search of me. The police afterwards caught hold of me and brought me to Rawalpindi and put me in the Camp. Nawab asked me whether I wanted to go back to India but I under fear told him that as my parents had been killed I would not go to India and thus agreed to the *Nikah* with him. In the camp at Rawalpindi there were

51 girls. These girls are from the Poonch State and from Kahuta Tehsil. This Camp is guarded by the police. This Camp is visited by those Muslims who are married to the girls lodged in it, but the police does not permit the girls to go with these Muslims.

XXII

Statement made by Sarjit Kaur, wife of Jaswant Singh, aged about 19 years, of Lahore, now residing at Mahalpur, Hushiarpur District, to the Chief Liaison Officer, Lahore

I was married only 10 months ago at Mirpur. My parents resided in village Janjit, which is at a distance of 30 miles from Mirpur. After my marriage I stayed for two months with my husband at Lahore in Krishan Nagar, Guru Nanak Road and went back to my parents. Since then I was with my parents at Janjit from where we shifted to Mirpur proper 4/5 months ago. It was on or about the 10th of Maghar (November) last when the last attack was made at Mirpur and the State forces gave way, leaving all the citizens at the mercy of Pathans. The whole of the public followed the military on the Bhimbar Road towards Jammu. Our batch consisted of 2,000 persons. Men and women, were separately kept in a small village Akalgarh, where we stayed for two days. After two days the Mohammedans and the Pathans led us back on the Mirpur Road. It took us two days to travel on the path. My whole family consisting of

my father, mother, sister with four children, her husband, Lal Singh, and one sister-in-law were with me, when I was snatched away from them by one Mohammedan who was in the company of many military soldiers of Pakistan. He was also armed. Then I was kept by that man in village Haryawan for two nights. Then at about midnight he made me to walk from that place after covering a mile. When we were near Camp of Thathal I was snatched from him by two military persons and Mohd. Hussain, tonga-driver of village Kotian, thana Aurangabad, District Gujrat. It is nearly 20 days that I have been living in this village. With the help of the school-mistress I conveyed the message to Lala Avtar Narain this morning, who went and rescued me from the house of Mohd. Hussain, tonga-driver.

My family was deprived of the cash, gold and silver on the way and I was left with two golden churis which have been now taken away by Mohd. Hussain, tonga driver.

XXIII

Statement of Harbhajan Kaur, wife of Sunder Singh, Shopkeeper of Alibeg, District Mirpur.

My father Harnam Singh belonged to village Balani, 8 miles from Sarai Alamgir in British Punjab. I was married to Sardar Sunder Singh, shopkeeper of Ali Beg 13 months back.

Four and a half months ago on account of communal disturbances I along with my husband, his father and mother, left Alibeg for Mirpur. The former is at a distance of two hours journey from the latter by lorry. With us came Sardar Mangal Singh, my husbands uncle, his wife Bhain, his two young sons Iqbal and Jito, and his unmarried daughter Balwant, aged 14.

On the 11th of Maghar corresponding to 26th November Mirpur was set on fire by the raiders sin the forenoon. I along with the relatives mentioned above and others left our houses at midday for the refugee camp at a distance of one mile from Mirpur. We had hardly stayed in the camp for half an hour when the Dogras deserted the camp and about 27 thousand of the refugees in the camp accompanied them. We all marched towards Jammu.

We had hardly covered two miles when we were fired at by the raiders from their morchas. I did not see them and cannot say whether they were Pathans or other Muslims. Under bullet shots I proceeded on and missed my relatives. Balwant, with her younger brother aged 1 year was accompanying me. We were left behind by the state military who were on mules. We had passed the well of village Marel, two miles from Mirpur when we were surrounded by Muslims armed with spears, swords and axes and were stopped. It was dusk. We were taken back to village Marel. Here women and men were separated and kept in separate blocked up rooms.

Balwant was along with me in the same room. I was taken away by Akhtar, Qudrat Ullah and Haider to village Sehutha. I was detained in the house of the father-in-law of Akhtar. Here I was raped by Akhtar and his wifes brother Araf who had come from Mandi two days later. From Sehutha, I was taken to Mandi by Akhtar who was accompanied by his father-in-law and mother-in-law, Haider, Qudrat Ullah and one young lady. I was kept at Mandi for four days in the house which had been taken by Akhtars father-in-law. I was not molested at Mandi. Araf came to Mandi when I had stayed there for four days.

On 3-12-47, I was taken to Chapra village at a distance of ½ mile from Sarai Alamgir, by Araf and Haider, his sisters son. We reached Chapra at 11 Oclock and stayed with Arafs fathers sister. On the 4th, I was taken to Sarai Alamgir early in the morning. From Sarai Alamgir I was taken to Jhelum by Araf and Haider and stayed with Mst. Chanane sister of Araf in Bagh Mohalla in some school. We stayed at Jhelum for about two hours. From Jhelum I was taken to Gujrat in lorry. At Gujrat we stayed in a hotel for the night. Next morning we left for Lahore reaching here at about midday of the 6th December.

At Lahore I was kept at 14, Cooper Road residence of Mr. G. H. Lodhi, Barrister-at-law. Arafs sister is married to Mr. Lodhi. She did not like the idea of her brother abducting a non-Muslim girl and

marrying her. Mr. G. H. Lodhi arranged to deliver me to the Chief Liaison Officer.

Araf wanted to take me to the village in Montgomery district where he had his squares of land and stopped in the way at Lahore as he had to leave Haider with his brother-in-law, Mr. G. H. Lodhi.

I was temporarily deprived of my ornaments at Sehutha but was restored my ornaments when I left Mandi.

I did not know what had become of my husband, his father and mother. I was told that they were killed. My parents were presumably in Sitapur Biwabin, India. My fathers maternal uncle, S. Wasakha Singh is a resident of Amritsar near the Railway Station. He and his sons Balwant, Kartar Singh and Labh Singh are dealers in fruits and have carts for use.

XXIV

Pakistan scheme to convert the younger women among those abducted.

CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE REPORT

A batch of 291 Hindus and Sikhs abducted persons including a number of children arrived at the Ganga Ram Hospital Transit Camp

in Lahore on Sunday, February 29, from Campbellpur and Kunjah refugee camps. Seventy-six of these persons came from Campbellpur and the rest from Kunjah.

These rescued women and children appeared to have been better fed and looked after than the previous group of 694 persons. They were clad in comparatively cleaner clothes and did not present an unrelieved picture of misery and starvation as the previous batch strikingly did.

One of the women told a pressman that they had been supplied with improved diet in the Camp at Kunjah during last week.

The Pakistan Government commissioned a regular force of Maulvis to work their magic on the Younger and more acceptable type of abducted women. The aged and infirm remained unblessed. No arguments and persuasions are spent on the latter to make Pakistan their home.

XXV

Statement of Lala Sona Ram, son of Lala Narain Dass Batra, Opium Contractor, Kalabagh, District Mianwali.

I reached Lahore on the 21st of August to enquire about my brother Lala D. L. Batra, working in the Central Bank of India. I was

accompanied by Mohd. Asaf Khan who called me uncle and I posed to be a Mohammedan. When I reached Lahore there was not a single non-Muslim to be found moving about anywhere. I could not meet my brother at Lahore. I went to his house and found that portion of it had been burnt down and there was water all round. On the 23rd I reached Lahore railway station and saw a lot of killing being done by the Muslim goondas. Mutilated bodies of non-Muslims were being carried on stretchers by the Pakistan military men. We boarded the Frontier Mail on that day at 3 p.m. Between Gujrat and Campbellpur 5 non-Muslim passengers were done to death. We reached Campbellpur on the following day at about 6-30 a.m. From there I proceeded to Ghur Ghusthi where I had to leave my companion. I returned to Kalabagh on the 25th morning. I did not find any non-Muslim passenger in the train. It was being openly talked by the Muslims that no non-Muslim should be spared. When I reached Kalabagh I found some non-Muslims still living there. Piara Singh (Sikh) was in Kalabagh, but he was killed later on.

A refugee camp was started at Santpura by the district authorities. Piara Singh was put in the camp after his beard and hair had been cut. He was killed in the camp on the 17th September. Previous to it Sunder Mal Sawhney was stabbed on the platform at the Mari Indus railway station in broad day light. His family was at Mianwali and he was alone at the time of the incident.

Lala Jetha Mal was Assistant Station Master at Mari Indus. Every day after duty he used to come back to Kalabakh to his family by train. On the 13th September while Jetha Mal was going to his duty by train he was stopped, cut into pieces and thrown into the river.

On the 12th September, an attack was made on the non-Muslim refugees camp. One *Ghumar* entered the camp and with a knife (chhura) he wounded 4 persons (2 men and 2 women). The women died on the following day in hospital.

All this time I remained in my own house in the main bazar. I was told that it was now my turn. I thereupon moved to the house of the Sub-Inspector of Police and spent the night there. I then went to see Wahab Khan, an employee of Nawab of Kalabagh and asked him for help. He said he could not help me unless I embraced Islam. I was not prepared to accept this solution but Wahab Khan insisted that there was no other way to save my life. He then took me to the Nawabzada and told me to wait outside while he himself went to see the Nawabzada. The Nawabzada told Wahab Khan that I should not be spared and that I and my family would be finished as I was a popular figure. Wahab Khan urged that I should be allowed to be converted and that I and my family should not be put to death. The Nawabzada then agreed to the suggestion of Wahab Khan and said that I may be converted. At 10 a.m. Wahab Khan brought me back

to my place. My family was living in my house. I always had the doors locked from inside and never stirred out.

The Nawabzada sent his man to fetch Maulvi Fakhar Zaman of Kot Chandana. After consulting the Nawabzada the Maulvi was sent to the Idgah Mosque. They also decided that unless I was made to lodge a report in the Police Station I should not be converted. A number of Muslims then came to my house and told me about this position. Khan Zaman tailor, Ghulam, Khawaja Mohd. Hussain and others came to me and they accompanied me to the Police Station where I lodged a report and signed it. I was then brought back to my house. Accompanied by my family comprising five sons, one daughter and my wife, I was made to go to the Idgah. There were about 4-5 thousand persons including women. Then the Maulvi made me and my family members read the Kalma and garlanded us. My wife accompanied by the children was taken away by the Muslim women present to my house and I was taken to the house of Nawab. Still the Nawabzada stuck to his view that I and my family should have been put to death and it was a bad thing to have converted us to Islam. At the Idgah, Maulvi Mohd. Zaman addressed the spectators and told them that they should give up the idea of killing me as I had been converted. Oil being told by the Maulvi that after my conversion I had become a Muslim and therefore was entitled to protection, the Nawabzada kept quiet but

still he refused to meet me. Wahab Khan brought me back to my place and Maulvi Fakhar Zaman went to his village.

After 3-4 days of my conversion, Malli and Ghulam Hussain, Muslim goondas came to me and told me that my conversion could not be treated as genuine until I performed the circumcision ceremony of my 5 sons. I told them that I was prepared to have the ceremony. On the following day I was taken to a doctor where the arrangement was made and circumcision done. My eldest son aged about 15 years had also to undergo the circumcision. I entreated that he should at least be spared but nobody listened to me.

On or about 19th or 20th of September a second attack was made on the non-Muslim refugee camp at Kalabagh.

The camp was at that time being guarded by the Pakistan military and police but they did not check the attackers, or prevent them in any way. They remained content with firing in the air. The attackers belonged to Kalabagh town and the neighbouring villages. They were fully armed with rifles and daggers. They entered the camp. There was a large number of casualties and a lot of property was looted. After the attackers had gone away the Pakistan Military posted on duty started looting.

The non-Muslims in the refugee camp at Kalabagh were evacuated to Makarwal Colliery. On the way they were attacked on

the bridge and a lot of looting by the Pakistan military and police took place.

The Nawabzada declared himself to be a protector of non-Muslims and in this garb he persuaded a large number of non-Muslims to leave their valuables in deposit with him. He did not give any receipts and whatever was left with him he has managed to retain up till now. He also received a large number of rifles, guns and ammunition. The attack on the camp was the result of his machination.

I am tendering herewith the camp pass given to me at Kalabagh. After conversion I was named Ahmed Said.

XXVI

FORCIBLE CONVERSIONS (LYALLPUR)

The Hindus and Sikhs resident of Chak No. 23 W. B. requested Mohd. Hanif Shah, Superintendent, to arrange protection of their lives and property, and the Superintendent gave full assurance that he would do his best. On 27-8-47 in the morning again it was repeated by him, they were given full assurance of their safety. But in the afternoon on that day, it has been alleged that under the instructions of the Superintendent, the Muslims of neighbouring chaks collected and the Muslims of Chak 23 W. B. were ordered to

stand around the chak. They gave the Hindus the threat either that they should embrace Islam or they would be killed along with their families. They said the womenfolk would be ill treated, their breasts, ears and noses would be cut off. On this they approached the Superintendent and reminded him of his promise. His advice was to embrace Islam and thus secure safety. So there was forcible shaving of the head hair and beards of the Sikhs from 7 to 10 p.m. and they all had to embrace Islam.

Note: (*In some other cases, circumcision was also insisted on and performed in public*).

XXVII

FORCIBLE AND ILLEGAL MARRIAGES

Statement of Sh. Ram Piari alias Piari, wife of Amar Nath Arora, aged 20 years of Baddomali, District Sialkot, made to the Chief Liaison Officer, East Punjab.

About 3 months back, my village was raided by Muslims and the village was set on fire and there was general looting. The Hindu population was asked to walk out with a promise that they would be given a free passage across the river Ravi towards India. When we walked out of our houses we were subjected to searches and all our belongings were taken away. They did a lot of killing. I was forced

to accompany a Muslim whose name I do not know. Later at the asking of Labhu, a tongawala of Baghbanpura, I was taken over by him. Against my consent and at the point of dagger I was subjected to rape by Labhu. I was also deprived of my two gold rings, one gold necklace, one pair of earrings and about Rs. 8,900 that I had carried with me. After 7-8 days this Labhu against my wishes performed Nikah ceremony with me and used me as a wife.

XXVIII

FROM THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE (OCTOBER 1947)

A senior Sikh Military officer was virtually ejected from a leading Hotel in Lahore on Wednesday night because Muslims present there insisted that a Sikh should not be allowed entry to a Public place in Pakistan, says a Press Note from the Office of the Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan. This, the note continues, is an interesting sequel to the communal harmony propaganda of Mr. Ghaznafar Ali Khan, Food Minister of the Pakistan Government.

The Sikh Officer, accompanied by another Indian Army Officer, and two ladies went to this Hotel for dinner. He had been there hardly for ten minutes when the manager of the hotel approached him and said, I admire your courage, but I am very sorry that the Muslims around here object to your presence.

The Manager, who was a European, was very apologetic about the attitude of the people, but he said it was advisable for the Officer to leave the hotel in order to avoid any unpleasant incident.

The Sikh officer, much against his will, agreed to leave. Meanwhile, the other officer with him went around and talked to the people who had objected to the presence of the Sikh officer in the hotel, but their attitude was extremely unreasonable. They threatened to shoot the Sikh officer if he did not remove himself immediately.

In connection with the above incident the author of Inside Pakistan has this to say:

I personally verified the truth of the above report from the Manager of the Falettis Hotel, where the incident took place. The Press report might well have added that the Sikh officer concerned was a Colonel and had that day arrived in Lahore after guarding a convoy of Muslim Refugees from East Punjab and saving their lives several times on the road. The incident created a bad impression in Delhi where Muslims were and have always been welcome to the Maidens and Imperial Hotels and the Associated Hotels in Simla and elsewhere. From personal knowledge the author can say that but for the courtesy of the management of the Associated Hotels in Simla during last summer, several Muslim families and particularly ladies

whose men-folk were in Pakistan, would have been murdered. The Sikh staff did everything possible to protect Muslim residents in the Hotels.

XXIX

MURDER OF PRINCIPAL BARTLAM (NOVEMBER, 1947)

Principal Bartlam of the Punjab College of Engineering and Technology, Lahore was neither a Hindu nor a Sikh. He was British, and had joined the College as Principal in 1945. He had been recruited in London by the Secretary of State and was signed on for a period of five years. On the establishment of Pakistan, Principal Bartlam decided to serve out his term, and the Pakistan Government was glad to avail of his services particularly as Pakistan would be sorely in need of engineers and the College was the premier Engineering and Technology institution in the whole of Pakistan.

The College had Hindu and Sikh Professors and Demonstrators, but they had all to migrate owing to the massacre of non-Muslims in August, on the eve of and soon after the establishment of Pakistan. Late in October, 1947, one of the Hindu Professors approached Principal Bartlam for permission to remove his personal belonging. This was resented by the Muslim staff and students as everything in Pakistan was considered to be the property of Pakistan. There was a strike in the College. Principal Bartlam, however, was adament

that he would permit the Professor to remove his personal belongings. In the course of a disturbance Principal Bartlam was stabbed to death, so too the Hindu Professor, his son, and a servant of Mr. Bartlam.

XXX

HINDUS AND THEIR BELONGINGS

Statement of Mr. Sehgal, Assistant Liaison Officer.

On the 30th morning (30-1-48) at 11-30 a. m. Mr. Chaman Lal who had already secured a permit from the Custodian for the removal of his personal effects from his own house, went to collect his jewellery which was buried there on Ravi Road a little beyond the first bridge. Just as he had started digging with the help of two coolies, a police man came and stopped him asking him to get a permit in which removal of ornaments from the earth was specifically stated.

Mr. Chaman Lal returned to my office and requested that he should get the special permit for him immediately and help him to remove his jewellery. The permit was obtained from the Custodian and I accompanied him to his house. I found two policemen on duty, guarding the place where the digging had been started. I showed them the permit but they said chat unless their station house officer,

Badami Bagh, ordered, they would not allow the permit to he operated. I went to the police Inspector, Naulakha Sadar who assured me that he would ring up S. H. O. Badami Bagh to send a constable to the spot to instruct these constables on duty to allow us operations. I went back but nobody came. The attitude of the policemen on duty was very offensive. One of them threatened the coolies who were with us.

Along with Mr. Chaman Lal I went to the officer incharge, Badami Bagh police station to show him the permit and get his permission to operate. He sent his Havildar with me to the Inspectors for orders. The Inspector, Mumtaz Ahmed told him to allow us to dig and put the ornaments and as a precautionary measure sent with us a. Sub-Inspector and another Havildar. I had already one with me belonging to the special guard provided to us by the Pakistan Police.

By then it was 4-30 p.m. whilst the digging was going on over two thousand men had collected, shouting, and abusing us. The ornaments were not found and the owner wanted that we should return.

The crowd had sticks, axes takuas, brick-bats and other crude weapons in their hands.

We were surrounded by them and they shouted slogans like Nara-e-Takbir, Allah-ho-Akbar and then Marro, Marro. One very hot-

headed darkish man with small moustaches who appeared to be a refugee was very mischievous and was exhorting the crowd in the name of Quran not to let us escape with our lives.

Suddenly as we came upto the station wagon belonging to our Government, we were literally mobbed with sticks and brickbats and one of our party was consequently wounded. A huge brick was hurled at me from the front smashing the glass. My driver was badly pulled out and gear was put in neutral. All this happened within about five or ten minutes. Our murder was a question of a few moments then, and I advised the Sub-Inspector to open fire to which he did not respond, but he only kept on requesting the crowd not to kill us. I, in the circumstances, came out of the station wagon and addressed the crowd that they should be ashamed of their behaviour towards an officer who was there to do his duty. I was perfectly cool throughout, and perhaps it was on account of that attitude, that they took me for a Muslim Officer and a few of the mob shouted that they should not touch a Muslim officer on duty.

(The above is typical of many such incidents in which Hindus and Sikhs were obstructed in removing their property from Pakistan. Principal Bartlam of the Engineering College was murdered for the crime of helping a Hindu Professor to remove his belongings.)

APPENDIX - XXXI to XXXX

XXXI

ATTACKS ON CONVOYS

On the 28th January, 1948, four trucks were sent from Gujranwala to Nowshera Vikram police station for local (Pocket) evacuation. When one truck had been loaded with the luggage of the evacuees, a mob of one thousand local Muslims collected with axes, etc. and attacked the party and looted the property.

XXXII

Letter dated 5-9-47 from Sir Francis Mudie[1] *to the Quid-i-Azam.*

No. 2
Government House, Lahore.
5th September, 1947

Dear My. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 26th August which arrived just after you left on Monday. I will certainly write to you more often than once

a fortnight to keep you in touch with the situation here. I will also write as you asked me to, quite frankly.

The law and order position here has improved very definitely, but there are still great dangers. I got a telephone massage from the Commissioner, Multan last night that Muzaffargarh was giving trouble, and Dera Ghazi Khan is still disturbed. I think that the raiders took a pretty severe knock. There was serious trouble in Jhang due partly at least I think, to the incapacity and low morale of the Deputy Commissioner, but it seems to be quiet now. I am visiting Multan, Lyallpur and Jhang. I had hoped to go to Dera Ghazi Khan, but cannot get a light aero-plane, which is the only way of getting there quickly. So I have asked the Deputy Commissioner to meet me in Multan and bring the Nawab Leghari with him, if he can. I expect trouble in all the Western districts.

The refugee problem is assuming gigantic proportions. The only limit that I can see to it is that set by the Census reports. According to reports the movement across the border runs into a lakh or so a day. At Chuharkana in the Sheikhupura district I saw between a lakh and a lakh and a half of Sikhs collected in the town and round it in the houses, on the roofs and everywhere. It was exactly like the Magh Mela in Allahabad. It will take 45 trains to move them, even at 4,000 people per train or if they are to stay there, they will have to be given 50 tons of ata a day. At Govindarh in the same district there

was a collection of 30,000 or 40,000 Mazbi Sikhs with arms. They refused even to talk to the Deputy Commissioner, and Anglo-Indian, who advanced with a flag of truce. They shot at him and missed. Finally arrangements were made to evacuate the lot. I am telling every one that I dont care how the Sikhs get across the border: the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible. There is still little sign of the 3 Lakhs Sikhs in Lyallpur moving, but in the end they too will have to go.

The most serious recent development is the very rapid deterioration in the reliability of the Army. Yesterday Pathans in a Frontier Force Rifle Battalion in Gujranwala seized their arms and established a road block on the main road, and their officers could do nothing with them. Brigadier Mcdonald who belongs to the Regiment and can talk Pushto, was sent out this morning and the situation is now under control. I do not know quite what the mutiny was about. I imagine that the real trouble was that the Commanding Officer is a bania and the second in Command a Sikh: All the Hindus and Sikhs of the Battalion are being sent today across the border. The Muslims will, as soon as possible, be sent to Jhelum. Anyhow from this and another incident I understand that things are worse in this respect in N.-W. F. P.[2] have convinced the Military that their own non-Muslims troops are number one priority for evacuees. And yet a proposal was seriously put forward that the Military should take over our police.

I am getting very doubtful and so is the General whether the plan of protecting evacuee camps by troops of their own nationality will work in practice. But we will have to try and keep the two armies absolutely apart.

From various sources I hear that the political situation is deteriorating. Yesterday there was a minor refugee demonstration with shouts of Pakistan Murdabad. I am told that Shaukat is afraid to show his face in the Muslim Refugee Camp here. I warned my Ministry about a week ago that this sort of thing was inevitable that when things go wrong on a large scale it is always the Government that gets the blame. At first they were inclined to attribute any unpopularity they may have sensed to the machinations of Firoz, Khaksars, etc. This feeling of resentment against things in general and against the Government in particular is bound to grow. The ways in which, as far as I can see, it can be countered are (1) propaganda reiterating what Government is doing for the refugees and (2) efficient administration.

Efficiency with my present staff is out of the question. We have one Financial Commissioner, instead of a normal two or three, and our present one, Akhtar Hussain though loyal and a good technical revenue officer, is certainly not capable of doing two mens work. Out of three Commissioners of Divisions we have only one, and he is, from all counts, hardly up to the job. Out of five D. I. Gs Police we

have only three and two are recently joined outsiders, one from U. P. and one from C. P. Finally to crown all we have no Chief Secretary- the Finance Secretary, a mediocre officer, is supposed to be doing both jobs. In all these matters the Ministry had to adopt the attitude of the ostrich.

They have got a new scheme by which no Chief Secretaryship, but on the general question of staff and, incidentally that of the Commissionership of the Lahore Division.[3] I called on Liaquat and Mohammed Ali and had a joint meeting with them and my Ministers. Largely by Liaquats help I got the Ministers to agree to our trying to get back a number of ex-Punjab and ex- U. P. British I. C. S. Officers and to the retention of the Lahore Division. Shaukat was a bit difficult, I do not quite know why.

I do not know whether I have addressed you in this letter as you wish to be addressed. If not, will you please let me know?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Francis Mudie.

His Excellency Qiad-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, Karachi.

XXXIII

ATTACK ON VILLAGE CHAK RAMDAS (DISTRICT SARGODHA)

(SEPTEMBER, 1947)

Statement of Ram Dass Sabbarwal, Sub-Inspector of Police.[4]

That I am a resident of village Chak Ramdass, Tehsil Bhalwal, District Sargodha, situated on the bank of Katch Road linking Bhera and Khushab (10 miles away from Bhera). This village was formed by Baba Dhir Mal Jee, a prophet and a renowned Guru in the annals of Sikh History. Baba Jee was related to Guru Amar Dass Jee and had his disciples throughout Western Punjab and N.-W. F. Province. This village was established nearly 400 years ago and its area comprises of 6,000 acres of cultivated land owned by Hindus and Sikhs in total.

A party consisting of Mohd. Bux, weaver, Anwar, Mirza Jaithal, Munshi Ahmed Din. Khawja Fazalkrim, Maqbul blacksmith, etc., etc. had been busy amongst the local and the surrounding Musalmans in making secret propaganda to raid this small but rich Hindu village in all the four directions since the formation of Pakistan. They had collected arms and ammunition through various illegal resources at their disposal and started creating trouble for the Hindus now and then. No sooner did the Hindu officers i.e. R. B. Ch. Ram Singh, Superintendent of Police and Ch. Kewal Singh, Deputy

Commissioner of Sargodha District who had set an example for creating peace, and keeping Law and Order in the District were transferred from Sargodha, these and other Muslims of the surrounding villages were at liberty to do cases of arsons and looting. They had been communicating all sorts of threats but we, on the other hand, keeping full faith in the Pakistan Government, trusting the repeated assurance given by our leaders and believing rigidly the joint Boundary Forces and the right cause of protecting the minorities in either Dominions, we remained sticking to our village and were ready to face the darkest consequences like brave citizens. The situation went from bad to worse with the passage of time.

On the 4th September, 1947, the Muslims from surrounding villages began to pour in from all sides in batches of 50 to 100 men fully armed with takwas, spears, swords and other illegal arms. We were compelled to close the doors of the village as night passed on and the number of the mob went on increasing. All the means of communication and transportation were cut off and we had absolutely no means left to ask for the help of the authorities for our evacuation and safety.

On 6th September, 1947, the Sub-Inspector of Police, Bhera, visited our village and instead of giving help in protecting us from the mob, he inspired them to kill us and ordered us to vacate the village

under no protection and shelter and left for Bhera. The same evening, one man named Om Parkash Kapoor son of Lala Gopi Chand Kapoor was murdered by a group of Muslims headed by Mohd. Bux weaver of that village.

The report was sent to Sub-Inspector of Bhera who accompanied by Tehsildar came to the spot next day to prepare the case. Not less than 15,000 Muslims had surrounded the village when the Sub-Inspector came there, but he did not make any attempt to disperse the mob. On our request to pass a night with us for our safety, we offered the Sub-Inspector of Police Rs. 1,000 and 100 bags of wheat to be given to Pakistan Government but he refused and returned to his Headquarters at Bhera leaving us at the mercy of fate and Almighty to protect us. During his stay at our village, he examined the dead body, prepared the case. On his way back, he once again inspired the mob to loot and butcher us.

7th September also passed with no major incident although the number of mob had increased to 20,000. We had collected all our belongings, children, ladies old and young at one central place in the heart of the village with the brave slogans Do or Die, the only alternative left to us. We had four guns and one rifle (all licensed) in the village with a little ammunition. Under my direct instruction, five points were fixed for our defence. On the evening of the 8th September, 1947, the mob with all their full force attacked the village

from the four sides. Nothing but heads of Muslims were visible and they looked like a stream of white turbans for miles and miles together on all the four sides of the village. Three sides remained safe. Unfortunately they succeeded in entering the village from the fourth side and set fire to the first street. My son Shree Arjan Dass was protecting at one side, S. Swaran Singh, Lambardar at another, Bhai Charan Dass and S. Iqbal Singh son of S. Gurbaksh Singh on the remaining two posts. Besides this, we had kept ready boiling water and the boiling sheeras of gur to be thrown on the raiders and heaps of pebbles and bricks for our defence. We had been defending our village at all costs and risks; my son Arjan Dass fired constantly at them so bravely from a hidden point that he repulsed them.

However, we continued our defence throughout the night and kept the enemy away from our central place. At exact 4 a.m. on the 9th September, the light of a motor car or lorry was visible passing on the kacha road. We in our single voice, shouted for help if there is some military man. At last a European military officer, with rank of Colonel who introduced himself as Col. Gordon came before us. We heaved a sight of relief and narrated the whole story to him. He assured us all the possible help he could afford and he did accordingly.

Col. Gordon arranged for us to vacate the village. So we did at about 10 a.m. leaving behind all our belongings and property in the village,

XXXIV

Statement of Ganpat Rai Khosla[5] *son of Lala Indar Sain Khosla, Assistant, Financial Commissioners Office, Fast Punjab Government.*

At 4 a.m. on the 2nd August, 1947 the police came to my house at Krishan Nagar and arrested me. The police did not allow me to lock my house and said that they were responsible for it. I was taken straight in a car to the Fort. Mr. Razvi, the Superintendent of Police arrested me by putting the pistol at my back. I was locked in the cell-in the Fort from where I was taken at 9 a.m. Sub-Inspector Ghulam Rasul taunted me and treated me in a very spiteful fashion and gave me two or three slaps and locked me up again. I was taken out of the cell again at 11 a.m. and taken to the Interrogation Room. The same Sub-Inspector put me the question whether I had seen the Bucharkhana in Khishan Nagar. He told me after slapping me thoroughly again that just as that was a Bucharkhana for the animals, the Fort was slaughter house for human beings. Afterwards I was given thorough beating which continued throughout the day. The beating was sometimes by hands and sometimes by sticks. The

police said that I should divulge whatever secret I had with myself, because they have been able to deal with chaps like Jai Prakash Narain. I said that I was a mere clerk and knew nothing.

1. I was taken out from my cell next morning at about 8 a.m. and was again thoroughly beaten with my clothes off. The police told me that the other chaps arrested, about 18 in number, had divulged various things about me proving that I was a ring-leader. I said that I was only a member of the A.-I. S. A. as will be clear from the Charka found in my house and I had nothing to do with bombs. However, the same treatment of beating by various policemen continued. I was given thorough shoe beating on my head and my hair was pulled forcibly by hand so constantly that only very few hair were left on my head. My present crop is one that grew afterwards. At the same time with the help of an instrument the hair of my private parts were extracted one by one causing me excruciating pain.

2. The third day I was again questioned and was given the same drastic treatment by beating, when I did not divulge anything. On the 6th August one Sardar Sohan Singh Dora, E. A. R. O. was arrested at the information given by one of our group-men named Goverdhan. I was taken out from my cell that night and was given such a thorough beating that I fainted, and after that I found myself in the cell next morning where they must have thrown me back. After that beating I often used to faint. They would specially beat me at

the soles of my feet so that my brain may he affected. I was also made to stand before very high power electric bulbs and made to stare at the dazzling light constantly. I was beaten with a cane if I lowered my eyes from the bulbs. I frequently fainted in this process. A number of times human excreta was put in a cloth bag and tied round my face. This process continued till 1st September, 1947. On that day the rest of the men in my group were transferred from the Fort to the Jail. When they were in jail I could not see them because I was in a solitary room, but I used to hear their shrieks. I was in such a cell that one could touch the roof and it was so situated that even wind could not come in despite a windstorm outside.

3. Since I was never allowed to have a bath my body was full of lice caught from blankets. I was also threatened the administration of the same mixture of chillies, onions, garlic and water etc. up my anus but was not actually given the doze. After about 1¼ months stay the second time in the Fort my legs had become so stiff that I could not sit or stand properly and used to faint while trying to stand. One evening I was taken out and the Sub-Inspector told me that I would soon be sent back, but I must say Yes to all that we have been able to extort from other members of the party. Then a constable stood in front of me with a pistol in his hand and I was made to say the same thing as in the previous statement mentioned above.[6] In fact I was asked to copy the previous statement. I signed it but I refused to date because the police wanted to have it ante-dated.

This statement, which covered 37 pages, I was made to copy and I had to write continuously for three days as I was unable to write with a steady hand. Three to four days afterwards Mr. Malik, Superintendent of Police came. He said that I was very weak and that he would order the supply of milk to me, which I refused. He also ordered the change of my room at his next visit and that I should be made to walk about ten days or so in sunlight. I was also given a bath one day in the sun. On 13th March I was transferred to jail and a couple of days before that date Chaman Lal was also brought to my cell. He was surprised to see me there. He also mentioned that a statement has been taken out from him in similar circumstances. I had got by now so desperate that on one of the visits of the S. P. I boiled over and challenged them to shoot me which was better than my present life. Since the period of my detention had expired they now placed me in jail under Section 307 I. P. C. I stayed there till 7th of April when the prisoners were transferred to India.

XXXV

Hair-raising Story of the Torture of Sardar Sohan Singh Dora, formerly Assistant Recruiting Officer, Arnritsar, by Muslim Police.

He was arrested by the C. I. D. on the 6th August, 1947 from the Recruiting Office, Abbot Road, Lahore and was taken straightway to

the Fort where the Police were after getting secrets from him. These were the details of his supposed expeditions in supplying arms to Master Tara Singh. He denied having made any such transactions. At that he was given such severe lashing with canes that the markings of this beating were on his back and toes for more than a year after.

He was pushed back into a cell. Afterwards he was taken into the Kasab Khana (Slaughter House), the torture room in the Fort and was treatened: Either you come out with everything or it will everything or it will go hard with you. This is a place where men like Jai Prakash Narain were set right; what are you then?

On his refusal to make a confession as they desired, he was again given terrible beating. When he again refused they thrust his mouth above the latrine-hole of his cell and a man was made to sit on his back. He was kept in this state for two hours. This treatment continued for two or three days.

Then they gave him false information that his family members had all been arrested and were being subjected to terrible torture. He was by now desperate and preferred death to such life. But when they now tortured him he cried out aloud. On the 15th August, some Hindus were released from the Fort. They conveyed news of his torture outside. During this period he was given two *chapaties*

and a small quantity of dal. One earthenware bowl served for drinking as well as use in latrine. The beating, given was on the soles of bare feet and this was done frequently. In the last extremity of suffering on the 26th August, he went on hunger strike. His beard and hair were pulled pretty often. From 6 p.m. to 12 p.m. he was manacled and handcuffed and in this state suspended from the ceiling. All this while he kept crying, at which the warders kept prodding him with a long bamboo stick. Sometimes he was pulled by the hair of the head and dashed to the ground. For four or five days of his going on hunger strike he was still suspended as before from the ceiling. But then he grew very weak and the beating was given up. Now he was so weak that he could not stir even to pass urine. So he urinated in the drinking bowl, and took water from the pitcher near urine. In a few days time his right side became numb and the effects of that continue tip till now.

On the 16th September, he was given the poisonous drug Dhatura in water which made him bleed while excreting and urinating. This made his throat parched, but he cried still. Then they stopped even to give him water. Now the water was mixed with urine which compound they called Pakistani water. At last when he was in the last extremity of pain and at deaths door on the 20th September, he was sent to the Central jail dispensary at Lahore where he was given some treatment. He had during this period since his arrest lost 54 pounds in weight.

At last in January, 1949 he was exchanged with a Muslim prisoner, repatriated to India and then released.

XXXVI

Statement of Sardar Prem Singh Prem, Advocate, Jullundur, Member of the Executive Committee of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee:-

My village Dheri is in Campbellpore District, in the jurisdiction of Chauntra Police Station, 25 miles from Rawalpindi. On March 9, 1947 a huge Muslim mob collected to attack the village of Dheri, and entered into the Sikh Ward of the village. A large number of panic-stricken Sikhs sought shelter in the houses of such Muslims as they thought were their friends. The mob burnt and pillaged Sikh houses without a single exception.

Sardar Jaswant Singh, a devout and brave Sikh was my elder brother. His house was looted and burned along with the rest. Next day again the looting continued. Sardar Jaswant Singh was in the house of one Hayat Mohammed, who asked him to come over to him, on assurance of safety of life. Many people under threat consented to be converted, to Islam. When this proposal was made to Sardar Jaswant Singh he stoutly and indignantly repudiated the suggestion, and prepared himself to meet inevitable death. His elder brother first killed his (S. Jaswant Singhs) wife; then other ladies of

the family were killed-to save them from dishonour at the hands of the Muslim assailants. The mob in the meanwhile tore open the roof of Hayat Mohameds house where they were hiding, and fired on the family of S. Jaswant Singh. Then S. Jaswant Singh, his brother S. Sant Singh and nephew Dr. Bhagat Singh came outside, and were done to death by the mob.

The surviving ladies of the family and one brother of S. Jaswant Singh were contemplating self-destruction rather than submit to Muslim lust and fury, but in the meanwhile military was informed and they were saved.

S. Jaswant Singhs uncle S. Gurmukh Singh, managed to escape with his family to the neighbouring village of Chakri which was besieged like Dheri, and massacre of Sikhs appeared imminent. S. Gurrnukh Singh killed the ladies of his family with his own hands, and prepared to face death. But within a few minutes military arrived, and the Sikhs of this village were saved This is one of the many stories of martyrdom and faith-unto-death displayed by Sikhs.

XXXVII

ATTACK ON A TRAIN AT LAHORE

A non-Muslim refugee train was loaded with 2375 non-Muslim refugees from the D. A.-V. College Refugee Camp on the 5th March,

1948. The refugees were brought from the D. A.-V. College camp in M. T.s provided by the M. E. 0. (India) under supervision of Captain R. D. Ray. The train was standing in a siding of the Lahore Cantonment Railway Station. In addition to the Pakistan Military which was to escort the train quite a number of armed Policemen were on duty. The train left for Moghalpura after 2 p.m. At Moghalpura it seems the train was detained for quite a long time. Two parties started searching the compartments-one party was constituted by the Land Customs and Railway Officials and the other by the Pak Military escort. The former started search from the tail end of the train and the latter from engine backwards. The Customs Department, however, did not do much and left almost the entire job to the Pak Military who rummaged almost all the compartments. The refugees were ordered to open their boxes. The Pak Military escort took away gold and silver ornaments, cash, clothes (Dupattas) etc., and utensils, wrist watches and gramophones. No lists were prepared either by the Pak Military or the Customs Officials. The Captain in charge of the Pakistan Military escort was approached by the refugees. He told them that at Wagha he would hand over the stuff to the Indian escort. The name of this Captain is not known but one of his subordinates Havildar Abdul Qayyum can be identified by Shri Vidya Sagar. At Harbanspura a bag full of ornaments was handed over by the Pakistan Military escort to their men posted there. Once again the Captain of the Pakistan Military escort was requested- for return of the ornaments but he gave the same reply.

At Wagha Railway Station Lt. Indra Bahadur Gurang with his men came to receive the train. The train was scheduled to reach Wagha at 12-30 p.m. but arrived there after a delay of almost 8 hours. Seeing the Indian troops on the platform all the refugees started shouting and complaining vociferously to Lt. Indra Bahadur Gurang about the occurrence. They informed him that the train had been subjected to very severe search in which all the gold and silver ornaments, cash, clothes (silken) wrist watches, gramophones, Khes Chadar (sheets) had been removed by the escort. The refugees also asked the Captain in charge of the Pakistan Military escort for the return of their articles. He told them that he would search the escort and had them lined up and asked the refugees to identify those who had taken away the articles.

There seems no manner of doubt that the entire valuables possessed by the refugees in this train were removed by the Pakistan Military escort in conjunction with the Customs and Railway Officials. These refugees according to Shri Lohari Mal, Superintendent, D. A.-V. College Refugee Camp, had their entire belongings with them including their gold and silver ornaments, cash, silken clothes, wrist watches etc. The Pakistan Military took away all these articles without preparing any lists and merely handed over a few pieces of silver ornaments to Lt. Indra Bahadur Gurang through the Inspector of Land Customs at Wagha. No record was kept of what was taken away from the refugees at Moghalpura Railway

Station. There was, therefore, no means to verify whether what was returned to Lt. Indra Bahadur Gurang was the entire stuff taken. It seems amply clear that the gold ornaments, clash and silken clothes etc. after being removed by the Pakistan Military at Moghalpura Railway Station were handed over to the goondas present near the platform. A bag full of these articles was also given to the Pakistan Military posted at Harbanspura. The fact that the silver and a few gold ornaments were returned merely to 22 out of about 2400 persons shows that a very large quantity of articles removed was withheld by the Pakistan Military and the Customs Officers. It is absolutely certain that the few silver pieces and 4 or 5 gold ornaments which were returned were just to confuse the issue and to show that whatever had been taken away from us was handed over by the Pakistan Military or by the Customs Officials.

XXXVIII

ATRACK ON SIND EXPRESS

(*Civil and Military Gazette Report*)

Passengers arriving by Sind Express lit Lahore on Saturday, August 19, 1947 related harrowing stories of murder. After the train left Gujrat, a small body of Muslim passengers armed with axes and knives repeatedly stopped it, visited each compartment in turn, ferreting out those of *another* community (Sikhs) and ruthlessly

butchering them. Sometimes these crimes were committed while the train was moving, sometimes in presence of parties who rushed towards the line from the countryside whenever a stop was made.

Some passengers attempted to save themselves by crawling under the carriages but these were pulled out and killed. Two leapt from the train and started across the fields. The train was stopped, chase given and the fugitives despatched. The earlier victims were killed with hatches, the later only more slowly with knives. A woman and her three small children were among the last to die. Once the train stopped at a wayside station when no more victims remained for the sacrifice and the murderers apologized to their co-religionists on the platform for the zeal which left them (the latter) no one to kill.

Mr. Bustin, Editor of the *The Civil and Military Gazette* wrote on these murders to Mr. Jinnah in an open letter in the *C. & M. G.* on 25.8.47. Fifteen deliberate cold-blooded murders may seem little enough to turn you gentlemen, from the tremendous task on which you are engaged, the creation of a State from a nation. But these fifteen shared the fate of many more. Few trains indeed come to Lahore without revealing similar atrocities.

XXXIX

THE SIALKOT CONVOY

The official diary of the West Punjab mentions an attack on a convoy at Ravi Bridge on August 27.

Vehicle in a convoy of Hindu Sikh refugees attacked for looting near the Ravi Bridge and Police inflicted 12 casualties on the looters.

But the statement of survivors of this convoy of 60 vehicles made to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister of India at Amritsar is:

When vehicles reached the River Ravi the drivers left and were absent for about a couple of hours. When they returned and were about to resume their journey they were attacked by an armed mob of about 1000. The escort fired a couple of shots in the air and did nothing to protect convoy. Large numbers were murdered.

The Rajkumari counted 13 dead bodies-cut to pieces literally. Several others were seriously wounded.

XXXX

A British Officer of the M. E. O. of West Punjab reported (September, 1947) that at a place near Sheikhupura he was called to rescue a Hindu girl, who had been carried away by Muslim National Guards. He found the girl in a hut with 4 of her captors, who had raped and cut off her breasts and were now frying them. He shot the lot.

Footnotes:

[1](Sir Francis Mudie was the first Governor of West Punjab (Pakistan), and was removed in 1949.)

[2]Sic.

[3]This sentence reached us in this form. Some words no doubt are missing. (Editor)

[4]This statement, which is quite badly worded, reached us in this form. (Editor)

[5]Pakistan propaganda has made much capital out of this gentlemans supposed confession which was greatly publicized in Pakistan. This is how his statement was obtained by the Muslim Police.

[6]The statement publicized in Pakistan. (Editor)

APPENDIX - XXXXI to XXXXIX

XXXXI

Pt. Chuni Lal Jaitli, S. D. O. Canals living in Chichoki Malian Canal Rest House, Distt. Sheikhupura with members of his family was murdered by Muslims. On 27.8.47 they were attacked by Muslims and looted and abducted as under:-

Jiwan Devi (40) Shiv Devi (70) Rajeshwari (20) Nirmala Devi (18) Kalawanti Devi (40) Harkishen Lal (14) Har Parkash (4) Darshan Kumar (12) Inder Mohan (6) Manmohan (2½).

Pt. Nand Lal, brother of Pt. Chuni Lal who went to complain to Police was thrown into the Upper Chenab canal by police and drowned. Pt. Chuni Lal was shot dead later by Ali Mohd., Lambardar, of Nokrian village with the help of police.

Mr. Sena Pati Ram Sahni, Distt. Engineer of District Board at Lahore was set upon by subordinates on 12.9.47 and sawn and brutally murdered.

XXXXII

THE PUNJAB NOT A MUSLIM PROVINCE

I place my claim, wrote Master Tara Singh upon the fact that the Punjab is not a Muslim Province. I do not even admit that the Muslims are in a majority in the population. Punjab History in the Sikh History. It is the birth-place of the Sikh religion and the Sikh Gurus; most if not all the Punjab Martyrs are the Sikh martyrs. The Sikhs are the only people who take pride in Punjabi culture and language. Muslim poet will sing of Mecca and Madina; a Hindu poet will sing of Ganga and Banaras; but the Sikh poet will sing of the Ravi and Chanab.

XXXXIII

EXHORTATION TO NON-MUSLIMS NOT TO QUIT PAKISTAN

In a speech of June, 18 (1947) Acharya Kripalani said, The representatives of minorities from East Bengal, the West Punjab and Sind have approached me for advice as to what they should do when the territories they live in become part of an independent State of Pakistan.

Most of them fear that their lives, honour and property which are unsafe now and would become even more unsafe then. I do not share that fear. On the contrary I hope that once the State of Pakistan is established its Government or Governments would have enough sense of reality not to discredit themselves by unfair treatment of the minorities.

Until now the Muslim League felt that it was its interest to create an atmosphere of conflict and strife. Henceforth it would obviously be in its interest to create order, for the spirit of lawlessness roused against the minorities would sooner or later be turned against its own Government.

XXXXVI

(NEWSPAPER REPORTS)

January 4, 1947.

Rawalpindi, January 4. - Reports of further raids in villages of Hazara District were received last night. According to the latest information Mallach, a prominent village of about 400 non-Muslims houses situated between Dunga Gali and Nathia Gali Was raided on the afternoon of January 2 by a mob of about 400 armed with deadly weapons.

It is stated that after ransacking several houses they set fire to them and burnt several persons alive.

Arjan Singh, the only survivor of a family of a dozen persons, who arrived here last night after travelling 60 miles on foot, mostly over snow-covered ground, related his pathetic tale to pressmen here.

January 24.

Seven front rank leaders of the Punjab Muslim League were arrested in Lahore on Friday afternoon when they obstructed the Police in carrying out searches in the Muslim League National Guards Headquarters on McLeod Road.

The arrested persons included Khan Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Mr. Mumtaz Daultana and Syed Amir Husain Shah.

Hundreds of students of the Islamia College who had collected there, staged a wild demonstration, about a dozen of them climbing on the top of the police van as it removed the leaders.

The police action followed the Punjab Governments order under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, declaring the Muslim League National Guard and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh as illegal organisations. Raids on the headquarters of these volunteer corps were carried out simultaneously.

A strong police force, headed by Mr. P. B. Roy, Superintendent of police (C.I.D.) armed with search warrants, came to the McLeod Office of the National Guards at about 10-30 a.m. The inmates led

by Mian Iftikhar-ud-din offered them passive resistance and refused to let them carry out the search.

The inmates presumably contacted other leaders by telephone, whereupon the Khan of Mamdot, President of the Provincial League, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Mr. Mumtaz Daultana and Begum Shah Nawaz motered to the place.

By this time the search party had been reinforced by lathi police. The police, however, did not force an entry till after two hours persuasion.

Earlier, the houses of Major Khurshid Anwar, Salar of the All-India Muslim National Guards and Mr. Amir Husain Shah and another officer of the Guards were searched.

The officials of the Sewak Sangh did not obstruct the search at any of the 21 offices of the organisation in Lahore raided by the police on Friday.

Mr. Amir Hussain Shah, immediately before his arrest, declared that this unwarranted attack on the Muslim League National Guards seas part and parcel of the general onslaught of the present Coalition Government on the civil liberties of the people of the Punjab.

Besides the seizure of 1,000 steel helmets the police took possession of a large quantity of assorted volunteers badges bearing the insignia of dagger, sword and revolver.

January 25.

There was organised defiance by the Muslim League in Lahore of the order prohibiting demonstrations and processions, and this resulted in a number of arrests in different part of the city. Prominent among the arrested persons were seven Muslim League M.L.As. who at about 1-30 p.m. marched out of the Assembly Chamber, where the League Assembly party had been meeting since the morning to take stock of the situation created by the leaders arrest, shouting slogans and proceedings in a procession towards the Mall.

They were followed by a posse of armed police headed by Mr. Fearn, the District Magistrate and taken into custody when they had crossed the bounds of the Assembly Chamber.

Earlier, two leaguers were arrested in front of the Assembly for disobeying the police order to vacate the place.

The M.L.As. who courted arrest on Saturday were Begum Tassaddaq Hussain, Sufi Abdul Hamid, Chaudari Mohamad Akram, Malik Wazir Mohamed, Rana Nasrullah Khan, Rai Mohamed Anwar Kharral and Chaudhry Zafrullah Khan.

February 25.

The Muslim League agitation assumed dangerous proportions in Amritsar where the police had to open fire on several occasions on Monday.

A Sikh constable was beaten to death by a wild mob in the Civil Lines. The Additional District Magistrate, Mr. Ikramul Haq, was brutally assaulted, being severely wounded in the head and a murderous assault was made on a Sub-Inspector by a demonstrator who was killed by police fire.

Altogether 29 constables were injured. The Government communique described the Amritsar situation as exceedingly serious. Troops were requisitioned, but not used.

At Rawalpindi too, the police had to resort to firing to disperse the demonstrators. Further details are lacking.

The Lahore district courts were raided twice, first by Muslim students who took the authorities unawares. They ransacked every room, smashing windowpanes, mocking at the court employees and tampering with their files.

The second invasion of the courts was by women and children who were even more difficult to handle, although police had arrived

on the scene.

Earlier the women processionists had stormed the Secretariat creating considerable nuisance for some length of time. Young schoolboys throughout the day indulged in holding up vehicular traffic on the Mall by squatting in the middle of the road at the crossings.

By sundown there was the usual large procession which ended in a lathi-charge by the police.

February 27.

The Muslim League civil disobedience movement was called off on Wednesday following a settlement between the Punjab Government and the leaders of the Provincial League.

The Government has accordingly ordered the release of all prisoners, detained under trial or convicted, other than those accused or convicted of voluntarily causing grievous hurt. It has also removed the restrictions on public meeting in all districts, the ban on processions, on military drill and on the carrying of arms remains.

The Government has accepted Mr. Jinnahs suggestion that the Public Safety Ordinance be replaced by a legislative enactment and

a Bill will be introduced in the ensuing Budget Session of the Punjab Assembly.

March 4.

Nine persons were killed in Lahore on Tuesday including a student of the D.A.-V. College, as a culmination of the mass Hindu-Sikh demonstrations.

Communal rioting broke out in the evening when a procession of Hindus and Sikhs clashed with Muslims at Matti Chowk inside the walled city.

The police arrived on the scene and dispersed the rioters by fire. Later eight dead were removed to the mortuary under heavy police guard.

A clash between the students of the D.A.-V. College and the police took place outside the College hostel. One student was shot dead.

March 5.

Lahore, March 5. - The Governor of the Punjab has issued a proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

March 6.

The evening train from Batala was stopped near Sharifpura. It was attacked by a large crowd armed with hatchets and knives. Several Hindus and Sikhs were killed. When the train eventually arrived at Amritsar, it was found that there were pools of blood in several compartments including the womens compartments.

March 7.

Amritsar, March 7. - Amritsar is a veritable inferno. There were several fires in different parts of the city throughout Thursday. Several shops in Hall Hazar, Katra Jaimal Singh and the surrounding residential areas have been completely or partially destroyed. The Police and the Military continued to patrol throughout the day and night.

Casualties in the Civil Hospital are 27 killed and over 100 injured since Wednesday. Several casualties have not been reported to hospitals.

The police fired several times, but with little effect. One cinema house is completely gutted.

A large number of Hindus and Sikhs living in predominantly Muslim localities have been evacuated to the Golden Temple or the

Civil Lines. The fate of several others still left bf-hind is unknown. Is stray assaults severe brutalities are being prepetrated by the assailants.

A number of persons were killed and many injured in a communal clash in Multan on Thursday. Some shops were set on fire, while many other were looted. The District Magistrate has imposed the curfew in the city from -6 p.m. to 7 a.m. He has also banned all public meetings and processions for a period of one month under the Public Safety Ordinance.

Latest information gathered from civil and other hospitals[1] shows that so far eight bodies-seven Sikh and one of a Muslim constable-have reached the mortuary, says an earlier message delayed in transmission. The dead include Mohan Singh, a student of the local Khalsa College.

The total number of injured admitted to hospitals is 38. Injuries in most cases are from swords, axes and hatchets. The injured have been picked up from all parts of the city.

Some bodies are reported to be still lying on road sides. Hostile crowds interfered with the fire brigades in the performance of their duties. The municipal and Sewa Societys fire brigades are proving helpful.

March 8.

A senior officer of the Punjab Government described the communal situation in Rawalpindi as most anxious.

Terrible rioting has broken out in the city and the villages in between Rawalpindi and Murree. Killing, loot and arson have been rife and the minorities according to official information are in a bad way.

Amritsar is quiet except that some people attempted to defy the curfew and came into conflict with Police and Military patrols. There was no casualty.

In Jullundur nine persons died and about 36 were injured. Multan is said to be settling down.

In Lahore, of the four cases of stabbing on Friday one proved fatal. Another person was shot down for looting.

An A.P.I. message from Rawalpindi says that a mob drawn from rural areas attacked some mohallas last night. The raiders were driven away by the residents of the mohallas after a pitched battle. The attack took place during curfew hours. No train left from Rawalpindi for any direction last night.

The raiders are still reported to be in the outskirts of Rawalpindi. The military has been posted at strategic points.

The total number of casualties in two days of disturbances, according to official estimates, are 50 killed and about 200 injured.

After curfew hours on Saturday morning stray assaults have been reported from different parts of the city.

The Up Frontier Mail, heading towards Peshawar, terminated at Rawalpindi on Friday night without completing its journey up to Peshawar. The train was detained near Chaklala by a mob of 300 to 400 armed raiders.

About half a dozen cases of arson are reported to have been committed in Rawalpindi during curfew hours.

Details available of Fridays hold up of the Down Frontier Mail show that the train was stopped by a mob of armed villagers, about 800 strong, at the Taxila railway station. They pushed out passengers and attacked them with hatchets and lathis, resulting in injuries to about 50 persons. People from Hazara District, in the Frontier Province, invaded the Muree Region, and the bazars of Jhikka Gali, Ghora Gali and Lower Topa had been burned, it was officially announced in Lahore on Sunday evening.

According to confirmed reports, the major portion of Murree town, famed health resort in Northern India, is completely gutted by fires.

The situation in Rawalpindi is reported to have quietened since Saturday night, according to information received in Lahore. Tension, however, continues.

Raiders from rural areas, who attempted to force entry into some of the mohallas in Rawalpindi on Friday night and had collected in the outskirts of the city, are reported to have set fire to some of the surrounding villages inhabited by both the communities. The loss of property and life has not yet been ascertained.

According to travellers reaching Lahore over 100 people were killed during the disturbances in Multan and about 150 injured. Many families are reported to have perished in the conflagration which raged in the city for about two days. The loss is estimated at about 50 lacs. Ludhiana and Rohtak figured among the disturbed towns on Wednesday. The situation in Attock district is described as showing no signs of improvement. Increased Military aid is being provided there. Bands of persons moving about are being intercepted.

Looting and arson according to the Punjab Government communique, has been reported from several areas in Attock District. Two attempts were made to raid the town of Mianwali by a large number of Pathans.

The rural area of Rawalpindi still gives cause for anxiety, but there is distinct improvement in the north-east, where troops are moving about on a wide scale. This was officially announced in Lahore on Wednesday evening.

About 10,000 men equipped with arms, attempted to raid Mianwali town on Tuesday morning. The raiders surrounded the town. The District Magistrate, however, tactfully handled the situation with the help of local Pathans and officials. No loss of life or property is reported.

A case of arson is reported from Moghalpura, a suburb of Lahore at a distance of five miles. It is stated that before 1 a.m. on Thursday a mob of about 40 men, armed with axes and lathis, raided the premises of Craco Stationery Works Limited and set fire to the Factory. Lahore Corporation and Railway fire engines arrived on the scene and fought the flames for over four hours.

After conference at Rawalpindi with Military Officials, Sardar Baldev Singh and party visited the refugee camp where about 9,000 persons are seeking shelter.

The Defence Member later received deputations of Hindu and Sikh leaders from Rawalpindi and Attock districts who apprised him of the first hand details about the situation in the two districts.

The party returned to Lahore in the evening.

March 14.

Communal tension flared up at Khushab on Friday resulting in some shops and religious places being burned, according to information received from Sargodha. The District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police hurried to the spot with police and Military detachments and brought the situation under control.

The District Magistrate has promulgated Section 144 Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting assembly of five persons find carrying of arms throughout the District for an indefinite period.

Sir Evan Jenkins, Governor of the Punjab, accompanied by Sir John Bennet, Inspector-General of Police, paid a flying visit to Sargodha on Saturday morning. During their one hour stay in Sargodha, they discussed the communal situation with the local officials and non-officials. The Governor flew to Mianwali on Saturday to acquaint himself with the communal situation there.

There was a two hour battle between the police and military on one side and the raiders from across the Indus on the other at Jand, in tehsil Pindigheb, Campbellpur district. Four raiders were killed.

The situation in the jurisdiction of police stations Chauntra, Fatehjung, Pindigheb and Pind Sultani is reported to be exceedingly serious, says an official announcement on Friday evening.

Reports have been received of riot, arson and murders from villages in the Chakwal Tehsil, District Jhelum. Dudial was attacked by a mob of 2,500 and although the military and police stationed there exchanged hot fire with the looters, they were unable to save the village from being burned. They were however, able to evacuate most of the people.

In Attock reports of looting and arson are still being received in district headquarters.

All has been quiet in Jullundur, Ferozepur, Kangra, Sheikhupura and Gurdaspur.

Amritsar continued to be quiet and there have been no further incidents of any importance. There is still considerable nervousness in the city and also in the rural parts of the district.

All districts in the Ambala Division report no incidents and the situation is quiet everywhere. Rounding up the riot situation in the Punjab a spokesman of the Punjab Government says: It is quite clear from reports from all over the affected districts that these disgraceful scenes are due entirely to completely false rumours

spread deliberately by mischief-mongers and bad characters. The favourite method appears to be to spread a rumour that a religious building of one community or the other has been attacked or burned.

March 17.

The Frontier Government issued the following communique on Saturday night on the communal situation in the Province:-

Relief parties reached Chajian, south-east of Haripur, yesterday and found that in Thursdays disturbances there 47 Hindus and Sikhs had been killed and three wounded. There are now about 1,500 evacuees in Haripur town.

At Garhi Habibullah, also in Hazara District, a place of worship was set on fire and three shops looted.

In Peshawar City one Hindu was stabbed this afternoon and a case of arson occurred in the Sadar Bazar area last night. The curfew is still in force in Peshawar city and Sadar Bazar.

Reports have been received of about 90 forcible conversions of Hindus and Sikhs from the village of Mushtarzai and Sheikhan in Peshawar Tehsil.

March 18.

The situation in Khushab and the Soon Valley in Shahpur district, still remains tense. A case of attempted arson has been reported from Khud, a village in police station Khushab, and reinforcements have been sent there, the announcement continues.

In Attock District, Pindigheb and Fatehjung tehsils are still seriously disturbed and reports of looting, arson and casualties are still being received from different villages all over these two tehsils. The military dispersed by firing a crowd which had assembled to attack Adhwal, in tehsil Fatehjung.

Trouble still persists in the Kahuta tehsil of Rawalpindi district and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police is personally dealing with conditions there.

March 20.

Peshawar, March 20. - Red Shirts moved about in the city yesterday afternoon and the streets of this interesting city, which is normally colourful, became more so with the splashes of red of Indias RED Army.[2]

Two hours after they had entered the Hindu area where the silversmiths live. I saw Hindus and Sikhs emerge from their houses, for the first time in seven days. They seemed dazed by the sunlight.

It was obvious that they were still nervous for they did not venture beyond the barbed wire barricade at the end of the lane.

March 21.

The Punjab Government on Thursday estimated total casualties from communal disturbances in the provinces up to midday March 19, at 2,049 dead and 1,103 seriously injured.

The Government made it clear that the figures from Rawalpindi and Attock districts were not reliable. *It was feared that when correct figures were ascertained, the list would be formidable*.

March 28.

Mr. Jinnah made a speech to the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bombay.

It was Mr. Gandhi, he said, who first raised the point. I after due deliberation, say that exchange of population is necessary and it has to be done. It cannot be done by a private organisation.

Peshawar-Hindu and Sikh passengers on the railway train which left Kohat for Rawalpindi this morning were attacked by a mob armed with firearms at Gorzai, 17 miles from Kohat. Six persons were killed and 20 injured, says a communique is sued by the

Frontier Government tonight. The wounded have been taken to Jan. A superintendent of police with a detachment of troops and some armed cars has proceeded to Gorzai.

According to unofficial estimates the number of casualties as a result of the looting of the passengers train between Lakband and Samigund, on the Kohat-Rawalpindi railway line, is believed to be six killed and 21 injured, says a Rawalpindi message. One woman, with her child is reported to be missing.

It is alleged that the raiders entered a womens compartment of the train and started looting and killing passengers of the minority community.

A large number of non-Muslims are leaving Kohat following Wednesdays incident. The exodus of members of the minority community from various Frontier towns continues and streams of people are arriving in Rawalpindi by every train coming from the Kohat side. On the other hand a large number of people are migrating from Rawalpindi to places in the United Provinces, Delhi and Patiala State and other towns of south-east Punjab. Tension continues to persist in Rawalpindi town. About 7,000 Hindus and Sikhs-nearly-a quarter of the minority population of Peshawar city have left Peshawar city for the Punjab and other parts of India since March 20, declared a source connected with the Congress here,

April 12.

Fifteen men were killed and 32 injured in Amritsar on Friday afternoon when communal trouble broke out again after about five weeks respite.

The police had to open fire to quell the riot. The city, where four localities were set on fire, has been placed under a 24 hour curfew.

British troops are once again patrolling the deserted streets. A high police official told a representative of the *Civil & Military Gazette* that the situation late on Friday night, was well in hand.

Inquiries made by the Associated Press of India at 12.30 a.m. showed that 14 places including two factories in Qilla Bhangian, three shops in Kucha Chaparwala and eight houses, seven in Kucha Swaroop Singh and one in Katra Sher Singh, were entirely gutted in Fridays conflagrations.

The fire brigade recovered some pieces of cloth soaked in kerosene oil, with a broken bottle of the kerosene oil, in front of half dozen houses with their doors slightly burned in a lane in Katra Sher Singh adjoining the Royal Talkies, which was burned during the last disturbances.

The trouble started in Lachhmansar area, where about 5000 Muslims had collected in a mosque in Chowk Pragdas for Friday prayer.

April 17.

Peshawar, April 16. - Numerous fires were raging in Dera Ismail Khan yesterday. The situation in the city is serious, according to the communique issued last night by the Frontier Government.

Troops and the constabulary have been sent from Bannu to assist the Military and the Police already in the Dera Ismail Khan town. The curfew has been imposed.

A procession started from the Muslim League Office yesterday morning and divided itself into different parties. One party went towards the courts and the post office and caused damage to the buildings. The other parties went into the city and set fire to shops and residential houses in different parts of the town.

According to unofficial reports from D. I. Khan several shops in Pawinda Bazar have been gutted. Fire is spreading to Bhatianwala Bazar. A cinema house, the Town Hall, the V. B. College and one place of worship were set ablaze. Hall the city of Dera Ismail Khan is burned, according to information reaching Peshawar. The fires

which started on Tuesday are reported to be under control. The total number of casualties is ten killed and 22 injured.

On Tuesday night the village of Paroa, near Dera Ismail Khan, was raided by unknown persons, who indulged in arson and looting. It is understood three persons were killed in Paroa and 54 shops and houses were burned.

April 18.

Peshawar April, 18. - According to an unofficial report received from Tank today, about 50 shops have been burned there, three persons killed and three injured. The situation is now under control.

The village of Gumal Bazar, near Tank, was raided last night by some unknown persons.

Trouble is reported to have spread in rural areas north and south of Dera Ismail Khan, where looting and rioting is reported from some villages in the jurisdiction of Paharpur and Paroa police stations. One person was fatally stabbed this morning in Peshawar near the Cunningham Park.

Peshawar April 28. - Since the commencement of the atrocities in December last in Hazara, casualties including those in parts of D. I. Khan has totalled 400 killed and 150 wounded revealed Mr. Mehr

Chand Khanna, Finance Minister, at a press conference here yesterday.

Fifty places of worship had been burned, over 300 persons forcibly converted and about 1,600 shops and houses burned and looted.

May 1.

The communal rioting in Lahore on Friday crossed the highest degree of bitterness and conflict ever witnessed in the capital of the Punjab with the biggest conflagration in its history raging in a dozen localities within the walled city.

The day drew to a close with the huge fires reduced to smouldering embers, but a high wave of panic and tension sweeping the whole town.

The stabbings, which started in the morning soon after the relaxation of the curfew hours at eight, continued unabated throughout the day. The total number of casualties collected from different hospitals up to midnight on Friday showed that 18 bodies were brought from different parts of the city and the number of injured was in the neighbourhood of 46. There were about 20 cases of maimed or injured reported to hospitals, and these persons were discharged after first aid.

June 14.

While the fate of Lahore hangs in the balance awaiting the decision of the Boundary Commission, a large number of people have already started quitting Lahore. They particularly include domestic servants, labourers, and a sprinkling of the business community belonging to the minorities. The Sikhs, however, are determined not to show the white feather. Lahore is their home town, they say.

The unsettled and uncertain conditions which have prevailed in the city for some times now have contributed largely to the large scale exodus. The recent four week communal out burst has resulted in bringing business to a standstill. A large number of big business firms have already shifted their head offices from. Lahore.

June 20.

The peace of Lahore was disturbed during the early hours of the morning when a country-made bomb was thrown in a place of worship inside Masti Gate. The missile exploded with a loud report. The priest of the shrine, who received injuries, was removed to hospital.

A country-made incendiary bomb exploded this morning in Kucha Moolomata, near the Water Works and caused a fire.

Immediately after the relaxation of the curfew, one person was fatally stabbed on Fleming Road, near Qilla Gujar Singh. Another knife attack took place near Lohari Mandi. The victim was removed to hospital in a precarious condition. Upto 10 p.m. on Thursday night as many as 20 cases of fire raising were reported from different localities in the city and suburbs, the areas affected being Katra Purbia, Kucha Hawagaran, Brandreth Road, Ichhra, Moti Bazar, Kucha Masadimal, Akbari Mandi, Bhati Gate, Sheranwala Gate, Lohari Gate and outside Mochi Gate. In Amritsar about a dozen casualties including one dead, had been brought to the civil hospital up to 12 noon.

The associated Press of India was officially informed late on Thursday night that there was no improvement in the communal situation in Lahore on Tuesday. Military patrolling continued in the city and suburbs.

Thirty-five fires blazed in Lahore during the day eight of which were of a serious nature, the localities seriously affected were Mohalla Sarin, Chowk Surjan Singh, Shahi Mohalla, Mohalla Sathan (inside Bhati Gate) and the Garhi Shahu, Mozang and Faiz Bagh areas.

All available military fire brigades, in addition to the Corporation fire engines were fighting the flames in different sectors of the city till

late at night. In Chowk Surjan Singh, the fire-fighting personnel was fired upon by unknown assailants. The police fired a few rounds.

Twenty-two persons were killed and 25 injured by fire in Sadar Bazar in the Cantonment early in the morning.

Twenty-two persons were killed and 16 others injured in knife attacks during the day. Three persons were killed on the Grand Trunk Road near the Hide Market in the Faiz Bagh area in the morning. Five others were assaulted in the same locality. Three persons were fatally stabbed on Akram Road in Sultanpura, a suburb of the city. Two more persons were killed near Bharatnagar in the same locality.

1. On 12-9-1947, Mr. S. R. Sawhney, Lahore District Board Engineer, who opted for Pakistan, was murdered in his office. The Lahore District Board Office-by his subordinates, who tide him to a pole and sawed him in two. The Government of West Punjab has pleaded it cannot trace murderers.

2. A non-Muslim Refugee Camp established in Arya Samaj at Lyallpur was raided at 10 p.m. on the 2nd October, 1948, resulting in 500 killed, 200 girls abducted with many other casualties.

On 1.12.47 details were received by the East Punjab Government of the cold-blooded murder of a large number of Sikh evacuees, all

of them Government servants, who were stranded at Karor Pacca non-Muslim Evacuee Camp. The soldiers, of Pakistan Army separated Sikhs from other residents of the Camp, took them to sugarcane fields nearby and shot them dead there. The womenfolk of these unfortunate Sikhs were taken away by the Pakistan soldiers. It was stated that the above mentioned families were in the forcible detention of Mohammad Amin Khan Kanju of Karor Pacca, District Multan. The incident led to very strong protest to the West Punjab Government that such indiscriminate action towards Sikhs in Pakistan would not be tolerated any longer, and it may have serious repercussions in East Punjab and is likely to create a vicious circle which has been broken down with great difficulty.

No reply received from the West Punjab Government.

December 3.

The following Press note was issued by the Ministry of States, New Delhi:-

In a recent Press statement issued from Karachi the Prime Minister of Bahawalpur complained that Sardar Valabhbhai Patel had singled out Bahawalpur for having caused grievous loss of life and property to non-Muslims.

The observations were made by Sardar Patel in the course of his reply to an earlier statement by the Prime Minister of Pakistan and must be read in their context.

In refutation of the charges made against the States of Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala, Sardar Patel had said that what happened in those States could not be isolated from the general flare-up, which had overtaken the East and West Punjab and for which not one single community or Government was entirely to blame.

Bahawalpur was mentioned in illustration of the ruthless extermination of minorities in the State which had acceded to Pakistan.

The non-Muslim population of Bahawalpur State, according to the 1941 census, was 2,40,000 which, allowing for normal increase, is now estimated to be about 2,70,000.

Of these between 70,000 and 80,000 recently had to eave the State as a result of the disturbances, the number left behind being stated to be in the neighbourhood of 70,000. This leaves over 1,00,000 persons unaccounted for.

XXXXV

Taken from the Lahore Diary published by the West Punjab Government, for August, 1947.

August 1. - Stabbing cases (3 Sikhs, 2 Muslims, 6 Hindus).

August 2. - 8 cases of arson in non-Muslim houses.

August 12. - 81 stabbing cases (34 Hindus, 41 Sikhs, 6 Muslims). 16 cases of arson. Mob attacks a train, killing 13, wounding 6.

August 13. - 39 stabbing cases, of which only 5 were Muslim victims.

August 14. - 60 non-Muslims stabbed.

August 15. - 47 non-Muslims killed. One Gurdwara burned.

August 22. - 80 Sikhs killed.

August 25. - 19 Sikhs killed.

August 26. - Sikhs and Hindus killed in train coming from Multan etc. etc.

XXXXVI

List of Desecrated Temples and Gurdwaras in West Punjab.[3]

Lahore

Sitla Mandir	Burnt and ruined
Arya Samaj Mandir	Burnt and ruined.
Mandir Wachhowali	" "
Akbari Mandi Temple	Burnt and raided.
Ramgali Temple	" "
Model Town B Block Temple	" "
Temple near Mela Ram Talao	" "
Gurdwara Dera Sahib	Attempted arson, shops scarred.
Baoli Sahib	Badly damaged.
Chaumala Sahib	In ruins.
Gurdwara Qila Gujar Singh	Slightly damaged.
Temple Road (Chhevin Padshahi Gurdwara)	All burnt.
Chuna Mandi Gurdwara	In ruins.
(C) Block Market Model Town	Considerably damaged by arson.

No Moorties exist in any temple.

Gujranwala District

All the undermentioned places of worship have been desecrated:

Sikh Gurdwaras

Damdama Sahib.

Patasa Sahib.

Baba Bhulla.

Talao Devi wala.

Bhagat Singh.

Singh Sabha.

Bhag Singh.

Mongian.

Rai Mool Singh.

Dadu Panthian.

Ram Basti.

Mal Chimni Bakhtewala.

Kesho Rajput.

Gali Arainwali.

Sialkoti.

Ranjit Singh.

Dharmsala Kakrian.

Dharmsala Batalian.

do Machandia

Gurdwara Sarak Gondalian.

(b) Hindu Temples:

Majjhu di Chhapri.

Jain Mandir.

Mandir Maira.

Mandir Devi wala.

do Gali Bohar

do Kasiana.

do Sutharian.

do Thathnian.

do Ralla.

do Jalabwala.

do Sidhan.

Multan District.

All Hindu and Sikh places of worship in this District have been damaged, burned or desecrated.

Lyallpur District.

All the undermentioned places of worship have been turned into mosques or desecrated by refugees:-

(a) Sikh Gurdwaras:

Gurdwara Bara Rail Bazar.

do Guru Bazar.

do Subedar.

do Sant Ram (Douglaspura)

do Piara Singh (Harcharanpura)

do Bara Santpura.

do Pratap Nagar.

do Guru Nanakpura.

(b) Hindu Temples:

Mandir of Mahabir Ji (Karkhana Bazar)

do Gopi Vallabh ji.

Mandir of Raghu Nath Ji.

do Devi.

do Bawa Sita Ram ji.

do Ghanishyam.

do Gaushala.

do Guru Nanakpura.

do S. D. High School.

do Arya Samaj (Douglaspura)

do Arya Samaj (Congress wali)

do Arya Samaj (Montgomery Bazar)

Sargodha District

In Sargodha City the Gurdwara of Block No. 3 which is a palatial building is used as Baitul Mal (Store) by Muslim Leaguers and one shop, which is part of the estate of this Gurdwara is used by a butcher for selling meat.

Jhang District

All Hindu temples and gurdwaras desecrated.

Montgomery District

In Gurdwara Baba Jawala Singh no articles of worship remain. All sacred articles, relics, books etc. have been removed.

Sheikhupura District

Doors and windows of several Gurdwaras have been removed and used as firewood.

XXXXVII

Below are given some eye-witness accounts of the happenings in Rawalpindi District in March, 1947.

Dhamali (Tehsil Kahuta)

8.3.47. Owing to happenings elsewhere in the Tehsil the atmosphere at Dhamali was tense, and consequently 5 strong defensive posts were improvised at different points in the village. There were 15 men to defend each position. Persons were also

deputed to guard the village. Further there were men kept in reserve for unforeseen emergencies.

9.3.47. At about 10 p.m. a band of about 1,500 raiders appeared. There was a mutual exchange of fire and 15 of the raiders were accounted for. The raiders took to their heels and the next day passed off peacefully.

11.3.47. A crowd of 4,000 appeared. They were mostly from the neighbouring villages, and there were also local Muslims. The Hindus and Sikhs acquitted themselves well and the raiders retreated to the neighbouring hills and knolls.

12.3.47. The raiders re-appeared in the evening of 12.3.47. There was a thick mass of many thousands. They started setting the village ablaze. There was also an exchange of rifle fire. The raiders offered terms through one Bakshi Balmokand, retired D. S. P., who was defending one of the village posts. The raiders demanded Rs. 14,000 and surrender of three rifles. Bakshi Balmokand paid an additional sum of Rs. 18,000 on behalf of Hindus. He also delivered to the raiders 3 rifles used by the Sikhs. The safety of Hindus was thus secured. This inevitably weakened the defence. The Sikhs then had to fight single-handed. A part of the raiders left late in the evening after despoiling and burning down the town.

13.3.47. The raiders appeared in still larger numbers at about 5 p.m. (according to some, they were about 20,000). It would seem that the numbers were swelled by those who had by that time completed their devastating work elsewhere, and could easily join the mob investing Dhamali village. The besieged with swords in their hands, rushed out; many of them were killed, while a few escaped with some injuries. The long drawn-out contest ended on the 13th. The casualties of the village were heavy and the number of those killed could not be less than 500. Dhamali is one of those villages which fought stubbornly and lost heavily. Their exploits have evoked general admiration. It is significant the police of Kalar police station and also the military in spite of repeated requests for succour did absolutely nothing for this brave village while it waged its heroic fight against overwhelming odds. Military lorries were rushing towards Kanoha which had already been finished but had no thought for Dhamali, which yet stood unharmed. Military lorries did not of course, reach Dhamali when it lay in ruins.

Harial.

About 6 miles from Gujarkhan.

Hindu and Sikh population about 150, (Master Tara Singhs birth-place).

8.3.47. Thick column of smoke rising into the sky from Bassali and Takht Pari villages alarmed the people.

9.3.47. About 10,000 raiders beating drums appeared. People fled in panic and hid themselves in gorges. Before the raiders appeared on the spot. 2 military lorries with Sub-Inspector of Police of Mandra and the Naib-Tehsildar, Gujarkhan, had visited the spot and panic-stricken people had repeatedly sought their help. No help was forthcoming. The raiders looted the village and burnt, it down. Master Tara Singhs house received special attention at their hands and it was demolished with particular care and frenzied fury. Among those who were killed was Master Tara Singhs uncle, Sardar Gokal Singh who served the cause of education for about 30 years, turning out of his school, of which he was the founder, hundreds of Muslim students. His second uncle Ram Chand was also killed. Hindus of the village suffered along with the Sikhs.

Bhai Gurbaksh Singh Granthi of Harial was reported to have been burnt alive in his house and about 20 persons of the village lost their lives.

Harnal

Village about 6 miles from Gujarkhan. Non-Muslim population about 150.

This village is mostly populated by Brahmans.

9.3.47. It is reported that the Sub-Inspector of Police, Mandra, and the Naib-Tehsildar of Gujarkhan were approached for help to avert the impending raid. It is reported that their reply was that a compromise had been arrived at between the raiders and the people of Harial village and that Harnal should follow suit. Thus Harnal suffered like Harial without any official help. The village was looted and burnt down.

Dora Budhal

5 miles from Gujarkhan. Hindu and Sikh population about 200.

6.3.47 and 7.3.47. Egress from Dora was blocked by Muslims and care was taken that none should leave the village. To this end the local Muslims established their watch and ward system to see that there was no egress from the village.

2.3.47. A joint meeting of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims was held. On behalf of Muslims, Sikhs were told that those who proceeded to Gujarkhan would do go at the cost of their own lives, and that Hindu; and Sikhs must not leave the village and that Muslims would protect them.

10.3.47. Kesar Singh, Ajit Singh and Santokh Singh proceeded to Gujarkhan under cover of darkness, to seek succour in view of the imminent danger, but no help was available. They went back and by that time about 900 raiders had enveloped the place. The Sikhs assembled in the Gurdwara. Lambardar Mohd. Zaman demanded that they should either surrender their arms or deposit them in his house. At the third repetition of this demand, the Sikhs surrendered two of the kirpans and seemingly there was to be peace. But as soon as the guarrantor of peace went out he declared that the crowd of the raiders was thick, he could not help them and that they should look to their own safety. Two shots were fired from outside and the outskirts of the village were set on fire. The Sikhs and Hindus grew panicky, and ran to seek shelter in their own houses or in their friends. Then the raiders looted the village and burnt it down. Four Sikhs and Hindus lost their lives. Mohd. Zaman, Lambardar was mentioned as a prominent author of the mischief.

Kanayat Khalil

6 miles from Gujarkhan. Sikh population about 200. 10.3.47. The local Muslims professedly mounted guard on Sikhs and averted that this was intended for their protection.

11.3.47. Mirza Mohd. Sadiq, Lambardar, suggested to Sikhs to vacate the village and run for their lives as he said there was great

danger ahead and that Pathans were coming to loot the place. The Sikhs were yet getting ready when to their consternation they found the local Muslim coming out to loot them. In the evening there came raiders from other areas too and Sikhs sought refuge in the nearby gorges at night. The place was looted and burnt down by the raiders.

Jand Mehlu

5 miles from Gujarkhan. Hindu and Sikh population about 200.

9.3.47. Qazian had been set on fire and hence-alarm was created at the place. The Muslims assured the Sikhs and Hindus of their goodwill and mounted guard for the night.

10-3-47. The danger of a raid was perceived to be imminent and therefore Sikhs and Hindus approached Sahibzada Rahmat Shah who had previously assured them of their protection. He said that he was helpless and they should escape if they could, in half an hours time. Therefore they met together in Kirpal Singhs house.

In the meantime there appeared 2,000 raiders who started setting the place ablaze. The Sahibzada demanded that the Sikhs should surrender their arms and that he himself would escort them to Gujarkhan. The Sikhs refused to surrender arms; a grim fight was imminent when 3 good Muslims acted as mediators and brought about peace, and arms were surrendered.

The Sikhs and Hindus passed the night in a mosque and the next day they reached Gujarkhan. The village was looted and burnt. During the course of negotiations for peace after the surrender of arms, there was a loss of five lives. The names of those who lost their lives are :- 1. Kaniya Lal was burnt alive and his wife was wounded and killed. 2. A girl named Wanti was burnt alive. 3. A Sadhu was killed. 4. Prem Singh was hacked with a hatchet.

Mandra

9 miles from Gujrakhan on the G. T. Road. It is a railway junction. Hindu and Sikh population 500.

7.3.47. A meeting was held. There was anti-Sikh and anti-Hindu propaganda. The atmosphere grew tense. There went about a rumour that Mandra would be set on fire.

9.3.47. Some prominent local Muslims, Qamar Zaman, Abdul Malik, Abdur Razaq, Subedar Gulzar Khan, assured the Hindus and Sikhs of their goodwill and exhorted them to open their shops. Faith was put in these assurances and Sikhs and Hindus opened their shops. The Muslim shop-keepers however, started clearing goods out of their shops. This created a strong suspicion regarding a plot to burn shops. At about 10 a.m. gangs of raiders began to pour in. They were about 2,000 in all. At 12.30 p.m. fire was started, panic was created and people took shelter in the local police station. The

town was reported to be looted and burnt in the presence of the Police and the Military. They took no action. The Naib-Tehsildar of Gujarkhan is reported to have been at Mandra on the day and at the time of occurrence. Two Hindus are reported to have been burnt alive, while on 10.3.47, 3 Sikhs, 2 from Bassali and 1 from Harial are reported to have been killed at Mandra Railway Station.

Dhangdeo Isran

4 miles from Gujarkhan. Hindu population about 225.

There had been plenty of anti-Sikh and anti-Hindu propaganda in the surrounding area and the whole atmosphere was full of tension even before 7.3.47.

7.3.47. In the evening Master Tek Chand who was proceeding to Rawalpindi was assaulted. A false news was circulated that Gujarkhan Sikhs had killed 26 Muslims boys and a prominent local Muslim was told that his son was one of them. There was considerable excitement.

8.3.47. There was a tense atmosphere and communal feelings were openly engendered and embittered.

9.3.47. Qazian was set on fire. This intensified the danger.

10.3.47. One thousand raiders appeared at night and slogans were shouted. Lal Khan of Dhok Kalrian threateningly showed his pistol and demanded a sum of Rs. 5,000. The Hindus said that they would pay to Lal Khan. Nobody came to Hindus during the rest of the night and the Hindus removed their families to the house of one Godar Khan in a nearby village. Godar Khan took good care of them.

11.3.47. Lal Khan came to Godar Khans house and demanded the Hindus conversion. The Hindus asked him to state exactly what he wanted. He demanded (a) The Muslim League flag to wave over the temple, (b) they should recite the Kalma and become Musalmans. The terms were accepted. Then the Hindus were required to kill a cow and eat beef. The Hindus hesitated and wavered. The Muslims looted and burnt the village. At Godar Khans intervention the killing of the cow was put off for a day. For two days and nights, Godar Khan took care of them and on 10.3.47 he escorted them to Gujarkhan and saved over 100 lives.

Banda

Hindu-Sikh population about 700.

About 1½ months before the occurrence, the danger was realized and the matter reported to the police. Mohd. Afzal of Takhti held a meeting of Muslims on 6.3.47, and Somundar of Pari said that 7,000

Pathan raiders were about to raid the town and that Sikhs and Hindus must vacate the town. Some of the surrounding villages had already, been looted and burnt. Many people left the village. Some of them were deprived of their valuables in the way. Two days before the raid the impending danger was reported at the police station but no action was taken. The raiders visited the town on 10.3.47 and it was looted and burnt. Thirteen Hindus and Sikhs lost their lives. About 178 persons took shelter at Dhok Budhal and the Muslims of that place dealt kindly with them and took good care of them.

11.3.47. Military lorries conveyed them to Rawat and on 12.3.47 they reached Gujarkhan. Banda, Bassali and Takhat Pari village were burnt down the same day.

Mohra Brahmanan

11 miles from Gujarkhan, Hindu and Sikh population about 225.

9-3-47. About 2,500 raiders, many of them armed with rifles and some of them wearing steel helmets, after burning down Kanoha visited this village. The villagers fled and took shelter in the strongly built Gurdwara of Tapiana Sahib of Sant Attar Singh and in their absence the raiders looted and burnt down the village, and at leisure looted and carted the looted property and conveyed it to their homes for two days. There was only a brief encounter with the raiders and

3 Sikhs were killed. The raiders did encircle the Gurdwara but could not get into it. Military lorries arrived on 12.3.47 and they fired at the raiders and dispersed them.

Bhagsana

5 miles from Gujarkhan, population 150 Sikhs and Brahmans.

8.3.47. There came 1,000 raiders beating drums. The youth of the village had joined this mob. There was none to put up a fight. The villagers fled, but were pursued and hunted out. The place was looted and burnt and most of the people were converted forcibly.

Choha Khalsa

18 miles from Gujarkhan. Population 1,400, 600 Sikhs.

9.3.47. 1,500 raiders appeared.

10.3.47. The number of raiders swelled to about 2,000. The villagers improvised four strong positions. The raiders demanded their conversion and payment of Rs. 14,000.

12.3.47. The Sikh ladies in their extremity either committed suicide or entreated their husbands and fathers to kill them. This was done. Thus the ladies saved their honour. Most of the Hindus

under Pressure accepted Islam. Only one of them, Hem Raj died fighting. There was much loss of life, but exact figures are not available. Only 30 Sikhs are reported to he alive.

Kuri Dalal

Hindus and Sikhs about 350.

7.3.47. Jamadar Gulab Khan said to the audience in the local mosque as reported by Man Singh who was one of the audience: Khizar resigned on 3. 3. 47; now Pakistan has been established. The Qaid-Azam (Mr. Jinnah) commands that Hindus and Sikhs of your Ilaqa should be converted. Carry out this duty.

8-3-47. The imminent danger was repeatedly reported to the police but no action was taken.

8.3.47. Kuri Dalal was looted and burnt down.

10.3.47. The villagers took shelter in the Mandra police station.

Mohra Bhattan

The Mohemmedans sent word that as the village had harboured Hindus and Sikhs of Mankiala Brahman, therefore as a punitive measure the village should be raided. At this the villagers turned out

S. Nanak Singh of Mankiala and his family. In spite of this a thick mass of raiders about 10,000 in number raided the village and the village was burnt and looted on 9.3.47.

Ghungrila

4 miles from Gujarkhan. Sikh population about 300.

9.3.47. At about 4 p.m. about 1000 raiders visited the place and the villagers were asked to surrender their arms and thereby save their lives. Suspecting treachery, the villagers refused to lay down their arms and rot ready to resist them with 2 rifles, one pistol and brick-bats. The Police had been pre-informed of the impending occurrence but no action was taken. The contest lasted for 14 hours and 5 villagers lost their lives while the raiders lost about 10.

10-3-47. Military lorries evacuated them to Gujarkhan.

Dera Khalsa

18 miles from Gujarkhan. Sikhs about 300.

7.3.47. A raid as anticipated, but Zaildar Mubarak Khan did nothing to avert it, or to help the villagers.

8.3.47. About 2,500 raiders appeared on the spot. The villagers collected on tops of two lofty houses and there was but feeble resistance on the part of the villagers. The village was looted and burnt down.

9-3-47. Military lorries evacuated the villagers to Gujarkhan and Rawalpindi.

Kallar.

About 15 miles from Gujarkhan, Sikh population about 800.

The resistance of this village reads like an epic. The raiders came in a thick mob, armed with guns, hatchets, spears, etc. It is reported that the villagers vacated their houses and the raiders finding the coast clear went into the shops and houses for loot; the villagers then encircled them and killed many of them. More raiders in overwhelming numbers arrived and the villagers took shelter in the mansion of the late Raja Sir Gurbakhsh Singh and exchanged fire with the raiders for two days. Military lorries came and dispersed the raiders. Full details, however, of the villagers fight which is reported to have been extremely stubborn, are not available. It is, however, freely mentioned, that thousands of raiders, like a cloud of locusts had invested the town. When the villagers had taken shelter in the mansion referred to above, the raiders found the field open for the usual loot and arson, and the village was looted and burnt.

Nakrali.

Sikh population about 200. Adults about 35. Elderly persons 23.

There was some resistance. Four men were killed. The rest accepted conversion under pressure and they seemed to be much ashamed of themselves.

Sukho.

About 6 miles from Gujarkhan. Population 2,500 Sikhs. Hindus about 500.

10-3-47. At about 12 noon about 10,000 Muslim raiders from surrounding villages assembled in the Islamia School, Sukho, and sent for Chaudhries of the town. They demanded money for ransom, to spare the town. There were however, dissentients among Muslims who opined that the town must not be spared for money. No settlement was arrived at and the Chaudhries returned. Then the raiders, by beat of drum moved to Singh Sar, at about 4-30 p.m. On 9-3-47 the Deputy Commissioner, Rawalpindi was at Sukho and the people of Sukho brought home to him their impending danger. He sent some 15 British soldiers with guns to protect the town. At about 4-30 p.m. arrived the said Military picket. The raiders enveloped the Tommies but when the latter aimed their guns at them, the raiders gave way and made way for them. The raiders,

even when the military was there, started setting fire to the outskirts of the town. A Gurdwara and School of Bedi Kaur Singh were set on fire. Two Gurdwaras were burnt and destroyed. About fifty houses were burnt down. The military never fired to drive away the raiders.

The people of Sukho in conjunction with the refugees from Banda put up a tough fight, after offering a fervent Ardas.[4] They had improvised fourteen strong positions. They repulsed the raiders and accounted for about seventy-five men, wounding a much larger number. A few raiders hid themselves in a house and the Sukho people by accident or design set fire to the house.

Rakhshi Avtar Singh Kir, Subedar Kartar Singh and Lt. Gurbakhsh Singh did creditable work in defending the town, and saving the major part of the town and its inhabitants. The people of Sukho were inspired to heroic exploits by Sant Hari Singh of Pindi. He infused a heroic chivalric spirit in all. The story of Sukho reads like an epic. Sant Hari Singh was constantly reciting Sukhmani Sahib, and inspiring them. The town of Sukho is intact and defied all danger till September, when people were evacuated to India.

XXXXVIII

Atrocities committed on Sikhs and Hindus in West Punjab, admitted by the West Punjab Government in their official publication:

(Actual words from Sikhs in Action have been quoted below).

September, 1947.

An evacuee train carrying non-Muslim refugees from Rawalpindi was derailed near Lahore; a refugee convoy in trucks was held up by some Pathans near the Ravi Bridge and two[5] of the refugees killed.

Four non-Muslims were killed at the Lahore Station and 12 near Moghulpura.

The next day (22-9-47) the non-Muslim refugee train berthed at Moghulpura was attacked and 32 people were killed.

There were isolated stabbings in Rawalpindi (in September); sixty non-Muslims were killed on the 11th and 14 on the 24th. A Muslim mob in Multan Cantonment attacked lorries carrying non-Muslims.

On the following day; (3-9-47), several villages in P. S. Sadar Multan were looted by a Muslim mob, and on the 5th 300 Hindus were killed near Shujabad.

A non-Muslim Refugee convoy was attacked near Arifwala. A convoy of Sikhs and Hindus was looted on the 22nd near Pakpattan.

There were attacks on non-Muslims in Sargodha, Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Attock and Campbellpore and on many of these occasions, the Pathans joined the local riff-raff in looting.

In Gujranwala a train carrying non-Muslims refugees was attacked by a mob, at Kamoke on the 24th. Three hundred Hindus and Sikhs were killed.

Two trains were derailed by mobs, near Wazirabad on 26th and 27th.

XXXXIX

Table of illicit arms recovered from Muslims by the Punjab Police.

Date	**Place and district Police Station**	**Articles recovered.**
7-3-47	Sadar Campbellpore.	Pistol.
22-3-47	Nakka Kalan P. S. Pindigheb, Attock.	One revolver and 4 cartridges.
22-3-47	Ballianwal P. C. Sadar Campbellpore.	1. Revolver, 20 cartridges.
4-4-47	V. Jasrit P. S. Chiniot,	2. Guns.

	Jhang.	
22-4-47	P. S. Sadar Muzaffargarh.	1. Rifle.
28-4-47	Saka, P. S. Lalamusa, Gujrat.	1. Revolver.
5-5-47	Chak Ganesh, P. S. Sahiwal, Sargodha.	1. Revolver, 4 cartridges.
13-5-47	Bath, P. S. Sadar, Amritsar.	1. Pistol, 3 cartridges.
15-5-47	Chaprar, Sialkot.	2. Pistols, 6 cartridges.
29-5-47	Jhang.	7. Pistols, 7 cartridges.
10-5-47	Kundian.	40. Cartridges.
17-6-47	Campbellpur.	6. Revolvers, 280 cartridges.
24-5-47	Ghurgashti, Attock.	1. Revolver, 3 cartridges.
2-6-47	Kundian.	2. Revolvers, 38 cartridges.
11-7-47	Khairabad, Mianwali.	1. Rifle.
26-7-47	Kahuta, Sialkot.	1. Revolver, 13 cartridges.
27-7-47	Piflan, Mianwali.	200. Cartridges.
3-8-47	Rawalpindi.	1. Barrel, 478 cartridges.

There are 28 entries against which in the Religion Column of the individuals involved not known is entered. These are doubtless cases of recovery from Muslims, which are deliberately left unspecified by the investigating officer.

NOTE :-- *The Police being overwhelmingly Muslim, very few recoveries arms were made from Muslims, and fewer still were recorded*.

LIST OF INCIDENTS AND ATROCITIES DONE TO SIKHS AND HINDUS.

NOTE :- *This list must be studied with this caution fully kept in mind*:-

1. It is not full-not as a matter of fact more than a small fraction of what actually happened in Western Pakistan. Spread out such happenings a hundred-fold or more, and you will perhaps get the right proportions. These are only a few available statements of refugees in Amritsar Camps. These refugees would be not more than one per cent of the total number of Hindu and Sikh refugees. And these statements do not even cover all these refugees, but have been picked out of the tales of a few, almost at random. But they are representative of the character of what happened everywhere in West Punjab and other parts of Western Pakistan.

(2) The dates given alongside of each occurrence, the character of the assailants and the nature of atrocities have their own moral to reveal. These attacks occurred in two waves, everywhere simultaneously - first in March, 1947 and then near about August, 1947.

(There was also a widespread attack in the Frontier Province in December, 1946 and January, 1947.)

(*a*) A common programme and policy made them synchronise over wide areas at exactly the same time.

(*b*) Muslim Police, Military and Officials fully helped and even led the assailants.

(*c*) No barbarities and indignities were spared to the unfortunate victims.

Footnotes:

[1] Amritsar, in this and the two next paragraphs.

[2] The Frontier Red Shirts or Khudai Khidmatgars.

[3]Shri Mohan Lal Saksena stated in the Indian Parliament on 22.I.50 that 800 places of worship (Sikh and Hindu) were reported demolished in Pakistan.

[4]Sikh prayer.

[5]13 dead bodies of victims of this attack were shown to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Health Minister of India, at Amristar. (Present writers note).

Back to Contents Page **Back to VOI Books** **Back to Home**

Appendix - Atrocities 1 to 200

Serial No.	Place of occurrence	District	Date of occurrences	Who the assailants were	Details of atrocities committed
1	Bafa	Hazara	14-12-46 to 16-12-46	Muslim mob	One Gurdwara and one Hindu house burnt. One Sikh murdered; two women wounded.
2	Sihalian	do	19-12-46	do	Two Hindus killed.
3	Samadhra	do	10-12-46	do	Gurdwara burnt.
4	Jabori	do	12-12-46	do	16 Hindu evacuees to Mansehra waylaid and killed.
5	Sankiari	do	About middle Dec. 46	do	Hindu temple broken and murtis desecrated.
6	Balakot	do	do	do	One Sikh killed for refusing to embrace Islam.
7	Bhata	do	do	do	116 Sikhs burnt alive, several shot dead.
8	Mallachh	Hazara	3-1-47	do	115 Sikhs and Hindus killed.

					Large scale looting and arson, women abducted.
9	Dakhali Sair	Hazara	10-1-47	do	150 Sikhs houses looted and burnt.
10	Jhan	Campbellpur	Early March, 47	do	150 Sikhs killed. Their houses burnt.
11 12 13 14	Taurwan (Teh.Talagang) Dhurnala Dhiba, Suka Panchnad	Campbellpur	4-9-47 & after	do	Jehad declared by Maulvies against Hindus and Sikhs. Massacre of Sikhs in Dhurnala Dhiba, Suka and Panchnad, besides Taurwan. Women and children abducted on a large scale. In many places false promises of safety given to Hindus and Sikhs. Whole area overrun.
15	Narali. (Tehsil-	Rawalpindi	12-3-47	Muslim mob	Attacking force 15,000

	Gujarkhan)				Gurdwara attacked repeatedly. Hindus and Sikhs besieged inside Gurdwara put up stiff resistance. Several Hindus and Sikhs killed. Large scale looting of Hindus and Sikhs.
16	Dhudial	Rawalpindi	12-3-47 & 13-3-47	Muslim mob	First attack resisted by Sikhs. Second attack on 13-3-47 evening. Large scale arson and looting of Sikh houses. Besides 3/4 houses, 4 Gurdwaras, Iran-Hind Bank and Khalsa High School burnt. 8 or 9 Sikhs killed. Arrival of military

					stopped further destruction.
17	Adiala	do	8-3-47	do	Mobs collected by beat of drums. False alarm of Sikh attack raised. Large- scale looting, arson in Hindu-Sikh quarters. Hindus and Sikhs ferreted out and burnt alive, stabbed and shot dead. 40 forcibly converted. Muslim police just did not care to do anything about this attack.
18	Gorsian (Teh. - Gujarkhan)	Rawalpindi	10-3-47	Muslim mob	Attacking force 600. Muslims persuaded that to kill Sikhs is a holy deed. Several Sikhs killed. Large scale looting.
19	Ghugg	Jhelum	Early	do	128 Sikhs

			March, 47		killed. Large scale arson and looting. 40 women abducted.
20	Mandra	Rawalpindi	9-3-47	do	Large scale looting and arson of Hindu-Sikh business shops. 200 Sikhs killed. 40 missing. Gurdwara and School burnt.
21	Rajar (Teh. Fatehjang)	Campbellpur	10-3-47	do	Muslim mob armed with rifles. 300 Sikhs killed. 3 Gurdwaras burnt and Sikh Scriptures desecrated. 16 Sikhs including women and children burnt alive. All Sikh houses burnt and looted. 95 women abducted and forcibly married

					to Muslims.
22	Jia Bagha	Jhelum	Early March, 1947	do	18 Sikhs killed, 52 forcibly converted. 66 Sikhs houses burnt.
23	Sarkal Kaser	do	do	do	43 Sikhs and Hindus killed, rest forcibly converted most Hindus-Sikhs houses burnt.
24	Darwal	Jhelum	Early March, 1947	Muslim mob	9 Hindus and Sikhs killed, 80 forcibly converted. 50 Hindu-Sikhs houses burnt.
25	Narang	do	do	do	6 Hindus and Sikhs killed, over 100 Hindu-Sikhs houses burnt.
26	Bhasin	do	do	do	35 Sikh-Hindu houses burnt and all looted.
27	Chak Sewak	do	do	do	All Hindu-Sikh houses looted.
28	Bhagwal	do	do	do	All Hindu-Sikh houses looted.
29	Athwal	do	do	do	10 Hindu-Sikh houses burnt,

					all looted.
30	Tahar	do	7-3-47 & onwards	do	All Hindu-Sikh houses looted.
31	Mangwal	do	do	do	Almost all Hindu-Sikh houses burnt and looted.
32	Sahola	do	do	do	All Hindu-Sikh houses looted and burnt.
33 34	Jhanel Fatahi	do	do	do	One non-Muslim killed.
35	Rupwal	do	do	do	do
36	Ranjha	do	do	do	One Gurdwara burnt.
37	Dharogi	Jhelum	7.3.47 and onwards	Muslim mob	Some Hindu-Sikh houses burnt and looted.
38	Namazian	do	do	do	Five Hindu-Sikh houses burnt and looted.
39 40 41 42	1. Tarakwal 2. Deri Dhok 3. Hasail 4. Dhab Kalan	do	do	do	In all these villages Hindu and Sikh houses were burnt and looted.
43	128 Villages	Rawalpindi	do	do	Villages attacked, especially Sikhs and also Hindus

					killed. Number of killed estimated at 7,000. Other casualties in proportion. Houses burnt and looted extensively. Gurdwaras attacked and burnt. Large scale devastation. About 1,000 women abducted.
44	23 Villages	Campbellpur	do	do	610 Hindus and Sikhs killed. 1,656 Hindu-Sikh houses, including Gurdwaras burnt. 1,361 Hindu-Sikh houses looted. 1,471 forcibly converted about 100 women and children abducted.
45	Garhi Habibullah	Abbotabad (Teh. Mansehra)	18-12-46 & 14-3-47	do	One Hindu abducted and killed (18-12-46) On

					14-3-47, 8 Hindu-Sikh houses burnt and 4 Hindu and Sikh places of worship. Large scale looting by Muslims, Several Hindus and Sikhs killed.
46	Ramgarh (Teh. Kharian)	Gujrat	14-3-47 & 15-3-47	Muslim mob	Hindus and Sikhs extensively looted.
47 48 49 50	1. Batal 2. Uggi 3. Sum Ilahi Mung 4. Garhi Jalli	Hazara	7-12-46 & 9-12-46	do	11 Hindus and Sehjdhari Sikhs killed in Batal, 11 wounded, looting of Hindu-Sikh houses. Bazar of Uggi burnt and Sikh shops burnt. 5 Hindus and Sikhs killed. In place No. 3 Hindu-Sikh evacuees attacked, 14 killed, 27 injured. In place

					No. 4 stray killing of Hindus and Sikhs, Gurdwara burnt.
51 52	1. Havelian 2. Lahore	do	8-12-46 uptill January, 47	do	Hindus and Sikhs saved front destruction by timely arrival of military. Stray killing of Sikhs and Hindus. By end of December, all Hindus and Sikhs of Havelian left their homes to come to the Punjab for safety.
53 54 55	1. Mohri 2. Diwal 3. Akhroota	do	End of December 1946	do	Hindus and Sikhs surrounded and attacked their houses burnt and looted Killing of Hindus and Sikhs with brutality. Women abducted.

56	Pipal	Hazara	27-12-46	Muslim mob	False alarm of attack by Sikhs on Muslims raised. All Sikh and Hindu houses looted.
57	Jaba	do	26-12-46 to 29-12-46	do	Sikhs waylaid and brutally killed. Sikhs houses looted.
58	Gohra	do	End of December 1946	do	All Hindus and Sikhs looted, evacuated to seek safety.
59	Phulgara	do	do	do	All Hindus forcibly converted.
60	Dhanak	do	do	do	Two Sikhs brutally butchered in the Muslim sacrificial way. Ones brother later killed. Hindu-Sikh houses burnt and looted completely. One woman hacked with most shocking brutality.

61	Muh	do	do	do	Entire village burnt, including Gurdwara.
62	Karchhan	do	do	do	Entire village burnt, including 2 Gurdwaras.
63	Daddar	do	11-12-46	do	40 Hindu-Sikh evacuees waylaid. 10 killed, rest seriously wounded. All looted.
64	Hazara District (N.-W. F. P.)	Hazara	8-3-47 and 10 days after	Muslim mob	Gurdwaras in village Jagil, Siripot, Kalingair Niroli Sarai Niamat Khan, Siria, Chhajian, burnt. Sikhs forcibly converted. Sikh scriptures desecrated. This was the second round of attack on Sikhs, the first having come in January, 1947.
65 66	Village Pand and Tali Pandi	Campbellpur	9-3-47	do	Large-scale arson in Sikh houses in

					villages. Looting. Ultimatum given to Sikhs to embrace Islam. Sikhs forcibly converted. Those Sikhs who refused to be converted brutally done to death, including old women and children. Some Sikhs burnt alive.
67	Dhudhambar (Teh. Fateh Jang)	do	1-3-47	do	Sikh blouses burnt and looted. Sikhs forcibly converted and killed.
68	Dhari	do	8-3-47	do	Houses of Sikhs burnt ad looted. Mobs advanced to attack with drums beating. Large scale murder of Sikhs including women and

					children. Brutalities committed. Sikhs forcibly converted and shaved, forced to swallow beef.
69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80	Pindi Gheb Khunda Kasran Bhakot Mathial Kannath Dumel Basal Mianwala Jhattan Jand and many other places	Campbellpur	Early March 1947	Muslim mob	Hindus and Sikhs of all these places looted, butchered and forcibly converted. Women abducted and raped. Large scale arson. These criminal activities done with drums beating and under Muslim League flag. Gurdwaras burnt and looted.
81	Panal	do	do	do	Village burnt alongwith its Gurdwara. 150 Hindus and Sikhs out of total population of 160 killed.

82	Rajar	do	do	do	Total Hindu-Sikh population wiped out, killed with lethal weapons and some burnt alive.
83	Jhan	do	do	do	Total Hindu-Sikh population wiped out.
84	Chakri	do	do	do	Number of Sikhs including women and children killed.
85	Chauntra	do	do	do	All Sikhs forcibly converted.
86	Sangral	do	do	do	Sikhs and Hindus forcibly converted. Their women-folk given over to Muslims.
87	Adhwal	Rawalpindi	Early March, 1947	Muslim mob	Large part of the village burnt.
88	Mughal	do	8-3-47	do	141 Sikhs killed. Only about a dozen survived. Gurdwara burnt.
89	Machhian	do	11-3-47	do	200 Sikhs

					killed. Gurdwara burnt. All males killed. Women and children abducted and later rescued.
90	Nakrali	do	9-3-47	do	Some Sikhs killed and some women immolated themselves to escape dishonour. 40 Sikhs forcibly converted. Gurdwara looted and burnt.
91	Bhagpur	do	7-3-47	do	Almost entire Sikh population wiped out, including women and children. Gurdwara burnt.
92	Thoha Khalsa	do	12-3-47	do	About 200 Sikhs killed; 93 women immolated themselves to escape dishonour. Large scale destruction.

93	Thamali	do	8-3-47	do	400 Sikhs killed. One Gurdwara and one School building burnt. Only about 20 survived.
94	Sayad	do	11-3-47	do	About 20 Sikhs killed. Some forcibly converted. One Gurdwara burnt.
95	Balaksar (Teh. Chakwal)	Jhelum	11-3-47	Muslim mob	One Sikh murdered to begin with. Later a Muslim mob about 400 collected and attacked Hindus and Sikhs. Some Muslims intervened and averted a general massacre.
96	Wasnal (Teh. Pind Dadan Khan)	do	11-3-47	do	Hindus and Sikhs besieged and later removed to refugee camp.
97	Mohotta (P.S. Chauntra)	Campbellpur	do	do	Sikhs and Hindus houses

					burnt and looted.
98	Gung (Teh. Chakwal)	Jhelum	13-3-47	do	Gurdwara attacked when Sikhs had assembled for worship. Out of 123 present 16 butchered and thrown into fire. Large number of children burnt alive. 15 or 16 young women abducted.
99	Gah	do	do	do	Gurdwara attacked and looted. 20 Hindus and Sikhs killed. Others forcibly converted.
100	Waswal	do	do	do	Hindus and Sikhs murdered (including children and women) Shocking brutalities committed.
101	Thomal Kamal	Jhelum	13.3.47	Muslim	8 Hindu and

				mob	Sikhs killed. Others forcibly converted.
102	Sarkal Kana	do	do	do	Six Gurdwaras and 40 Hindus and Sikhs houses burnt. 43 Hindus and Sikhs murdered.
103	Narang	do	11-3-47 to 13-3-47	do	Important Sikh village. 7 Hindus and Sikhs killed, 20 forcibly converted. 100 young women abducted.
104	Kasba Maral	Multan	Middle of March, 1947	do	Sikhs of this village shot. S O S to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar describing in deeply moving words the destruction wrought by Muslim mobs in their neighbouring

					villages and fearing like fate for themselves. Gurdwaras extensively burnt, scriptures desecrated. Sikhs murdered.
105	Chaklala	Rawalpindi	8-3-47	do	Sikhs houses attacked and burnt. Occupants killed.
106	Multan	Multan	5-3-47 after for several days	do	Sudden and swift attack on Hindus and Sikhs. About 200 traced killed. Even patients in the T. B. hospital stabbed. Looting on an extensive scale. One Sayad directed operations against Hindus and Sikhs on a white horse, with police connivance.

					Villages in the area attacked simultaneously; large scale destniction done.
107	Traggar	Multan	9-3-47 & 10-3-47	Muslim mob and Police	Looting, arson and number of Hindus and Sikhs with police connivance, 140 houses burnt. 21 murdered.
108	Multan	Multan	5-3-47	do	Procession of Hindu. Sikh students brutally attacked by Muslims mob and students killed. Hindu shops looted and burnt. Sikh and Hindu holy places and scriptures burnt and desecrated. Muslim goondas carried to villages in Police lorries which were

					really provided for relief work. 8 Hindu factories destroyed.
109	Shujabad Tehsil	Multan	7-3-47 & after	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Attack on Hindus of village Aliwala in this area. Then Hindus of villages Chajju Chak, Thochipura and Bhojewala also looted. Large scale arson and murder of Hindus. Muslims gave false assurances of safety to Hindus. Women molested and abducted. Military did not arrest culprits. False alarm of a Sikh attack on Muslims was raised to incite Muslims to

					collect. 50 more villages looted and burnt. Forcible conversions Villages Traggar, Matotali Basti ahir, Shujrawan Jhakkar, Bukhi, Lashkiwala, etc. are some of the more prominent which were attacked. Ears and noses of women cut off. Women raped in presence of husbands, brothers, fathers, Sons. Peace messengers murdered. Hindus wiped out over an area of about 500 square miles ill this sector.
110	Banda	Rawalpindi	8-3-47	Muslim mob	About 20 Sikhs killed including women and children.

					Gurdwara burnt.
111	Bemali	do	do	do	About 80 Sikhs killed, More than 105 abducted some Sikhs killed their own womenfolk to avoid dishonour.
112	Tarlai	Rawalpindi	9-3-47	Muslim mob	About 40 Sikhs killed, including women and children. Gurdwara burnt.
113	Harial	do	do	do	About 20 Sikhs killed. About 40 abducted. Gurdwara burnt.
114	Harnali	do	9-3-47	do	About 20 Sikhs killed. About 25 abducted. Brutalities committed. Gurdwara burnt.
115	Tainch	do	7-3-47	do	22 Sikhs killed, including 10 women.

					Gurdwara burnt.
116	Takht Pari	do	8-3-47	do	Women abducted. large-scale looting. Gurdwara burnt.
117	Sagari	do	7-3-47 & 9-3-47	do	2 Gurdwaras and one Khalsa High School burnt. Some women abducted. Some Sikhs killed.
118	Mankaiali	do	8-3-47	do	One Sikh women killed. Gurdwara burnt.
119	Kahuta	do	do	do	60 Sikhs killed. Extensive looting. 500 women abducted. Gurdwara burnt.
120	Dera Khalsa	do	do	do	Gurdwara burnt. Some Sikhs killed.
121	Sukho Daulatala	do Rawalpindi	10-3-47 10-3-47	do Muslim mob	Stiff resistance put up by Sikhs. One Girls School and one Gurdwara burnt. Here too stiff

					resistance put up by Sikhs against invader.
122 123	1. Viran Datta 2. Kotla Pathanan	Gurdaspur (now Sialkot)	24-8-47 to 26-8-47	Muslim mob & military	Villages attacked and Hindu and Sikhs killed and looted. Large number of women abducted. Forcible conversions.
124	Chak 38 B. (Teh. Sargodha) Chak 29	Sargodha	28-8-47	do	Large number of Sikhs killed in these Chaks. Others forced to evacuate to India in destitute state.
125	Bhattian Dist. Rahim Yar Khan)	Bahawalpur State	23-9-47	Muslim officials & military	False assurances of safety given to more than 4,000 Sikhs collected for safety in this village. Sikhs extensively looted. Only 660 survived from this group of 4.000.

					700 young women abduct.
126	Chhajjoke	Gujranwala	End of Aug. 1947	Muslim mob	Large number of Sikhs killed and many women abducted.
127	Korotana	do	do	do	do
128	Bahawalpur	Bahawalpur State	do	Muslim officials	All Sikhs in town arrested. Their women-folk for the most part abducted. Their houses looted.
129	Gujranwala District	Gujranwala	do	do	Total number of Sikhs estimated killed in this area 15,000.
130	Refugee train (Wazirabad & Lahore Rly. Stations)	Gujranwala	23-9-47 24-9-47	Muslim military	Trains attacked. In both incidents about 1000 Hindus and Sikhs killed.
131	Gujrat		do	do	Number of Sikhs and Hindus estimated killed in this district 10,000.
132	Bujragwal (Teh. Kharian)	Gujrat	End of Aug. 47	Muslim mob	Village attacked. Hindus and Sikhs

					besieged and later evacuated in a destitute state by military.
133	Pul Kanjar (Border village)	Amritsar	Last half of August & after	Muslim assailants	Many Hindus and Sikhs of this border village killed. Constant sniping by Muslims from Pakistan side.
134	Jagatpura (Border village)	do	14-9-47	Muslim military	Attack by military in lorries from Pakistan side. Several Sikhs shot dead.
135	Lahore	Lahore	First week of Octr. 47	Muslim mob	9 Sikh prisoners released front Central Jail, Lahore. Stabbed immediately on leaving Jail gate.
136	1. Nanaksar 2. Basti Gagishah	Jhang	25-8-47 & after	do	Gurdwaras of these places burnt, besides general killing and looting of Hindus and Sikhs.
137	Jhelum	Jhelum	End of	Muslim	General

			Aug. 47	mob Police & military	massacre and looting of Hindu and Sikh areas of the town. Countryside had already been plundered in the disturbances of March, 1947.
138	Chak 37	Lyallpur	4-9-47	Muslim military	Refugee train Lahore-Shorkat) stopped near this Sikh village. Armed attack made by Muslim military. 50 Sikhs killed.
139	Lyallpur	do	End of Aug. & early Sept. 1947	Muslim Police & mob.	One Sikhs hand cut off by Muslim with Sikhs Kirpan, but Sikh put under arrest. Villages round-about Lyallpur extensively looted of Hindu and Sikh property. Two

					Sikhs stabbed near Clock Tower within sight of officials. 12 Sikhs stabbed during curfew hours, which did not prevent Muslims from moving about freely. One woman snatched from Hindu by Muslim Janglis when the couple were going to aerodrome to flee to India.
140	Udhowali	do	6-10-47	Muslim police & Military	One Sikh convoy from this area attacked on 6.10.47 by Muslim police and military near Balloki Head (Pakistan). Several Sikhs killed.
141	Sialkot	Sialkot	12-8-47	Muslim	On 12.8.47

			& after	mob, Police & Military	cases of stabbing by Muslims, resulting in 5 Hindu-Sikh casualties. On the 13th August, Muslims with the aid of Police and Military initiated a vigorivous campaign of arson, loot and murder, resulting in large number of Hindu-Sikh casualties; survivors fled to Rly. station for safety, where a train full of Hindu-Sikhs corpses arrived from Wazirabad side. Famous Gurdwara Babe di Ber burnt and inmates shot

					dead by Police. Other Gurdwaras too attacked and burnt. While Hindu-Sikh refugees being brought to India, lorries stopped at Ravi Road, Lahore, one Muslim motor cyclist went into town and brought with him a Muslim mob who attacked, illing several and wounding 40. Sikh military, which arrived soon after, rescued refugees.
142	Narowal	do	17-8-47	do	Large-scale looting and murder of Hindus and Sikhs. Those who fled for safety massacred while crossing

					Ravi Bridge. Sikhs specially marked out for killing.
143	V. Panj Garain (Teh. Pasrur)	Sialkot	26-8-47	Muslim mob & police	Out of 300 Hindus and Sikhs of this place only 70 or 80 survived. Rest attacked several times on the way to Narowal. Forcible conversion of those captured also occurred.
144	V. Loharian (Teh. Narowal)	do	23-8-47	Muslim mob	Attack made at mid-night. People forced to leave hearths and homes in a destitute state. Forcible conversions.
145	Bhikho Chak	do	24-8-47	do	Party of 130 Muslims attacked Hindus and Sikhs while leaving the village for safety. Place of

					attack: Pattan at Ravi River. 113 killed, only 17 or 18 survivors.
146	Jalalpur Jattan	Gujrat	12-8-47 & after	Muslim mob & officials	Muslims plan murder of Hindus and Sikhs in collusion with District officials. Stabbing started on 13-8-47. On 18-8-47 arson and murder started on a large scale. Trains stopped wires cut and every Hindu and Sikh blockaded. Large-scale killing in villages. In Jalalpur Jattan only 1 survivor known. 400 killed.
147	V. Chak 142/92 (Teh. Montgo-mery)	Montgomery	25-8-47 & after	Muslim Janglis and Police	Hindus and Sikhs of this and neighbouring villages

					collected (number about 20,000) in Bara Farm near Montgomery for shelter, after leaving their houses in a state of destitution.
148	Mirdad Muafi	do	do	do	One of the villages whose Hindu-Sikh residents sought shelter in Bara Farm after the village was burnt and looted.
149	Kila Sardha Singh	do	28-8-47	Muslim mob & military	Large number of Sikhs killed. Loot and arson on a large scale.
150	Chak 16/14L.	do	End of Aug. 47	Muslim mob & Police	Police from Shahkot and Kassowal Thanas attacked this village. Huge looting by Muslims. People left in a destitute state.
151	Mengian	Sialkot	Middle of August	Muslim mob,	Hindus and Sikhs forced to

				Police & Military	quit in a destitute state.
152	Sambrial	do	16-8-47	Muslim mob	Several Hindus and Sikhs killed. About 2 dozen forcibly converted. Converted later killed. Survivors turned out in a destitute state.
153	1. Rahimpur 2. Nangal Dunna Singh	Gujranwala	23-8-47 22-8-47	Muslim mob	Both villages attacked and Hindus and Sikhs turned out in a destitute state.
154	Singhpura (A suburb of Lahore)	Lahore	12-8-47	Muslim mob & Police	Attacked this Sikh locality. Set fire to a number of houses and murdered 4 people.
155	Kila Sura Singh	Gujrat	End of Aug. 47	Muslim mob	5 or 6 Hindus and Sikhs killed, and rest turned out in a destitute condition.
156	Hamirpur Sandhuan	v	do	do	5 men (Hindus) killed and several

					women abducted.
157	Khan Khasa (Teh. Narowal)	Sialkot	24-8-47	Muslim mob	Several Hindus and Sikhs killed, rest forcibly converted.
158	Chak. Ramdas	Gujranwala	23-8-47	Muslim Police	Police surrounded this village to destroy Hindus and Sikhs. People however escaped at night through a gap. Attacked in several places on way to Amritsar destitute. Women snatched away.
159	Kiska Kola (Teh. Wazirabad)	do	Bhadon (Sept. 47)	Muslim mob	One Sikh killed, rest forcibly converted.
160	Kamoke (Important trading town)	do	16-8-47 & after	Muslim military & Muslim Police	On arrival of Muslim military looting and murder of Hindus and Sikhs started. On 16-8-47 10 bags of rice and next day one truck

					looted. One woman shot dead. Several attacks on 21-8-47 when police took 5 or 6 Hindus and Sikhs of their houses and shot them dead. On 23-8-47, 8 lice husking factories (Hindu-Sikh property) and houses burnt. Payment of Rs. 60,000 to Police stopped arson and murder temporarily. Huge looting including Central Bank and wheat in Mandi worth 4 lacs. 24-8-47 Gurdwara Damdama Sahib attacked. Granthi and several Sikhs killed by

					Muslim mob of 1,000. Later another 150 killed while sheltering in private houses.
161	Wazirabad (important Rly. Junction and Tehsil town)	Gujranwala	12-8-47 & after	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Trains leaving Amritsar attacked at Mughalpura near Lahore and almost all Hindu and Sikh passengers murdered. On 13-8-47 general massacre of Hindus and Sikhs at Wazirabad Mandi burnt and huge looting done. Same day general looting of bazar, and all available Hindus and Sikhs murdered. Trains from Wazirabad stopped near

					Nizamabad and Muslim military joined Muslim goondas in murdering Hindu and Sikh passengers; 5 or 6 women abducted from this train. Altogether 500 Hindus and Sikhs killed in this train. Railway track to Jammu removed; train again attacked, but saved by Sikh military escort.
162	Ladhewala	Gujranwala	24-8-47	Muslim Police and Military	Large scale arson loot and murder of Hindus and Sikhs. Many neighbouring villages met a similar fate.
163	Bhopalwala	Sialkot	End of Aug. 47	Muslim mob	Attack on Gurdwara Bali Sahib by 400 Muslims, burning

					Gurdwara and killing inmates.
164	Bhawanipura (Teh. Shakargarh)	Gurdaspur (now Sialkot)	24-8-47	do	Attacked Hindus and Sikhs hid in sugarcane crop. False promise of safety given to Hindus thus hidden. All killed who came out believing these promises. Some women and 3 men left and these men too killed later. Many young girls abducted.
165	Dhamoli	Gujranwala	22-8-47 to 24-8-47	Muslim mob	Out of a population of about 700 Hindus and Sikhs only 50 to 60 are still traceable. Other murder. About 25 forcibly converted.
166	Ramnagar	Gujranwala	17-8-47	do	Murder of a Sikh. General arson

					and looting of Hindu-Sikh houses. Hindus and Sikhs fled in destitute state.
167	Gujranwala	do	27-8-47	Muslim Police and officials	In the midst of general massacre, arson and looting of Hindus and Sikhs; 14 members of the family of Dr. Tej Bhan murdered in the presence of the D. C.
168	Khiyali	Sargodha	16-8-47	Muslim mob	Large scale killing of Hindus and Sikhs.
169	Hamidpur Kalan	Gujranwala	24-8-47	Muslim Police and Military	Entire Hindu and Sikh population wiped out.
170	Lala Musa	Gujrat	18-8-47	Muslim mob	False cry raised by Muslims that Sikhs attacked Muslims. Entire town blockaded and attack started

					by Muslims. Large-scale looting and arson. Three big Gurdwaras burnt and inmates burnt alive.
171 172 173 174 175 176 177	1. Kotla Kasmi 2. Jhettapur 3. Kunjah 4. Kang 5. Shadiwal 6. Kiladar 7. Chuhamal	Gujrat	About middle of August	Muslim mob	All these villages burnt and Hindus and Sikhs murdered and survivors turned out in a destitute condition.
178	Tatle Mali	Gujranwala	28-8-47	Muslim mob & Military	Out of 300 Hindu and Sikh residents of this place only 200 are traceable, rest were murdered or forcibly converted and detained.
179	Mirzapur	do	27-8-47	Muslim Military	Muslim military visited village on 27-8-47 and left with the threat that if Hindus and Sikhs did not

					leave by next morning, their houses would be burnt. As Hindus and Sikhs left, they were attacked by Muslim mob and military on the way and many were killed.
180	Mirza Jan	Gujranwala	26-8-47	Muslim mob, Police and Muslim National Guards	Attacking force of about 5,000 Muslims. 70 Hindus and Sikhs killed and 100 women abducted.
181	Thapnala	do	8 Bhadon (End of Aug. 47)	Muslim mob	4 Muslim villages attacked Hindus and Sikhs of this village. 17 Hindu-Sikh girls immolated themselves to escape dishonour and other residents escaped in destitution.
182	Wadhon	Gujranwala	24-8-47	Muslim	High Muslim

				officials & Police	officials including Mohd. Azam, Magistrate, the D. S. P. and S. I. of Mianabad with Military mob and Muslim National Guards attacked this village. Large scale killing of Hindus and Sikhs. Many evacuees carried away by flood after being turned out of their homes.
183	Lohianwala	do	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Muslim goondas brought from Lahore and Gujranwala by train and Hindus and Sikhs attacked. 30 to 40 killed.
184	Wassianwala	do	27-8-47	do	Sikhs turned out completely destitute.
185	Dehsar Pain	do	23-8-47	Muslim mob	Hindus and Sikhs turned

					out completely destitute.
186	Sharifpura	Sheikhupura	25-8-47	do	50 Hindus and Sikhs killed.
187	Nagare	Gujranwala	22-8-47	do	4 Hindus and Sikhs killed. 8 women abducted.
188	Nandpur	do	24-8-47	do	15 or 16 Hindus and Sikhs killed.
189	Lohianwala	Gujranwala	End of Aug. 47	Muslim military	Train stopped by Muslim military near this village and village attacked. 100 Sikhs killed.
190	Wadala Sandhuan	do	do	Muslim mob	Many forcible conversions.
191	Dhup Sari	Gujranwala	25-8-47 or 26-8-47	Muslim mob	10 Hindus and Sikhs killed.
192	Tarigri	do	29-8-47	Muslim mob, Military & Police	Several Hindus and Sikhs killed and many others forcibly converted. Converts later on killed.
193	Lala Musa	Gujrat	18-8-47	do	Attack on Hindus and Sikhs. Looting on a large scale

					by Muslim military. Three Gurdwaras burnt. Repeated attacks. Women molested. Train carrying these refugees stopped near Shahdara and Hindus and Sikhs killed.
194	Pagriwala	do	6-10-47	Muslim mob	Muslim Hindus and Sikhs indiscriminately killed.
195	Bahowal	do	Id day (18-8-47)	do	Several Hindus and Sikhs killed. Rest took shelter in Jammu and Kashmir State in destitute state.
196	Haiderabed Thal (Tehsil Bhakkar)	Mianwali	25-8-47	Muslim mob & Police	Village Sadhwala, Mankera Khiu, Mani, Dhigana, Wiri, Karloowala, etc. besieged
197	Randher	Gujrat	21-8-47	Muslim mob	Killing of Sikhs and forcible conversion. Beef thrust into

					mouths of Hindus and Sikhs.
198	Sanowal (P.S. Jalalpur Jattan)	do	18-8-47	do	All Sikhs forced to leave in a destitute state.
199	Dara Sikhan (Teh. Phalia)	do	18-8-47	do	Attacking force of 5,000; ultimatum given to Sikhs to get converted to Islam. Sikhs forcibly shaved and circumcised.
200	Dinga	do	do	do	3,300 Sikhs killed.

Appendix - Atrocities 201 to 400

Serial No.	Place of occurrence	District	Date of occurrences	Who the assailants were	Details of atrocities committed
201 202 203	Dharokan Kalan (Teh. Phalia) Jhanian & Bhairowal	do	1-9-47	do	Hindus and Sikhs given ultimatum to embrace Islam. Ladies of several Sikhs and Hindus families immolated themselves to escape dishonour. Such Hindus as had got converted, later treacherously killed by Muslims. All arms from Hindus and Sikhs seized.
204	Mandi Shah Jiwana & Chund. (Between Sargodha & Maghiana)	Jhang	24-8-47	Muslim mob	Hindus and Sikhs forcibly converted. Large-scale looting of Hindus and Sikhs of this prosperous Mandi. In

					village Chund, Gurdwara attacked. Hindus and Sikhs given ultimatum to embrace Islam. Besieged Hindu and Sikh women immolated themselves to escape dishonour. Men besieged in Gurdwara fought back. 375 out of 450 killed. More Hindus and Sikhs killed in other parts of Mandhi Shah Jiwana and village Chund.
205	Kotla Kasim Khan	Gujrat	27-8-47	Muslim mob	Force of 400 attacked. Large-scale arson. 70 Hindus and Sikhs killed and 30 wounded.Women and children cut to pieces.
206	Baowal	do	18-8-47	do	Hindus and

					Sikhs besieged and forced to leave in a destitute state.
207	Kunjah (Teh. Phalia)	do	End of Aug. 1947	do	Forcible conversions. Hindi-Sikh houses forcibly occupied. Gurdwaras and inmates burnt. Not a single Sikh left alive.
208	Chak Zahir (Teh. Phalia)	do	5-10-47	do	4 Sikhs killed.
to 128	Laliani. Valla Vinoke. Saghra, Ratti, Tarkhanwala Sabanwala Ahmednagar Bakshwala Wadh Sayadan Dammi. Kalowal. Jhanagar. Kardiwal. Kawewala. Chak 54. Dawar. Jabana Kharkat Gilotra. Ghilla. Chak 58,	Jhang	26-8-47 & after	Muslim officials & mobs	Curfew in which Muslims freely moved about looting Hindus and Sikhs. General assault on Hindus and Sikhs and looting for two days. Crimes of murder, abduction of women, arson, forcible conversion, freely and on a large scale perpetrated against Hindus and Sikhs.

	Haveli Sikhan.				
229 to 241	Chaks Nos. 46, 45, 19, 20, 26, 25, 37, 42, 44, 30, 36 etc.	Sargodha	End of Aug. & beginning Sept. 1947.	Muslim mob	Sikhs of all these Chaks forced to quit in a destitute state and they had come to Gujrat Relief camp, numbering about 9,000.
242	Dhariwal (P.S. Kila Didar Singh)	Gujranwala	5 Bhadon (End of Aug. 47)	do	Hindus and Sikhs attacked and tried to evacuate. Near Lalapur surrounded by large Muslim mob, and 1,000 were killed; dead bodies thrown into wells by assailants.
243	Chak Purian (P.O. Bura Kalan)	do	25 & 26-8-47	do	Forcible conversions of Hindus and Sikhs, loot and molestation of women in village and in refugee camps.
244	V. Khot (P. S. Wadhan)	Gujranwala	20-8-47 & following days	Muslim mob and military	Hindus and Sikhs forced to evacuate their villages and went

					to Chhanga (Sialkot Dist.). Attacked there and made to evacuate by Muslim military. When going out, attacked by mob of 4,000 belonging to V. Gharialan (Sialkot Dist.). Large number of women abducted. Some forcible conversions.
245	V. Wadhon	do	20-8-47	Muslim mob and military	60 Sikhs killed.
246	Mangat Niwen (P. S. Hafizabad)	do	16-8-47	Muslim mob	Some Hindus and Sikhs killed and the rest saved their lives by leaving village.
247	Jhatanwali (Teh. Wazirabed)	do	20-8-47	do	Attack resulting in several being killed and big loot.
248	Sangla Hill	Sheikhupura	last days of Aug. 47	Muslim officials	Hindus and Sikhs forcibly made to leave their homes and allowed to

					carry away only ten seers of belongings each. Big loot by Muslims.
249	Ladhewali Cheema	Gujranwala	27-8-47	Muslim mob	Muslim Massacre of Hindus and Sikhs. 125 killed, 50 wounded, 200 women abducted.
250	Sagar (Teh Hafizabad)	Gujranwala	22.8.47	Muslim mob	Large killing, heroic deeds by Hindus and Sikhs, sonic of whom died fighting.
251	Mari Thakran (P. S. Kamoke)	do	22-8-47	Muslim mob, Police and Military	73 killed, women abducted and forcibly converted. Later 3 more killed.
252	Kila Khazana	do	14/15-8-47	do	Repeated attacks which were resisted. People finally left village.
253	Hafizabad	do	19/20-8-47	Muslim mob, Military and Police	12 killed. Big loot. Altogether 3 attacks took place. Gurdwara attacked.
254	Chajjuke (P. S.	do	17-8-47	Muslim mob	60 or 70 killed in first attack.

	Wadhon)			5 or 6 thousands strong.	Again attacked while leaving village.
255	Jaranwala and its neighbouring area.	Lyallpur	20-8-47 for about three weeks	Muslim mob, Police, military and officials	Repeated attacks on villages, such as Rupa, Faridabad, etc. Many killed after resistance. People collected from neighbouring villages in towns like Jaranwala, where Muslim officials gave false assurances of safety. Individual Hindus and Sikhs stabbed or shot. On 8-9-47 three separate Muslim groups attacked with a total force of 12,000 various Hindu-Sikh localities and refugee camps. These attacks were led by Muslim police and military.

					More than 1,000 Hindus and Sikhs killed, between 1,000 and 1,200 wounded; huge loot.
256	Dharaunkal (Teh Wazirabad)	Gujranwala	19-8-47	Muslim mob	Force of 3,000 attacked. Out of a total Hindu Sikh population of 80 only 9 survived.
257	Chamke Chattha (Teh. Hafizabad)	do	15-9-47	Muslim Military	Hindus and Sikhs forced to leave destitute. 3 miles outside village attacked. Gurdwara of this village attacked and pillaged.
258	Mirak Shah (P. S. Nur Shah) & Tandlian-wala	Montgomery and Lyallpuer	22-8-47 & after	Muslim mob, Muslim National Guard, Police and Military	Ultimatum to Hindus and Sikhs to turn Muslims or face consequences. Looted on refusal and took shelter at Tandlianwala. This latter place attacked on 25-9-47. Gurdwara where Hindus and Sikhs had

					taken shelter set on fire. Police and Military fired on Hindus and Sikhs who were on the roof of the building. About 300 Hindus and Sikhs killed. On 28-9-47 Wards Nos. 2, 3 and 4 attacked. Killing 1,900 Hindus and Sikhs. 400 women abducted. Attacking force about 25,000.
258-A	Refugee train leaving Chuhar Khana (Sheikhu pura)	Sheikhupura & Lahore	Mid.-Sep. 1947	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Refugees in train not allowed water. Many fell down unconscious. Attack at Lahore railway station. Many killed. Refugees looted widely.
258-B	Hardo Hude (Teh Gujranwala)		19-9-47	do	Several killed and many forcibly converted.
259	Udhowali	Sheikhupura	27-8-47	Muslim	60 or 70 killed.

				mob	About 25 forcibly converted.
260	Desraj	do	15/16th Aug. 47	do	300 killed. 120 forcibly converted.
261	Maju Chak (Teh. Gujranwala)	Gujranwala	Last week of Aug. 47	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Between 400 and 500 killed. Few survivors.
262	Hafizabad Tehsil area	do	12th Aug. 47 & after up till end of the month	do	Many villages burnt and attacked with large numbers killed. Gurdwara Chhevin Padshahi burnt on 23-8-47. 3 Sikhs murdered at Hafizabad Rly. station on 22-8-47.
263	Ramke Chatha (Teh. Hafizabad)	do	5-9-47 and some days after	do	People forced to evacuate from this and several neighbouring villages. On the way Muslim military fired on them. Some killed in this firing,

					and the Hindus and Sikhs killed some of their own womenfolk to save them from dishonour at the hands of Muslim assailants.
264	Mandi Sukheki	Gujranwala	2/3-9-47	Muslim mob, Police	Sikhs specially singled out for attack and murder. Many killed after being searched out of Hindu houses.
265	Umala Dhalla	Gujrat	14-8-47 to 26-8-47	Muslim mob	Muslims get possession of valuables of Sikhs on pretext of guarding them. A number of Sikhs of Dhalla were persuaded to come together into one house by Muslims for safety, then this house locked and set on fire. All burnt alive inside. Those

					trying to escape thrown on the heap and burnt alive. On 18-8-47 (Id day) Dhalla Umala attacked, in which 400 Hindus and Sikhs had taken shelter. Muslims however withdraw on intervention of some notables of ilaqa. Later all besieged went in to Refugee camp at Gujrat in a destitute state. Station Master and 5 Sikhs killed at Kharian. Some Sikhs killed at Loharian.
266	Mitha Chak and Jokalian	Gujrat	18-8-47	Muslim mob	Muslims of this ilaqa gave assurances of safety on the Koran to Sikhs. On 18-8-47 a false alarm

					of attack by Sikhs was raised to incite Muslims to fall upon Sikhs. On 3-9-47 Muslims of about 60 villages gathered at Jokalian for an attack (number 20,000). Gurdwara was attacked and in one hour 800 Sikhs (including women and children) were killed. The Guru Granth Sahib was torn and desecrated. Looting continued for 3 days. After the Jokalian massacre, Hindus and Sikhs of Mitha Chak were given ultimatum to accept Islam or face consequences. People of about 40 villages

					forcibly converted (List of these villages with some omissions: Kiranwala, Gakhri, Khanwali, Khalian, Pindi Dhotra, Mitha Chak, Dadhra, Ranmal, Bharkat Kirlianwala, Jotoke, Pindi Kala, Agroa, Murid, Jheti, Burj Baho, Saido Sire, Jhanian Hola, Kot Rahimshah, Janochak, Jhattawasi, Jhatta Aliya, Thatta Paur, Kiladar, Thatta Raike, Shadiwal, Kaddhar Kaulu, Mirgho Pindi, Kuthala Shekan, Chak 2, Saidullapur, Lange, Gill, Khojiwanwali, Jhiranwali, Dharowali, Mora, Burj

					Sikhan, Mianwal, Bhikho, etc.)
267	Ghanian	Gujrat	21-8-47	Muslim mob	Attempt was made by Muslims to dissuade Hindus from helping Sikhs. Some Hindus got converted to Islam. Isolated Sikhs (about a dozen in all in this village) killed their own womenfolk, set fire to a house and perished later. Muslims killed Hindus as well and abducted young women.
268	Bharowal	Gujrat	17-8-47	Muslim mob	General massacre of Hindus and Sikhs out of a total Hindu-Sikh population of 1,200; only 123 survived. Large-scale looting.
269	Mandi Bahauddin	Gujrat	Early Sept. 47	Muslim military	Sikhs bayoneted and otherwise

					tortured extensively to force them to embrace Islam.
270 270-A	1. Shadiwal Kalan 2. Shadiwal Khurd	Gujrat	17-8-47 & 18-8-47	Muslim mob	False cry of attack by Sikhs raised to incite Muslims to fall upon Sikhs. Looting of Hindus and Sikhs on 18.8.47 night. Hindus accepted Islam. Almost no Sikhs left alive in this village. Later these Hindus evacuated by Indian military. In Shadiwal Khurd all Hindus and Sikhs killed.
271	Sacha Sauda	Sheikhupura	15-9-47	Muslim mob	Hindu-Sikh refugee train attacked at Sacha Sauda Railway station. 150 Hindus and Sikhs killed. Looting done by Muslims.
272	Kuthiala Virkan	do	19-8-47	Muslim mob	Between village Fatehpur and

	(P. S. Muridke)			and military	Bhatianwala attacked by Muslims of 20 villages. 200 Sikhs killed. 250 women abducted. Finally only 1,500 out of the original Jatha of 5,000 known to have reached India.
273	Sharifpura	do	22-8-47	Muslim military	One Sikh youth named Kuldip Singh aged 19 shot by Muslim military, died soon after.
274	Gakhar	Gujranwala	17-8-47	Muslim mob and military	About 200 Hindus and Sikhs killed looting continued for 3 days.
275	Sharakpur	Sheikhupura	24-8-47	Muslim mob and Military	Arson and looting. 25 Sikhs killed, rest saved lives by fleeing in a destitute State.
276	Shahidiwala (Teh. Shahdara)	do	27-8-47	Muslim mob	Attacked by beat of drums. As Sikhs going out of village, fire-ed on by Muslim

					police and military. Stiff resistance by Sikhs.
277	Nangal Buchar	do	21-8-47	do	Attack on evacuating Hindus and Sikhs at Pattan Bhindian (on Ravi River). Evacuees gave a good fight.
278	Machhochak (Teh. Shahdara)	do	22-8-47	do	Muslims of 10 villages attacked this Sikh-Hindu village, about 50 Hindus and Sikhs killed. Rest left in a destitute state.
279	Dhanoe (Teh. Shahdara)	do	24-8-47	Muslim mob and military	People of Dhanoe took shelter in Babakwala, which was attacked by Muslim mob and military. Between 400 and 500 Hindus and Sikhs killed. Some women abducted.

280	Bagdad (P. S. Muridke)	Sheikhupura	24-8-47	Muslim mob	4 or 5 Sikh houses in this village. Only 9 Sikhs survived.
281	Sikhanwala (Teh. Shahdara)	Sheikhupura	27-8-47	Muslim mob	All Sikhs turned out in a destitute state.
282	Sekham (P. S. Muridke)	do	1-9-47	do	All Sikhs turned out in a destitute state. 100 killed, 50 wounded, 22 women abducted, 50 forcibly converted.
283	Dharanagar (P.O. Sharakpur)	do	27-8-47	Muslim mob & Police	About 70 Sikhs killed. Rest went to refugee camp at Dhamke (4 miles away) in a completely destitute state.
284	Chak No. 49 (Teh. Shahdara)	do	25-8-47	Muslim mob & 50 Muslim Military men	Entire Sikh population wiped out. Only 2 survived.
285	Aiya Kalan	do	End of Aug. 47	Muslim military	70 to 80 Sikhs killed village. About 30 killed on the way while evacuating.
286	Khori (Teh.	do	do	Muslim mob	This village and Nangal Dunna

	Shahdara)			and military	Singh military attacked by beat of drum. Later people attacked at Bhindi Pattan (Ravi River), women abducted.
287	Ratniwala (P.O. Babakwal)	do	do	Muslim mob & Police	About 30 Sikhs killed in the village 100 killed by Police near village Wadhai Chima while evacuating.
288	Chak No. 12 Gobindpura (Teh. Shahdara)	Sheikhupura	27-8-47	Muslim mob and military	Force of 2,000 attacks. 25 Hindus and Sikhs killed. Rest went into Walianwala Refugee camp in a completely destitute state.
289	Sadh Nauabad (Teh. Shahdara)	Sheikhupura	1-9-47	Muslim mob	Hindus and Sikhs attacked while crossing River Ravi. 40 killed in the attack.
290	Awan Lubana	do	25-8-47	Muslim mob,	Hindus and Sikhs killed. Large

				Police & Military	scale arson and looting. 200 women and some children abducted.
291	Faridabad (Teh Nankana Sahib)	do	26-8-47	Muslim mob	Half the Hindu-Sikh population of this village reached India. Rest either killed or forcibly converted.
292	Kot Pindi Das (Teh. Shahdara)	do	15-8-47 & 16-8-47	do	Attacked and pillaged. Hindus and Sikhs left in a destitute state.
293	Sangla Hill	do	27-8-47 & after	Muslim mob & Military	300 Sikhs killed. In curfew Muslims went about freely. Sikhs forcibly shaved by Muslims. Huge lootin of the prosperous Hindu-Sikh businessmen of this place took place. Sikhs freely stabbed with Police looking on. Magistrate M. G. Cheema of Lahore notoriety directed

					operations against Sikhs. Hindus threatened if they sheltered Sikhs. Searches in which Hindu and Sikh womens modesty, outraged.
294	Gurdwara Baoli Sahib	Sialkot	13-8-47	Muslim mob	20 Sikhs including women and children killed. Gurdwara burnt.
296 297	1. Bohar (Teh. Nankana Sahib) 2. Chak. 8 3. Chak 702	Sheikhupura	21-8-47	Muslim mob & Military	Simultaneously attacked. Refugee train carrying Hindu and Sikh evacuees from these places stopped by Muslim military near Shahdara and evacuees stripped of all their possessions.
298	Chak No. 4 Risala (P. S. Warburton)	do	26- to 28 Aug. 47	Muslim mob	Ultimatum to Hindus and Sikhs to turn Muslims or to take the consequences. 30 men with rifles

					and a mob attacks Sikhs, who were mostly ex-militarymen and resisted. 3 Sikhs killed. Left in a destitute state.
299	Shahkot	do	3-9-47	do	One Sikhs eyes gouged out. 1,000 Hindus and Sikhs forcibly converted.
300	Sacha Sauda	do	12-9-47	Muslim Police & Military	Stripped Hindus and Sikhs of all their possessions and turned them out destitute.
301	Bhuler Chak 119 (P.S. Sangla Hill)	Sheikhupura	30-8-47 and after	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Village situated close to borders of other districts, notably Gujranwala and Sialkot. All through August, 1947 Muslims of neighbouring villages made preparations for attack on Sikhs with the active complicity of Muslim officials. After 15th August. Bhuler

					was the centre where Hindus and Sikhs of a considerable radius around came together for shelter. On 30.8.47 ultimatum sent to Sikhs to evacuate Bhuler which Sikhs indignantly refused. Muslims and Police attacked from all sides. On 1.9.47 about 25,000 Muslims collected for attack. The mob attack failed to break the morale of Sikhs. Then Armed Police and Baluch Military appeared. Sikhs finding the fight unequal decided to kill their womenfolk to save them from

					dishonour. Fierce fight after this. Sikhs set fire to their houses. About 200 Sikhs killed Rest evacuated fighting.
302	Sadhka (P.O. Chak 44, The. Shahdara)	Sheikhupura	End of Aug. 47	Muslim mob	Attacked and Hindus and Sikhs turned out in a destitute state.
303	1. Khanpur Saooan 2. Wan Janbar. 3. Kaira (Teh. Nankana Sahib)	do	1-9-47	do	All Hindus and Sikhs made to quit in a destitutes state.
304	Chang.	do	Beginning of Sept. 1947	Muslim Military	45 Sikhs of this village killed near village Chumbar while evacuating.
305	Wan	do	20-8-47	Muslim mob	250 Hindus and Sikhs killed. 50 women and children abducted.
306	Basse Ki Jagir (P.S. Sacha Sauda)	do	25-8-47	do	5 or 6 Hindu-Sikh houses in this village. 13

					Hindus and Sikhs killed, 12 young girls abducted.
307	Harde	do	End of Aug. 47	Muslim mob & Military	Several Hindus and Sikhs killed. Rest left in a destitute state.
308	Danke	do	27-8-47	Muslim mob	1,500 attacked. Hindus and Sikhs forced to leave in a destitute state.
309	Narangwal	Sheikhupura	26-8-47	Muslim mob	500 women and children abducted.
310	Sunke	do	21-8-47	do	All Hindus and Sikhs forced to leave in a destitute state.
311	Ladheke	do	1-9-47	do	Sikh population forced to leave in a destitute state.
312	Ghazi (Teh. Nankana Sahib)	do	1-9-47	Muslim Military	Entire Hindu-Sikh population of 400 wiped out. Only 2 survived.
313	Dharowal Chak 33	do	7-9-47	Muslim mob	Attacked in great force. 5 Hindus and Sikhs killed. Refugee train in which these people travelled attacked near Shahdata and

					great killing done by Muslims.
314	Nankana Sahib	do	15.8.47 & after	Muslim mob, Police & Military	This holy place of Sikhs was attacked repeatedly. Sikhs and Hindus were stabbed. Refugee trains Passing were sniped at from Nankana Sahib by Muslims. Convoys of Hindus and Sikhs were attacked.
315	Kuthiala Virkan	do	25-8-47	Muslim mob	300 Sikhs and Hindus killed. 60 women abducted. Sikhs and Hindus turned out destitute.
316	Mudwala Wadda	do	18-8-47	Muslim Military, (80 in number)	450 Hindus and Sikhs killed. 5 women abducted.
317	Mari Bhumian (P. S. Sharakpur)	Sheikhupura	24-9-47	Muslim mob	Several families given shelter and also assurances of safety by

					Muslims. Later attacked and killed. Women abducted; only one survivor.
318	Langewala (P. S. Warburton)	do	About middle of Sept. 47	Muslim Military	Sikhs of this village in convoy attacked by Muslim military. 12 Sikhs killed while going to fetch water from a well.
319	Chak 224	Lyallpur	26-8-47	Muslim Police	One Sikh family assaulted. Males killed. Womenfolk abducted and disgraced. Later rescued and brought to India.
320	V. Ghatli	Sheikhupura		Muslim mob	Hindus and Sikhs quit when attacked, in a destitute state. Some forcible conversions.
321	Chak 12 Ramgarh (P. S. Khengah Dogran) &	do	24-8-47 28-8-47 and 11-10-47	Muslim mob, Police and Military	In Gobindgarh Sikhs of 8 or 9 villages had collected for shelter

	Gobindgarh & Dhaban Mandi				Sikhs put up good resistance when attacked again on 24.8.47. Many Sikhs killed. Again attacked on 11.10.47. Finally Sikhs evacuated to India.
322	Mari Bhangran	Sheikhupura	First week of Sept. 1947	Muslim mob & Police	Small Hindu population in this Muslim village. Hindu males wiped out. Women abducted.
323	Chak 243 E. B.	Montgomery	27-8-47	Muslim mob	Sikhs attacked and turned out in a destitute state.
324	Chak 179 Ramgarh	Sheikhupura	1.9.47 to 4.9.47	Muslim mob & Military	Pitched battle between Sikhs and Muslim mob and Military in Chak 4 on Gugera branch of the Canal. Muslim Military used Bren-guns, killing 100 Sikhs. 7 Sikhs captured, ordered to surrender

					which they refused. All 7 shot dead.
325	Phahewali Chak 79	do	22.8.47 and after	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Sikhs shot dead in train. Firing on Sikhs in various places. Mandis looted by Muslims. Sikh women abducted. Men killed in various villages. Attacks increased and by mid-September. Sikhs were on the run to various refugee camps in a destitute state. Convoys of Sikhs attacked by Muslim military and women abducted.
326 to 332 333	Kuthala-Virkan, Khana Chak 32 Chak 33 Malian-Shekhan Khanpur-	Sheikhupura	Beginning of Sept. 1947	Muslim mob, Police and Military	Sikhs and Hindus of these villages forced to evacuate in a destitute state. Men killed in large numbers and women

	Kalla Hariala Kot Pindi Das				abducted Looting.
334	Sheikhupura	Sheikhupura	25-8-47 & after	Muslim mob, Military, Police & officials	A conspiracy made between the Muslim League leaders and a Minister of the West Punjab Government and the Anglo-Indian D. C. to murder prominent Hindus and Sikhs which leaked out to a Sikhs official prematurely. Curfew imposed on 25.8.47 without reason, in which as was usual in Pakistan, Muslim goondas went about freely committing arson and murder. Sikh and Hindu mohalla after mohalla burnt and attacked by the Muslim mobs with the military leading

					or abetting. In 2 days 15,000 Hindus and Sikhs killed. A large part of the town burnt down and property worth crores looted. This massacre figured in important Inter-Dominion talks.
335	1. Gobindpur (Teh. Shujabad 2. Alipur 3. Baora	Multan	19-8-47	Muslim mob & Police	False assurances of safety to Sikhs given by Muslims. 150 Sikhs shut up in a building and set on fire, all these burnt alive. 20 women abducted.
336	Khanewal	Multan	26-8-47 and after	Muslim mob & Police	Chaks No. 7, 10/R, 14/10R, 192/15L, 95/15L, 115/15L, 107/15L, 106/15L. Sikhs in all these Chaks attacked. Similarly in Jahanian area all Sikh villages

					attacked. Half a dozen Sikhs killed in Chak No.107. Gurdwara in Multan Cantt. besieged. No Sikh could stir out. Mian Chanu Area Sikhs attacked in all villages. Hindus of Multan forcibly converted on a large scale.
337	Sultan (Teh. Alipur)	Muzaffargarh	14-9-47 and after	Muslim mob & Military	Villages, Basti Sewa Singh, Sheikh Ali, Haripur, Anandpur, Kartarpur, Khurd Kartarpur Kalan, Marhwala Khairpur, Sitapur etc. attacked, burnt and looted. Large number of Sikhs killed. Large number forcibly converted and women abducted in hundreds.

338	Mukhdum Jaura	Multanpur	26-9-47 and after	Muslim mob	1,500 Hindus and Sikhs killed. 150 women abducted.
339	Rampur (Teh. Kabirwala)	do	do	Muslim mob	Sikh village. All Sikhs wiped out. Women immolated themselves to escape dishonour.
340	Refugee train	Rawalpindi	23-8-47	Muslim mob	Attack on Hindu. Sikh refugee train at Daultala Railway station. 10 Hindus and Sikhs killed.
341	Refugee train	Gujranwala	24-9-47	do	Attack on Hindu-Sikh refugee train at Wazirabad, bombs dropped at train, 200 killed, 2,500 injured. One member of Indian military escort killed. Two women abducted.
342 343	Isa Khel Darya Khan	Mianwali	Early September, 47	Muslim officials	In Darya Khan 1,500 Hindus forcibly

					converted. In Isa Khel D. C. got 25 Hindus besieged and killed. Later 50 Hindus put under arrest.
344 to 357	1. Harnoli 2. Pipla 3. Kalhur 4. Aluwala 5. Kalabagh 6. Mari 7. Kundian 8. Taregh 9. Daud Khel 10. Pai Khel 11. Dharakka 12. Molh 13. Suas 14. Chhidar	Mianwali	do	Muslim mob and officials	Hindus and Sikhs (wherever found) of all these villages moved into Mianwali to seek safety from Muslim aggression.
358 to 360	1. Gurmani (Teh. Kot Adu) 2. Basti Navin 3. Patti Bhanwali	Muzaffargarh	10-9-47 and after	Muslim mob	Attacking force 3,000. All Sikhs and Hindus forcibly converted. Converted people circumcized, forced to partake of beef and to marry away their daughters to Muslims. Attack on train carrying these refugees attempted at Kahna

					Kachha. Indian military drove away attackers.
361	Muzaffargarh District				Total number of Hindus and Sikhs killed in this outlying Muslim district 10,000. Other happenings in proportion.
362 to 365	1. Harnauli 2. Pipla 3. Kalhur Kot 4. Bhakkar	Mianwali	4-9-47 and after	Muslim mob & Military	Number of Hindus and Sikhs killed. Harnoli 2,500, Kundian 100, Pipla 600 Kalhar 150, Bhakkar 600. 500 women abducted. Muslim Civil Surgeon of Mianwali said to Hindu-Sikh wounded that he would dress their wounds only if they got converted to Islam. Relief workers repeatedly attacked and killed by

					Muslim mobs in the presence of Pakistan military.
366	Mailsi	Multan	Beginning of Oct. 1947	Muslim Military	In Mailsi Refugee camp 2,000 Hindus and Sikhs shot dead. 200 refugees shot dead by Muslim military at Mailsi Rly. station. Report of Hindus and Sikhs being killed in refugee trains in this area.
367	Chak 139/9L	Montgomery	1st Bhadon (End of Aug. 1947)	Muslim mob, Police and Military	This and Chak No 128/9L attacked. Sikh and Hindus of 27 Chaks had collected for shelter in these villages. Attacking force 30,000. Sikhs put up stiff resistance. Later evacuated to India by Indian Military.
368	Chak 65/4R (P.S. Nurshah) Also Chaks	do	23-8-47	Muslim National Guards	Sikhs and Hindus of all these and other villages

	65/G.D. 77, 61, 78, etc.			and Police	make a convoy for India. Near Yusafwala Rly. station attacked by a large number of Muslim National Guards, 18 girls killed. Large scale looting by Muslim mobs. Later Police fired on this convoy near Montgomery. Vast killing and abduction of 400 women. Some Sikh women, immolated themselves to escape dishonour at Muslim hands.
369 to 371	Sola Wasti Sikhan (Teh. Bhakkar) Also Bhakk. rewali, Jhammat, Gujal	Mianwali	5 Sawan (Beginning of Sept. 1947)	Muslim mob	Large number of Hindus and Sikhs killed. 113 forcibly converted. Women abducted.
372	Mianwali	do	28-9-47 and after	Muslim mob & Military	250 Hindus and Sikhs killed inside Gurdwara and

					250 in Sanatan Dharam Mandir and Arya Samaj Mandir which places of worship were attacked. Massacre of Hindus and Sikhs in this town in which altogether 3,500 killed and 1,000 women abducted. Large-scale looting.
373	Hindu-Sikh Refugee train from Mianwali	Mianwali to Amritsar	13-10-47 and after	Muslim mob, Military and Police	Repeated attack on train. Between Kundian and Wan Bhuchran, at Sargodha and Shahdara. Water sold at Rs. 5 per tumbler on the train by Muslims.
374	Raiwind Rly. Station	Lahore	4-9-47	Muslim Police	Attacked Hindu Sikh refugee train, killing 300 people.
375	Pak Pattan	Montgomery	21-8-47 and after	Muslim mob, Military	General killing, looting and abduction of women of

				& Police	Hindus and Sikhs in this area and its adjoining villages.
376	Chak 139/9L	do	22-8-47	Muslim mob	Three Sikhs killed. Large-scale looting.
377	Basti Sikhanwali	Muzaffargarh	10-9-47	do	800 Hindus and Sikhs killed.
378	Muzaffargarh	do	Middle of September, 1947	Muslim officials	Deputy Commissioner sends for Hindu notables and warns them not to shelter any Sikhs as the latter had in all cases to be thrown out.
379 380	1. Gobindpura (Teh. Kot Adu) 2. Dharampura	do	8-9-47 and after	Muslim mob	2,000 Sikhs including women and children killed. 50 women abducted. Muslims made false promises of non-aggression on the Koran. 30 Sikhs forcibly converted and later killed.

381	Hujra (Teh. Dipalpur)	Montgomery	22-8-47 and after	Muslim Police, Military and mob	Assurance of safety to Hindus and Sikhs by Police Sub-Inspector. Police and Military covered mob which looted and killed Hindus and Sikhs. Hindus and Sikhs collected in 3 mohallas which the military set on fire. Women in these mohallas immolated themselves to escape dishonour. 3,100 Hindus and Sikhs shot dead by military when they came out of their places of hiding on assurance of safety from military. Later these people attacked at

					Hassainki Head (Pakistan). 25 women abducted. Some Hindus forcibly converted and later shot dead.
382	Chaks 571, 561, 563, 565, 566, etc. (Teh. Vihari)	Multan	31-8-47	Muslim mobs, Police and Military	These and many other villages turned out of hearths and homes and left for India with scanty belongings. Attacked several times on the way by Muslim mobs, till Indian military was sent to escort them.
383	Chak 80 (Teh. Shujabad)	do	11-9-47	Muslim mob	6 Sikhs killed. Rest turned out destitute.
384	Railway train proceeding to Lahore	do	27-8-47	Muslim National Guards	Some Hindu and Sikh refugees killed. Some Guards thrown out of train. Those who were admitted for treatment in

					Mayo Hospital were forced to sign a declaration that they were attacked by Sikhs.
385	Hafizabad	Gujranwala	23-8-47	Muslim mob	Gurdwara attacked. Assailants melted on hearing of arrival of Indian Military.
386	Railway train Wah camp to Lahore		End of Aug. 47	Muslim mob	Refugee train stopped for long period at intermediary stations. About 50 attacks on Hindus and Sikhs. Muslim escort abetted assailants.
387	Nawabhshah (Sind)	Nawabhshah	1-9-47	Muslim mob	Attack on India bound refugee train. Sikhs specially marked out for attack. 15 Sikhs killed. 17 injured.
388	Mangat	Gujrat	5-9-47	Muslim mob	Sikhs fight back. All evacuate to Refugee camp in Mandi

					Baha-ud-Din (Gujrat Distt).
390	Jaranwala Tehsil	Lyallpur	End of Aug. 47	Muslim mob, Military & Muslim National Guards	Chaks No. 43 R. B., 54 R. B. Suhali, 55 Burj R. B., Chutala, Chak 56 R. B. Ratta Joga, Nihalwana, Rangar Nangal, Mall Chak etc. attacked and Sikhs forced to leave their homes.
391	Chak Jhumra	do	do	Muslim mob	False assurances of safety given to Sikhs, attacked and forced to quit homes.
392	Refugee Trucks	Gujrat and Lahore	9-9-47	Muslim mobs, Military and Police	2,000 Hindus-Sikh refugees from Gujrat District attacked at Kunjah Bridge where obstruction had been placed in their way. Indian Military escort dispersed assailants. Later these lorries

					attacked in Mozang (Lahore Town).
393	Chuhar Kana and Lahore Rly. Station	Sheikhupura and Lahore	15-9-47 & 19-9-47	Muslim Military and mobs	Fired on Hindu-Sikh refugees waiting for refugee train to start at Chuhar Kana Railway Station. Later the same train attacked at Lahore by a Muslim mob on 17-9-47.
394 395	1. Bahmaniwala 2. Lohke	Lyallpur	16-9-47 & 18-9-47	Muslim mob	Sikhs from neighbourhood collected at this place for safety and evacuation. Attacked Sikhs give stiff fight.
396	Refugee train from Mian Chunnun	Montgomery and Raiwind (Lahore) Rly. Stations	19-9-47	do	Train attacked by Muslim mobs at places mentioned.
397	Balloki Head (Pakistan)	Montgomery	19-9-47	do	Refugee Hindu-Sikh convoy attacked. 123 Hindus and Sikhs killed. 213 injured.
398	Refugee train from Mandi	Shahdara (Sheikhupura)	19-9-47	Muslim Military	Hindu-Sikh refugees in train

	Baha-ud-Din				stripped of their belongings at Shahdara Railway Station.
399	Refugee train from Jhelum	Between Pind Dadan Khan and Chalisa (Jhelum)	19-9-47	Muslim mob	Several Hindus and Sikhs killed in attack. Large carnage averted by pluck of Indian military escort. This train attacked and harassed right up till Indian border.
400	Mitha Tiwana	Sargodha	20-9-47	do	Attack on Hindu-Sikh convoy with connivance of Muslim Police after assurances of safety to convoy. 50 Hindus and Sikhs killed, 50 injured, 17 girls abducted.

Appendix - Atrocities 401 to 592

Khewra

Pind
Dadan
Khan
Two refugee
trains from
Jhelum Distt.