

**THE
SIKHS IN ACTION**

FOREWORD

In the year 1947, between half a million and one million Muslims—men, women and children—were murdered in the Punjab and Kashmir State by Hindus and Sikhs. Some were murdered in Delhi and the other parts of India. Five million of those who escaped these genocidal massacres were chased out of their homes ; and dispossessed of their lands, their household goods, their ploughs and their cattle found refuge in Pakistan.

Most of this destruction took place in a few weeks. It was swift and widespread because it was planned. The manufacture and collection of arms had been going on for a long time. Two vast secret armies, the AKAL FAUJ of the Sikhs and the RSSS of the Hindus, had been organized for it. Many Hindu and Sikh political leaders were at the back of it. So were many Hindus and Sikhs among the officials, the police and the army. So were the rulers of Sikh States in the Punjab and the Maharaja of Kashmir.

This is one of a series of booklets describing the plan and how it was executed. The series consists of five such booklets. They are—

1. **NOTE ON THE SIKH PLAN**, an account of the secret preparations of the Sikhs.
2. **R S S S (Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh)**, or the activities of the secret terrorist Hindu organization in the Punjab.
3. **THE SIKHS IN ACTION**, showing the Sikh Plan in actual operation.
4. **TRIBAL REPERCUSSIONS**, or what led the tribal Pathans of the north-west frontier to come to the aid of the people of Kashmir.
5. **KASHMIR BEFORE ACCESSION**, showing why the people of Kashmir rebelled against the Maharaja's government, what he did to suppress them and why he acceded to India.

These accounts have been prepared from authentic records and from the statements of eye-witnesses. They are for the most part, purely factual. They contain no speculation and the minimum of comment.

THE SIKHS IN ACTION

This note gives an account of how the Sikh Plan was put into action in the Punjab. The events covered by it are spread over the greater part of the year 1947.

Although the massacres that took place in the year, overwhelm the purely political events of the period, it is necessary to recall the sequence of political events, since they were exploited by the Sikhs to feed the flames of their hatred. They also gave them some unexpected opportunities for action.

At the beginning of the year, we find Khizar Hyat Khan at the head of a coalition government supported by his own party of 18 (the Unionists) of whom only ten were Muslims, the Congress Party of 51—all Hindus—and the Panthic Sikh Party of 23, making a total of 92. The cabinet consisted of 3 Muslims, 2 Hindus and one Sikh Minister. The biggest single party in the House—the Muslim League—with a membership of 78 had no share in the Government. In other words, 78 out of 88 Muslim members sat on opposition benches in the Legislature of a Province where the Muslims were in a majority. The political situation was, therefore, far from easy, and although the Government held its place by virtue of a parliamentary majority, it was not, in any real sense of the word, a popular Government.

24th January—The Muslim League National Guards and the RSSS were declared unlawful. The latter which was always

partly underground became completely so and was not perturbed much by the ban. The ban on the Muslim League National Guards was regarded by the Muslim League as a provocative challenge by the Government and was defied. This developed into a civil disobedience movement which evoked widespread enthusiasm but was remarkably free from communal incidents and was on the whole surprisingly peaceful.

26th February—The Muslim League agitation was called off as the result of a settlement between Government and the Provincial Muslim League leaders.

2nd March—The Coalition Ministry resigned.

4th March—The Governor took over the administration of the Province under section 93 of the Government of India Act.

3rd June—The Partition Plan was announced. In his broadcast, the Viceroy said :

“We have given careful consideration to the position of the Sikhs. This valient community forms about an eighth of the population of the Punjab, but they are so distributed that any partition of this Province will inevitably divide them. All of us who have the good of the Sikh community at heart are very sorry to think that the partition of the Punjab which they themselves desire, cannot avoid splitting them to a greater or lesser extent. The exact degree of the split will be left to the Boundary Commission”

In a Press conference he said :

“I found that the Congress had put forward a resolution on the partition of the Punjab at the request of the Sikh community. I sent for a map with the population of the Sikhs marked and I was astounded to find that the plan which they had produced would divide the community into almost two equal halves.

So I spent a great deal of time finding out a solution which would keep the Sikh community together. I have not been able to see any solution. But whatever steps are taken, are based on the Congress resolution on the subject which was passed at the insistence of the Sikhs."

Broadcasting on the same day as the Viceroy, Sardar Baldev Singh, India's Defence Minister and a representative of the Sikhs said :

"The Plan that has now been announced steers a course clearly above conflicting claims. It is not a compromise. I prefer to call it a settlement."

If this was a genuine expression of the Sikh attitude, such an attitude was extremely short-lived.

23rd June—The Punjab Legislative Assembly, meeting in two sections (East Punjab and West Punjab), decided upon the partition of the Punjab. All the Muslim members voted against partition; all the Sikh and Hindu members, for.

26th June—The Boundary Commission was constituted.

8th July—A meeting of Sikhs at Lahore, attended among others by the President and General Secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal adopted the following resolution :

"The Sikhs declare in unequivocal terms that partition of the Punjab should be effected in a manner whereby their integrity and solidarity is maintained and they get an adequate share in the canals and canal colonies and their sacred shrines are included in the Eastern Punjab. Any partition which does not secure this for the Sikhs will be unacceptable to them...."

Similar meetings were held in Lyallpur, Jullundur, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ferozepore and in the interior of the districts.

19th July—Giani Kartar Singh, President of the Shiromani Akali Dal in an interview to the A. P. I. : "It is entirely wrong

and against the facts that the Sikhs have also accepted the June 3 Plan in an unquestionable (*sic*) manner.”

24th July—The Partition Council (New Delhi) announced the setting up of a Special Military Command (Punjab Boundary Force) from August 1st, covering the civil districts of Sialkot, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Ferozepore and Ludhiana. Major-General W. Rees was nominated Military Commander. He was charged to control operationally the forces of both the new States in this area after August 15 and was responsible through the Supreme Commander (Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck) and the Joint Defence Council to the two Governments.

15th August—The two Dominions—India and Pakistan—are born.

18th August—The “Radcliffe Award” is announced. The following extract from “The Pakistan Times” was typical of Muslim reactions :

“In the Punjab the notional division had been unfair but the final award has gone much further and hacked off some of our richest tracts of land. The blow has been the hardest in Gurdaspur District where the two Muslim *tehsils* of Gurdaspur and Batala with a Muslim majority of 52·1 per cent and 55·06 per cent, respectively, have been thrown into Hindustan along with Pathankot Tehsil, taking away from Pakistan the rich Muslim industrial town of Batala. A part of Lahore District has also been broken off. Radcliffe has gone to the trouble of drawing a village-to-village boundary, but the Ajnala Tehsil of Amritsar District, with a 60 per cent Muslim majority and contiguous to the district of Lahore has been completely forgotten. The Tehsils of Zira and Ferozepore with a clear Muslim majority have been dismissed with talk of ‘disruption of communications’ ”.

29th August—The Joint Defence Council decided to abolish the Punjab Boundary Force from midnight August 31-September 1 and to hand over the areas covered by the Force to the direct and individual control of Pakistan and India, “as the task allotted to the Force for helping to maintain law and order had now grown out of all proportion to the responsibilities originally placed upon it. ”

31st August—Quaid-i-Azam’s broadcast: “The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt we feel that the carving out of this great independent Muslim State has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible, and the latest blow that we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse; and it may not be a judicial but a political award, but we have agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honourable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope.”

This was said at a time when thousands of Muslims in the East Punjab were being put to the sword; hundreds of thousands of Muslims were being chased out of their homes; and terror-stricken and destitute were making their way to Pakistan, uncertain whether they would reach it alive.

In the “Note on the Sikh Plan” it has been shown that Sikh preparations on military and terrorist lines had been taken in hand from January with the purpose of (a) extensive sabotage and destruction of Muslim life and property and (b) the elimination, if possible, of Muslims from the Sikh belt along the eastern border of West Punjab. Their ambition as declared by various spokesmen of the Shiromani Akali Dal from time to time was the establishment of a sovereign State from the Jumna to the Chenab. They claimed the Chenab as the boundary line by auto-suggesting the belief that their sacred places, Nankana Sahib and Sacha

Sauda, and the rich canal colonies, notably Lyallpur, should fall to their share irrespective of the Muslim majority in these trans-Ravi tracts. The Radcliffe Award deprived Pakistan of substantial areas in which the Muslims were in a majority, in utter disregard of the contiguous-majority-area-principle, which they firmly believed would govern the partition. Yet it was the Sikhs who chose to exploit the award as a frustration of their hopes and as inspiration for large scale massacres.

To these facts, we may now add the following as background :

(a) During the entire period of Sikh preparations, the Muslim League, having no share in the Government of the Province, were in not a position to be fully aware of the strength and scope of such preparations. Much less were they in a position to check or counter them. Till the beginning of March, there were Sikh and Hindu ministers in the cabinet who, as it has been shown in the "Note on the Sikh Plan", were active supporters of the militarist and terrorist organisations of their respective communities, whereas the Premier, though a Muslim, lacked Muslim support and could hardly have had the power even if he had the urge, to defeat his non-Muslim colleagues' knavery and thus discredit his regime in the eyes of his political opponents, the Muslim League. From March onwards Government was directly in the hands of the Governor whose confidence the Muslim League did not enjoy.

(b) The Muslim League Party came into power on the 15th of August, by which time Hindu-Sikh militarist preparations had long been completed, and many occasions for communal provocation, of which the Muslim League were enraged but helpless observers, had been provided. Also from this date, East Punjab was constitutionally under another government, composed of the very elements which had prepared the plans for the massacre of the Muslims.

(c) Astride this date, i.e., from the 1st to the 31st of August, law and order and military operations in important and difficult districts of the East and West Punjab, were in charge of the Punjab Boundary Force composed of a majority of non-Muslims. This Force far from being able to keep order took sides.

(d) At the time when the Radcliffe Award was announced the Muslims in the East Punjab were completely at the mercy of the East Punjab Hindus and Sikhs. They were surrounded on all sides by murderous powers; all direct contact between them and the Muslim League leadership in Pakistan had ceased and they were left to their own resources.



The Sikh Plan had been conceived in cold blood. It had not been conceived in retaliation, for which no grounds existed at the time. Once before too, when Japanese invasion of India was feared, the Sikh mind had felt the same stirrings to succeed the British as the rulers of the Punjab. With impending constitutional changes, the old ambitions were revived. The actual transfer of power took place on the 15th of August, but when on the 2nd of March, the Coalition Ministry of the Punjab resigned, with possibilities of the Muslim League succeeding to office and of their own plans receiving a set-back, the Sikhs could not restrain themselves. They were not sure that this was the time to strike a decisive blow—and in any case their plans had not yet fully matured, but they could not let events take an unfavourable turn. “The possibility of a purely Muslim League Ministry” says an official report of the period.

“divided the Punjab into two warring camps and pitchforked the Sikhs and Hindus into embarking on a dangerous experiment in lawlessness. The campaign started with a series of extremely militant speeches by Sikhs and Hindu leaders and developed into widespread communal rioting”.

Trouble started in Lahore on March 4th with a procession of Sikhs and Hindus shouting anti-Pakistan slogans, pulling down Muslim League flags and forcing a clash with the police. Subsequent events took the form of communal assaults. Hindu and Sikh students marched through the streets armed with kirpans and lathis. The Sikhs took out a procession of their own and invaded a Muslim locality using firearms. On the 6th March, Hindu and Sikh leaders formed themselves into a “Council of Action” with Tara Singh as President and Sachar (ex-Minister), Swaran Singh (ex-Minister) and Gopi Chand Bhargava as members.

The developments in Lahore were a signal for similar aggressiveness in other parts of the province which provoked retaliatory action by the Muslims in some places. The repercussions sometimes took the form of isolated stabbings and at others led to rioting and arson on a wide scale. There was rioting and arson at Amritsar on March 5th and again on March 6th. On both days Muslim localities suffered most damage and casualties. On the 7th, the Sikhs began to converge on the town from the surrounding areas and more Muslims were killed. In Rawalpindi, Hindu students took out a procession on March 5th and a Muslim student was stabbed. On the 6th, Hindus and Sikhs held a large anti-Pakistan meeting, waylaid a Muslim Leaguer’s car, removed the flag and stabbed the owner’s son. The next day rioting started. Villagers from surrounding areas poured into the city, Pathans and others from Hazara threatened Taxila and Murree, villages were burnt and Sikhs besieged and killed. In Multan on March 5th, the powder-

magazine of accumulated tension was ignited by Hindus and Sikhs taking out a procession and shouting provocative slogans. Heavy casualties and much damage were caused. In Jullundur, 3,000 Hindus and Sikhs held a meeting on March 5th, shouting *Jo mangega Pakistan, us ko milega Qabrastan* ("whoever asks for Pakistan, shall be given a graveyard"), and marched in a procession carrying kirpans and knives. There were similar processions and meetings of Hindus and Sikhs on March 6th in Dera Ghazi Khan, Ferozepore, Sialkot, and Rohtak. In Lyallpur, Sikhs and Hindus carrying lathis and axes collected 10,000 strong in the Gurdwara on March 5th and were addressed by the District Commander of the Akal Fauj. News of this sabre-rattling travelled to other districts, where the Muslims retaliated. There was arson and loot in Attock district on March 10th. Armed Pathans crossed the Indus on March 13th to join in the loot and clashed with the military and the police. On March 12th, 500 armed Pathans marched on the town of Mianwali having heard the rumour that a *jatha* of 500 Sikhs had arrived there. They were persuaded to go back. On March 9th an attempt to set fire to a mosque in village Dina (Jhelum) collected large crowds of Muslims but trouble was averted. On March 15th, however, a Sikh in village Dudial (Jhelum district) murdered a Muslim woman, whereupon general trouble started and spread to adjoining villages. A mosque was burnt in Montgomery on March 22nd and another such attempt was made on 25th. A Muslim village in Kangra was burnt on March 27th and a mosque was demolished.

During the whole of this month Muslim League leaders, not yet fully realising the enormity of what lay below the surface, but interpreting these happenings as the non-Muslims' attempt to disrupt the Province and keep them out of office, toured the disturbed areas and desperately tried to restore peace. Hindu and Sikh leaders on the other hand, intensified their military organisations and cold-shouldered any Peace

Committee that was formed. Tara Singh refused to sign a joint appeal for peace. He and his Sikh followers and Hindu collaborators decided, on the contrary, to celebrate March 11th as "Anti-Pakistan Day" throughout the province. A fervent appeal that this should be cancelled was ignored.

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In April, the air was thick with rumours. There were stray incidents in the districts and tension everywhere. On April 11th, trouble broke out in Amritsar, as the Muslims leaving Chauk Prag-Dass mosque after the Friday prayers were stoned. As a result, feelings rose high throughout the province and also in the N.-W. F. P. There were reprisals in Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu where Mahsuds and Powindas from the tribal areas infiltrated and took part in inflicting casualties on Hindus and Sikhs and setting fire to villages. Later in the month, bombs were thrown on the houses of Muslims in Amritsar and on two occasions on congregations in the mosques. There was serious trouble in Gurgaon where a battle took place between Meos and Ahirs and spread to a radius of 20 miles. Arms were supplied to the Hindus from Nabha, Patiala, Jind and Jaipur States.

Some light on the utter mental and material un-preparedness of Muslim leaders is thrown by police records of this period. Commenting on a meeting of the Punjab Muslim League Party and District Presidents and Secretaries held in Lahore at about this time, the report says :

"The meeting achieved little ; the Committee of Action, however, did decide to collect one crore (ten million) of

rupees and quotas were allotted for each district. . . . The poor response to the previous appeals for 10 lakhs (one million) was considered due to the inactivity of the District League. Whether this money will be used for relief, or, as suggested by——— and———, to procure arms and other weapons of defence will be decided after collection.

“The failure of the Provincial League leaders to collect funds for relief is increasing discontent in view of the fact that non-Muslims are collecting large sums of money. The more educated Muslim classes feel that without sufficient funds, the Hindus and Sikhs will be able to gain an advantage over them with the assistance of non-Muslim police and other officials.

“The demand grows that Muslims should be permitted to carry swords (as Sikhs are to carry kirpans); this demand was made by a number of speakers in Lahore city on the occasion of Friday prayers and the question of starting an agitation was mentioned but left undecided at the meeting of the Punjab League Party”.

IV

The month of May continued to be disturbed. There were sporadic reprisals against Hindus and Sikhs in parts of N.-W.F.P. and reports of gangs of tribal raiders in the vicinity of Dera Ismail Khan. In the Punjab the main storm-centres were Lahore and Amritsar but there were incidents during this month which showed unmistakable signs of the Sikh Plan and ominous

indications of the shape of things to come. Some of them are given below :

(i) *Lahore, 18th May*--What was so far the most serious incident in Lahore took place in the early hours of the morning. At about 3 a.m. (within curfew hours) there was an attack on a predominantly Muslim locality in the suburb known as Raj Garh. The attackers consisting of Sikhs and Hindus arrived in jeeps and military cars and at least some of them were wearing khaki military uniforms. Bombs of some kind and rifles were used and .303 empty cartridges as well as empty shells of another calibre were picked up from the scene of the attack. Some of the injured persons had sword cuts and stab wounds. The inhabitants of the locality beat their alarm drums and collected together to put up some sort of resistance. There were twenty-seven casualties in the locality, including seven, possibly nine, dead. Twenty-five of them were Muslims. All the attackers escaped.

(ii) *Lahore, 20th May*--Searches were conducted by the police, of the Khanna Building and of Mohalla Sareen--both Hindu localities--the former because bombs had been thrown from it and latter on information received. Bombs, kerosene oil and acids and also some "rather well-made metal body-shields" were recovered from Khanna Building. Mohalla Sareen's search yielded .303, .38, .450 and .12-bore ammunition as well as bombs, spears, daggers, hatchets, explosives, chemicals and kirpans. A .12-bore gun which had been used was also recovered.

(iii) *Lahore, 23rd May*--The Police report states : "Further instances of officials of Sikh States being in the province, and armed in spite of control orders, came to notice yesterday. In one case, the Revenue Secretary and the Senior Superintendent of Police of Faridkot State were armed with revolvers. Col.

Gurbakhsh Singh and two or three others from Jind had a sten-gun, a rifle and ammunition in their possession when the police examined their vehicle."

(iv) *Amritsar, 3rd May*—"No incidents during the 24 hours ending 18.00 hrs. on the 2nd. Elaborate arrangements were again made on Friday to ensure that prayers passed off peacefully. Only 20 Muslims said their prayers at the Chauk Prag Dass mosque, but an unusually large number of Sikhs armed with kirpans passed up and down the streets in front of the mosque. On conclusion of the prayers the congregation was sent away under police escort."

(v) *Amritsar 24th May*—A serious incident took place in the early hours of the morning. At about 03.00 hours Rasul-pura—a Muslim locality—near Tahsilpura, P. S. Sadar, was attacked. The attackers were armed with rifles and with bombs, both crude and of military manufacture. The attacks were made with shouts of *Ya Allah* and *Ya Haider*, but the attackers were of course Sikhs, not Muslims.

V

The main features of the disturbances in the month of June were as follows :

(a) There was frequent use of firearms by Hindus and Sikhs, (b) The organised and planned nature of attacks on Muslims became more obvious. (c) Muslim retaliation generally took the form of arson and much damage was caused to Hindu and Sikh property in Lahore and Amritsar.

The following are typical incidents :

(i) *Lahore, 16th May*—There were 7 bomb cases. Three caused no injury. One missile was thrown in Mewa Mandi

(Muslim locality) while two were thrown on the roof of a Muslim house where women and children were sleeping. One child was killed on the spot and four other persons received injuries. Two bombs figured in the worst outrage of the day. The scene of the occurrence was near Shahalmi Gate and R. B. Lachhman Das Hospital. The first bomb exploded in a drain leading from a bathroom in the hospital to the outside. Special investigation staff accompanied by a Muslim magistrate arrived on the scene. The police staff searched the hospital and nearby buildings and were in the courtyard when a second bomb was thrown. One person was killed on the spot and 50 injured, among whom were four police officials. The first bomb was meant to attract the police and the second to kill them.

Lahore, June 19th—A bomb was thrown on some Muslim labourers who were walking along Brandreth Road. It killed one and injured 12.

Lahore, June 21st—Three bombs were thrown with serious effect ; two of them in Sabzi Mandi killed 7 Muslims. The third killed one Muslim and injured four in Moti Panda Street near Bhati Gate. The police arrested a Sikh with 19 incendiary bottle-bombs in his possession.

Lahore, June 27th—A new feature was the poisoning of 4 Muslims ; three were employed in the Food Supply Office who drank water from a pitcher which had apparantly been poisoned, while the fourth was another Muslim who took sharbat from a Hindu shop on Maclagan Road.

Lahore, June 29th—There was one case of attempted poisoning reported by Muslims who detected some blue substance in the flour purchased from the Mohanlal Flour Mills. A doctor certified the substance as poison.

Amritsar, June 2nd—Village Bodhe was attacked by 70 Sikhs armed with 303 rifles, bombs and spears. Five or six of the attacking Sikhs were on horseback. About 3 hours later,

an attack, probably by part of the same gang was made on village Khan Kot some five miles away by 20 to 25 Sikhs who also used firearms and bombs

The disturbances in Gurgaon assumed alarming proportions. Deputy Commissioner's report of 30th May said that during the day, disturbances spread along the Mewat frontier to the Muthra district border and across the Palwal Tahsil to the Janna. Most of the day's attacks were by Hindus and in some cases there were scenes of great confusion. One Hindu mob went so far that it exhausted itself and nearly a hundred of its members were arrested as they were plodding home. The Home Member and the Defence Member of the Government of India had been round the district with the Delhi District Commander. They saw a Hindu mob actually setting fire to a Muslim village and were unable to proceed along the main road because of the flames. In Palwal tehsil, several isolated Muslim villages were attacked. Large quantities of arms continued to be recovered and these included three substantial mortars. One man was caught carrying powdered chillies to be used for blinding purposes. Hindus had been crossing from the Aligarh and Muthra districts into Gurgaon. Sikh troops were sent to replace Rajput Rifles which had included a few Muslims. The Deputy Commissioner expressed the opinion that this was likely to turn the bitterness of encircled Meos into desperation.

On the 1st of June, the Deputy Commissioner went to Palwal and found that in that *tehsil* Hindus were continuing the process of mopping up Muslim villages. Armed gangs were on the move in several directions. On the 4th he reported the massing of Jats west of Hodal with a view to attacking Singar and similar massing of Jats in the Palwal-Sohna area also. A military report stated that there was much activity on the Palwal-Muthra border and indications that Jats from both territories were collecting. On the 9th, a Hindu crowd of about

3,000, intent on setting fire to a Meo village, was engaged by the military, and there were similar crowds setting fire to other Muslim villages. On the 10th, there was serious trouble in the Bharatpur State not far from Pumahana and several Meo villages were burnt. RAF reconnaissance reports said that Bharatpur State troops were in the neighbourhood of the trouble but were apparently doing nothing to stop it. On the 20th, the situation in Bharatpur were still very bad and the military reported the burning of some 19 villages on the Gurgaon-Bharatpur border during the two preceding days. Meo refugees were pouring into Gurgaon from Bharatpur and although towards the end of the month arson was not reported, the looting in the villages continued.

VI

The tendencies observed in June were accentuated in July. With intensification of their propaganda and their militarist organisations, the striking power of the Sikhs and Hindus was becoming more effective as well as more coherent. The stress of the disturbances is now stronger in East Punjab where Muslims were in a minority, than in the West Punjab and the far-reaching character of their plan is becoming more obvious. There were stabbing, murders, arsons and mob clashes in Lahore and other towns of West Punjab, but the nature of these sporadic happenings was insignificant compared to the shape of events in the East Punjab. In the beginning of the month, Amritsar city was comparatively quiet, but there were reports of the murder of Muslims in the rural areas. Nihang Sikhs also became active. There was an organised murder-campaign by Sikh gangs in the Tarn Taran area and reports of their activities

continued to be received throughout the month from various villages. On the 4th, a Sikh jatha attacked Othian, a Muslim village. The attackers were armed with 303 rifles and one or two shot-guns. A rather suspicious fire was reported in Verka (Amritsar) on the 7th morning. The building belonged to a Muslim and was rented by Hindus who had removed most of their goods and disappeared together with their chowkidar on 6th July 1947. On the 12th, a bomb was thrown on the Muslim congregation assembled in a mosque in Jandiala (Amritsar).

In Hoshiarpur, an armed raid was made on the night of the July 5th, on a Pathan labour camp at Olinda just inside the Bilaspur State border. The miscreants used a rifle, 12 bore guns and revolvers and threw three Mills grenades. On the 9th, armed Sikhs raided a Pathan camp near village Donal in the Nangal-Anandpur area. Four bombs were first thrown at the encampment and then the attacking party opened fire with guns and rifles. On the 11th, a gang of Sikhs, armed with guns, revolvers and bombs attacked and threw two hand-grenades on the house of Chhajju Khan, a Muslim Rajput in village Ballima, P. S. Mahilpur. Chhajju Khan was killed. Several empty 303 cartridge cases and a revolver were found near the spot. Early on the 29th about 300 Sikhs armed with bombs, guns, rifles and spears made an attack on Asalpur village on the Hoshiarpur-Tanda road. Some Muslims were killed and 3 or 4 houses together with some dry fodder stocks burnt.

In Gurgaon, six Muslim villages in Ballabgarh tehsil were burnt. On the 14th, eleven Muslims in the area of Hathin police station were killed. On about the 24th, trouble was reported in Bharatpur State where some more Muslim villages were burnt. A Bharatpur mob attempted to burn a border village in Gurgaon district. The mob included men in uniform who returned the troops' fire. The burning of another two

villages was reported from Bharatpur State and another report mentioned similar trouble in Alwar State.

VII

Hell was let loose in East Punjab during August and September. Administratively, the two parts of the province had hardly any contact with each other now and certainly none that was entirely friendly. Our account of the disturbances in the preceding months is based largely on police reports that covered East and West Punjab under a single administration. But from now on, we are forced to rely on statements of survivors, refugees and liaison officials. The East Punjab Government sent only a few Situation Reports during this period, and even these are short, sketchy and evasive and of little use to any chronicler.

Muslim refugees had been pouring into West Punjab for quite some time. Their numbers now began to swell and they had worse and worse stories to relate of their sufferings and of the calculated manner in which Muslims were being massacred by organised gangs over the entire area, including the Sikh States, actively helped by the authorities in general and by the non-Muslim police, Indian military and State troops in particular. There were reprisals in many districts in the Western Punjab, notably in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan, Sialkot, Sheikhpura, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Jhang, Gujrat, Mianwali and also in parts which were accessible to the infuriated Frontier Pathans. But :

(a) These reprisals even at their most furious were sporadic and impulsive.

(b) There was no comprehensive plan behind them. They were perpetrated by mobs and individuals, not by gangs and militarist organisations. There was no Muslim organisation in the West Punjab corresponding to the Akal Fauj or the RSSS in the East Punjab and no State with its war-machine joined hands with the Muslims.

(c) The non-Muslims did not desist from their militant activities in the West Punjab even during this period. In Lyallpur 5,000 Sikhs attacked Chak No. 57 (Sadr Lyallpur) on August 10th and butchered the Muslim population; the Sikh military stationed in Montgomery harassed the Muslims of Okara; Sikhs attacked Muslim villages in Ghaziabad (Montgomery) with automatic weapons; Sikh looters on horse-back and armed with .303 rifles and other weapons attacked the Muslims in Kamoke (Gujranwala) on August 28th; 800 armed Sikhs attacked Muslim villages in Sialkot district on the 29th and the 30th. And so on throughout September.

VIII

A diary of the principal events in Lahore District during the month of August may be taken as typical of the most violently disturbed parts of the West Punjab and is given below:

1st— Tense situation; 11 stabbings—3 Sikhs, 2 Muslims, 6 Hindus.

2nd—Bomb explosion near Mai Ladda injured; 8 cases of arson, all .

3rd—More fires; 50 Sikhs arrested; Muslims outside Bhati *غزوات*;

Hindu houses in Krishan Nagar, Sant Nagar, Model Town and Qila Lachhman Singh yield large number of arms, ammunition, bombs, incendiaries and explosives.

4th—Cases of arson.

5th—35 Sikhs attack village Manwala.

6th—11th—Arson, bomb explosions (one near a mosque), stabbings.

12th—Large number of refugees from Amritsar and other East Punjab districts arrive and relate their sufferings. Sudden flare-up.—81 stabbings (34 Hindus, 41 Sikhs, 6 Muslims)—16 cases of arson. Mob attacked a train killing 13, wounding 6.

13th—39 stabbings (5 Muslims). Sikhs in khaki in a fast-moving jeep shoot down a Muslim on McLeod Road.

14th—More refugees and stories.—About sixty non-Muslims stabbed. Exchange of heavy fire between the police and Sikh inmates of Gurdwara Dera Sahib.

15th—More refugees arrive. 47 non-Muslims stabbed. Looting. Gurdwara burnt.

16/17th—Improvement. Uniformed Sikhs shoot and kill a Muslim mechanic.

19th—Distinct improvement; 7 Hindus and Sikhs in uniform shoot and kill another Muslim.

20th/21st—Further improvement. Trouble in villages Taqipur and Chhappu with joint population of Sikhs and Muslims. Police arrive in time. About 400 armed Sikhs collected near villages Jandiata and Awan Dhariwala. Military patrol arrived in time.

22nd—City improves further. A military platoon at village Awanwala encountered a Sikh jatha proceeding towards Narwar—exchange of fire—80 Sikhs killed. “A rumour that Sikhs from Patiala are infiltrating Lahore in small batches is gaining currency”.

23rd—Great improvement. In Pattoki situation became tense on the 20th as *some Sikhs and Hindus fired on a military patrol. On 21st 300,400 Nihangs collected near Doda in the vicinity of Chhanga Manga but dispersed on the approach of military patrols.*

25th—“*The flare-up in Lahore started by the Sikh attack on the Bhatinda express at Goniana on the 22nd continued and 19 deaths were reported.*”

26th—*Tension increased by the news of the hold-up by Sikhs of the 3 Up Frontier Mail at Maur Railway Station between Bhatinda and Jakhal. Inmates of Sikh National College brickbat police. Latter fired killing 3 Sikhs. 5 Hindus injured by stabbing in a train coming from Multan. Looting in Lahore city. The situation worsened in Chunian tehsil where armed Sikhs concentrated in villages Tibbi and Bharu Got.*

27th—A vehicle in a convoy of Hindu and Sikh refugees attacked for looting near Ravi Road. Police inflicted 12 casualties on the looters.

28th—23 injured Muslims removed from Up Frontier Mail which reached Lahore on the 27th and which had been attacked by Sikhs at Maur Railway Station.

29th—Definite improvement.

30th—Situation greatly improved. *Presence of Quaid-i-Azam in Lahore has steadying effect.*

31st—An isolated case of house-breaking.

However lamentable some of the events mentioned in this diary may be, cumulatively they do not by any means suggest either a cold-blooded majority bent upon annihilating a helpless minority, or the presence of organised Muslim gangs

stalking the countryside killing and burning, or Muslim mobs armed to the teeth, or the police and the military aiding and abetting the murderers, or Muslim leaders rushing round preaching hatred and strife.

Contrast this with the situation in Amritsar and the surrounding areas during the same period. The following is an extract from the statement recorded by Chaudhri Muhammad Said, M.A., LL.B., who was Terminal Tax Superintendent in Amritsar and how differently it reads from the Lahore diary :

“ The morale of the Muslims remained high till the 10th August, though Muslims had almost lost courage after the announcement of Lord Mountbatten regarding notional division of the Punjab. On the 10th, Muslim police constables were ordered to appear before Mr. Kaul, Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, and to state if they wished to serve Hindustan or Pakistan. Even those reserve forces which had been drawn from other districts were called upon to do the same. Those who declared for Pakistan were ordered to surrender their arms and remain in the Police Lines. Some refused and wanted to go to their own districts before surrendering arms. Earlier, several Head Constables and Policemen had been ordered to Districts near about Delhi. They refused to go and tendered resignations. These were accepted. Simultaneously at all Police pickets, Muslim Constables were replaced by non-Muslims, especially Sikhs recruited fresh on the same day. A panic was created throughout the Muslim areas.

“The new men recruited were said to be I. N. A. members. In reality, they were members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and Panthic Party specially

trained for communal strife at the residence of Bawa Gurmukh Singh, a millionaire of Amritsar. They were provided with arms but were given no uniforms or even belts as it was said that these articles were out of stock. They created havoc in the city on the very first night by indiscriminate firing at the Muslims and led the Sikh and Hindu mobs which raided Muslim areas systematically.

· Simultaneously, Police pickets stationed in Muslim areas were withdrawn on the pretext of paucity of men. The Military in the city conspired with the rioters and even bogus military were used to terrorise Muslims. This completely broke the morale of the Muslim masses. They ran in terror from several Muslim pockets to Sharifpura and to the railway station and a large number was killed *en route*.

“Right through the disturbances which started in March 1947, the Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants of Katra Parja in Hathi Gate had been living peacefully under a mutual pact, though remaining suspicious of each other. With the withdrawal of the picket, the non-Muslims with the help of new recruits burnt several Muslim houses and killed about 60 persons in one night. This resulted in complete evacuation of Katra Parja.

“In the neighbourhood of Katra Parja, there was a strong Muslim pocket in Lohgarh. This began to dwindle on the 12th. Fires were set ablaze on all sides of this pocket and it appeared as if nearly one thousand people would perish along with their property. All requests to the Police and Military to provide escort for rescuing the people fell on deaf

cars. It was difficult to approach the area due to heavy firing all round. I was in possession of a Municipal Ambulance Car. At the risk of my life, I made about seven trips and rescued about 200 people that night. We were able to get first-hand information but there was no help forthcoming to save the remaining dying persons. We were fighting against time. On the 12th, we were able to form a small convoy of two lorries, one ambulance truck and some tongas and with the assistance of the deserter Muslim policemen headed towards the pocket amidst bullet showers. We were only able to take the three motor vehicles to the spot. One of our constables, a driver, five women and 2 children were shot dead while loading the lorries. Only two vehicles came out; the third was burnt at the spot by the rioters. Another trip was made with the permission of City Deputy Superintendent of Police and with a standstill pact with the Police at the spot. About 300 people were saved. There were still about 250 persons in the pocket. They were rescued next morning with the assistance of the Military arranged unofficially. About 90 persons were killed or burnt in the pocket and about 100 injured.

One of the strongest and largest Muslim pockets in the city was that in Katra Karam Singh. With the withdrawal of Police pickets and replacement of Muslim constables, the scales were turned in this area. The Sikh rioters pierced into the pocket through Nimak Mandi area and it collapsed on 13th. People fled to Bhagtanwala Gate, Sharifpura, and the Railway Station. By the 15th, this pocket was deserted. Most of the houses were burnt or looted. About 500 persons lost their lives.

“With the help of Abal Wain family, the Gilwali Gate pocket faced the situation till the 13th, but when this family fled in panic, the others lost heart and left the place in terror amidst bullet shots and the fire raging on all sides. Hundred of persons lost their lives during this panic.

“Mahan Singh Gate was one of the largest pockets in the city near Sharifpura *abadi*. It stretched to Ram Bagh Gate and comprised about 6,000 houses and was densely populated. It was attacked from Sultanwind Gate and Bagh Ramnand side.

“About 500 rioters armed with guns, rifles, and equipped by the Police and so-called Military entered Kucha

Company worked day and night ungrudgingly to save people and succeeded to a great extent, but several thousands died there.

“On the 14th, people flocked to Sharifpura from all pockets in the city and the suburbs. The population here immediately swelled to about one lakh. Sharifpura became a refugee camp but it looked more like a prisoners’ camp. It was cut off from the rest of the city. It was impossible to contact any authority. There were no arrangements for rations, conservancy and medical relief. The population was increasing hour by hour and people were occupying every available space and even the streets.

“People coming from villages related stories of abduction of young women by the Sikhs with the assistance of State Military of Kapurthala and Patiala on vehicles brought especially from these States. About 600 such cases from different villages were brought to our notice in Sharifpura. The matter was eventually conveyed to the authorities but nothing was done in this connection. Cases of abduction took place even in the city. Some women coming from Mahan Singh Gate to Sharifpura were kidnapped on the road in broad daylight and taken to Burj Bhai Phoola Singh. This was brought to the notice of Rai Bahadur Badri Dass, Superintendent, C. I. D., who visited Sharifpura on the 15th but in spite of promises did nothing. A party from Sharifpura went to rescue the girls and 3 persons were shot dead by the Sikhs.

“Early on the 15th morning, a meeting was convened to form a Managing Committee of the Camp and it was also decided to hoist the Indian flag and pay

homage to it in the presence of local officials and in return, to ask them to ensure our safety. The local officials were contacted. At about 11 a.m., Rai Bahadur Badri Dass, Superintendent, C.I.D., S. Ujagar Singh, Deputy Superintendent of Police, C.I.D., and Seth Sant Ram, M.L.A., came to Sharifpura. The Indian flag was hoisted in their presence and the people assured them of their loyalty to the State and the flag and in return demanded protection for their lives, honour and property. All persons mentioned above addressed the crowd and assured them of safety measures to be adopted forthwith. This put heart into the people and there was a wave of satisfaction. We were assured of rations, conservancy arrangements and medical relief by the next day. But nothing was done. Instead, the fires in the city grew in intensity.

“Next day, we were bold enough to venture forth and take a deputation to the Deputy Commissioner (Mr. Nukal Sen). We passed through the bullets of the rioters and after waiting for ten hours at his residence got an interview in the evening. We reiterated our demands for rations, conservancy arrangements and medical relief, communication with the officers and safe conveyance to Deputy Commissioner when and if required. He promised everything, but did nothing.

“The Camp was gratified to learn one day that a Liaison Officer had been appointed by the Pakistan Government. He opened his office in Cambridge Hotel, Amritsar, a place where no Muslim could safely go. He visited Sharifpura and we urged him to open an office there or make arrangements for easy contact with him, but nothing tangible was done and we

went on facing our problems ourselves. Perhaps through his exertions we were able to get special trains which ran twice a day and evacuated refugees from Sharifpura siding.

With the announcement of Boundary Commission Award, our last hope of remaining in Amritsar disappeared. The inclusion of the major portion of Gurdaspur and finally of Jullundur in Indian territory created new problems. People who had taken shelter in Batala, etc., fled and created panic throughout. The evacuation idea spread to Jullundur and even beyond. The morale of the Muslims was completely shattered. The rioters made full use of this opportunity and created havoc in the whole of the rural area of Amritsar, Batala and Jullundur. The situation became uncontrollable and the Boundary Force which had never been dependable, lost its hold. Mass evacuation began on every side but due to lack of transport, resulted in chaos and general slaughter everywhere”.

IX

The most despicable feature of the East Punjab massacres was the active collaboration of the civil authorities, the police and the military with the attackers and the looters.

At Abdullapur (Ambala), a Sikh-Hindu mob butchered the Muslims. Sub-Inspector Parkash Singh, in charge of the police station of Jagadhari, arrived with 28 armed constables, of whom 16 were Muslims, but when he found who the rioters

were, he disarmed the Muslim constables and handed over their arms to the Sikhs, including the employees of Abdullahpur Mill who happened to be ex-military men. One of the statements of refugees from this district reads as follows :

“ According to programme, after attacking a Muslim village, all looted property was collected by the Sikhs in Manpur Gurdawara, which was under the charge of Sardar Gopal Singh, a maternal uncle of Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister of the Government of India. The Fatehgarh Gurdwara was also used for this purpose. Bands of Sikhs emerged from this Gurdwara armed with weapons and proceeded to different villages to kill and loot the Muslims. Sub-Divisional Officer, Rupar, Pandit Shanti Sarup, and Sita Ram, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Ambala, encouraged the commission of atrocities. The Station Master of Rupar, a Sikh from the Gujranwala district, kept with him a few loafers of Rawalpindi and Campbellpur who daily searched out Muslims travelling by train and slaughtered them brutally. Zaildar Swarn Singh of Singhpura (Police Station Khara), Zaildar Raghbir Singh of Jhallan Kalan (Police Station Chamkaur), and Amar Nath, Pleader of Kharar, played a prominent part in bringing about the massacre of the Muslims. On August 29, village Sarana was attacked and about one hundred Muslims were put to the sword. Out of 1,200 Muslims travelling by a special refugee train on September 1, only two hundred survived. The Deputy Superintendent of Police and Sub-Divisional Officer supervised the slaughter. Chatambla camp was attacked on September 2, by Sikhs from Garnan and Fatehgarh, both in the Patiala State. Amar Singh and Mohindar Singh,

Lambardars, Gurcharan Singh and Chambal Singh of Madauli Kalan, headed the raiders who were armed with bren guns, rifles, spears, kirpans and other weapons. They were assisted by the Patiala State troops. A considerable number of Muslims were killed and many women were abducted. The village was set on fire. A party of Bachan Singh Bala of Rupar who had many lorries and trucks, invaded villages Kotla and Kainaur and killed about 500 Muslims besides looting their property. A foot convoy of about 15,000 Muslims which started from Rupar on September 23rd, for Karali under a Sikh military escort in charge of Major Bachan Singh was attacked by a big mob of Sikhs armed with several types of dangerous weapons. The escort did not open fire on the attackers. About 4,000 Muslims were killed by the Sikhs. Villages Bhatian, Panjkua, Khant, Balan Khurd, Balan Kalan and Arnauli were also destroyed. A convoy including the residents of Chorta, Patiala State, Mahmudpur and Sotal was on its way to Karali on September 13th, when it was attacked near Kharar by non-Muslims belonging to the party of Major Bachan Singh and the Naib-Tehsildar of Kharar. About 2,500 out of 4,000 Muslims were killed”.

At about 8 o'clock one morning, a jatha of Sikhs armed with spears, rifles and similar weapons and including among its members, Sikhs in military uniform attacked village Chamaryari, Tehsil Ajnala, District Amritsar. This attack was organised by Prithi Pal Singh of village Channgari, Tehsildar of Ajnala, jethedar Munsha Singh and other Sikhs from neighbouring villages. The village was committed to flames after looting. The total number of Muslims killed and girls abducted could not be ascertained.

Atrocities committed by Sikh gangs in rural areas compelled about six thousands villagers of Kamalpura, Makam Khanawal, Vel-parang, Harar Kalan and Harar Bhore-gil to leave their homes on the 25th August and enter Pakistan. About 300 of the people reached Ajnala and the rest left for the crossing on the river. At Ajnala, the party stayed in the Zail Ghar adjacent to the Police Station and the Tehsil. At night the local Sub-Inspector of Police, Mian Joginder Singh, and the Sikh Tehsildar assisted by the Police and the Tehsil staff conducted a thorough search of the party. They were joined by the Sikh Naib-Tehsildar, Jaswant Singh of Lakhowal, and Sardar Jogindar Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner, resident of Ajnala, and the refugees in the Zail Ghar were relieved of their cash and jewellery. Next morning, Dogra soldiers escorted the party to the river where they were ambushed near village Gorala by an armed Sikh gang. The Dogra soldiers looked on while the raiders, aided by Sardar Bishen Singh, Sub-Inspector of Police, resident of village Soofian, ruthlessly shot down the Muslims. Before opening fire Sardar Inder Singh, Tehsildar, tried to persuade some of the Muslims to embrace Sikhism, if they wanted to save themselves, their families and their property.

About 600 villagers of Bhoma, District Amritsar, left their village in panic on the 17th of August for Fatehgarh Churian and then proceeded to Dera-Baba Nanak on the 25th. At village Raval close to the Sikhe-ke canal bridge, a Sikh jatha attacked the refugees, looted their property, abducted twenty women and killed 30 men. Fifty men from the party ran away. The rest crossed the river by paying Rs. 2,500 to the Dogra and Sikh soldiers stationed near the river.

The Sub-Inspector of Police, Police Station Sarhali, came to village Kot Muhammad Khan and pressed the Muslims to surrender arms and leave the village. The villagers, when assured that they would be provided with safe escort, gave

10,000 rupees to the Sub-Inspector as price of the military escort which consisted of nine men. When the convoy reached near Canal Rest House, Nowshera Pannuan, it was made to stay there for the night. The escort by means of torches selected certain women in the caravan and raped them.

Dewan Dilbagh Rai, Honorary Magistrate, accompanied by Dogra troops went to Badawal Kalan, Gurdaspur district, and arrested about 50 men who were guarding their village against the Sikh hooligans. A day after the Id, the village was raided by the Sikhs from the Amritsar district. Eventually, the villagers formed a convoy and marched towards Pakistan unescorted. At Sakki Nalla, the Sikhs attacked with guns and bombs causing sixty deaths. As the refugees had to wade through the stream because they were not allowed to cross over the bridge, many children were drowned. The Dogra military escort joined them there, but they had hardly gone two miles, when the Sikhs of the local villages began an attack. The military, instead of resisting the attackers, signalled to them to attack from the rear. A major attack was launched on the refugees. There was another attack half a mile further. At the Ravi bridge they were held up as a non-Muslim convoy was coming from Pakistan. After half an hour, when the sun had set and it was dark, the officer in charge of the military picket ordered the Muslims to pass along a narrow passage just below the bridge where every one was searched and whatever was left on him was taken away by the military.

About a lakh of Muslims from villages surrounding Qadian collected in Qadian proper, as they had been attacked by the Sikhs helped by the Hindu troops and the Hindu and Sikh police who evicted them from their houses, looted their property and also abducted several women. The Sikhs were then invited to Qadian by the Sikh Assistant Sub-Inspector. On

September 15 or 16, curfew was imposed on the town. Simultaneously, the Sikhs aided by Hindu troops and non-Muslim police raided the Muslim Mohallas of Darul Anwar, Darul Sad, Darul Shukr and Islam Abad. These mohallas were looted. The Assistant Sub-Inspector along with the military raided " Gul-e-Rana " in Mohalla Darul Anwar and broke into the bungalow where about 400 Muslims had collected. All the valuables demanded by the military were handed over to them. Then the Muslims were split into three groups consisting of women, old men and young men. The young men were forced to march out and were fired at by the military. On September 25th, " Bait-ul-Zafar," the property of Sir Zafrullah Khan, which was occupied by Muslim refugees from village Mangal, was searched by Hindu troops who deprived the refugees of their cash and ornaments. Muslim girls from the rural areas had collected in the open, near the Taleem-ul-Islam College and other places. A number of them were carried away by the Hindu soldiers at night and while some of them were restored to their parents after being raped, the others disappeared for good. On September 27, Lt.-Col. Gurbachan Singh told the Muslims of Qadian that the non-Muslim refugees from West Punjab were pressing the Government to settle them in East Punjab, and the local Muslims would have to be evicted soon to make room for them. On the night between October 2 and 3, about 2,000 Sikhs attacked the village Bhaini at 9 p.m. The Muslims quitted the place next morning. Their village was looted by the Sikhs and the Hindu troops, and the daughters of the Muslim Zaildar of the village were carried away by the Sikhs. The Sikhs launched an attack on Qadian at 9 a.m. on October 3, during the curfew hours attacking simultaneously the mohallas of Darul Fateh, Darul Rahmat and Darul Usar. Another attack was made by the Sikhs with the active assistance of the Hindu military who forcibly evicted the Muslims from their houses and butchered about 50 of them.

A military convoy with Major Daud as Commander was sent to Qadian to evacuate the local Muslims. The Qadian Hindu troops harassed them, checked up the ammunition held by the Muslim escort and then detained the convoy for four and a half hours. The Sikhs were looting the refugees of their valuables with the connivance of the Sikh police. Those who resisted search of their belongings or refused to part with them were fired at. This was brought to the notice of Captain Mahag Singh of 3/1 Punjab Regiment, now attached to 3/7 Para Regiment, and despite his assurances, Muslim houses continued to be looted. In fact, the military and the police themselves looted the Muslims and helped the Sikh looters. The house of Khan Bahadur Abdul Hussain, retired Inspector of Schools, was plundered. The convoy which comprised 6 lorries in all was held up for search of passengers including women, despite Captain Mahag's promise to let the convoy pass unsearched. The Hindu Jemadar demanded and was paid Rs. 200.

On September 3, Muslims of Hansi (Hissar district) were attacked by Hindu gangs with the active assistance of the Hindu and Sikh Police. Sub-Inspector Sampuran Singh led the police party who helped the mob to butcher the Muslims and set fire to their houses. About 300 Muslims were killed. Sardar Swaran Singh (Minister, East Punjab) was himself on the spot when Muslims were attacked in Harter Badla in the Hoshiarpur District.

It must not be assumed that the non-Muslim troops found free field for their partiality only in the East Punjab. The West Punjab did not fare any better. Thus the Chief Secretary of the Punjab in his report, dated the end of August—

“Partiality on the part of troops is reported, particularly in regard to the Sikh troops of the 1/2 Punjab Regiment, 3rd Dogras, who were on duty in the

Montgomery district, the Mahratta troops in the Multan district and also against the Dogra Unit in the Lahore district. In the Montgomery district, one Sub-Inspector and three foot-constables, in the Lahore district two foot-constables and in the Sialkot district one foot-constable were shot dead by non-Muslim troops. Cases of Police Officers detained by the non-Muslim military and subjected to indignities were also reported. In the Montgomery district the Dogras, under a Sikh Major, shot dead without any reason two well-to-do and respectable Muslims, one of whom was a Municipal Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner, Montgomery, reports that far from being helpful, the non-Muslim troops in his district made the situation more difficult. Small parties of Sikh soldiers who were permitted by their officers to look for their relations in the Colony areas, have been attacking Muslims without provocation."

In an Appendix to this note will be found more than a hundred recorded instances of such treachery on the part of the military and the police. What the total number of such instances must be, can only be left to the imagination. Many of these occurred in the area controlled by the Punjab Boundary Force.

X

None was better placed than the Punjab Boundary Force to observe the total range of the massacres in August. For

an over-all account of them we turn, therefore, to a statement by a Muslim Officer on the staff of the Commander of the Force.

“Soon after my arrival, General Rees called a big meeting of all his Commanders down to Bns., the head of the local C. I. D. and other senior police officials. He asked the policemen to put us in the picture as to the situation then existing in the Punjab and especially the Sikh attitude, and then in the light of that he would issue his directive to the Military Commanders. The Policemen left no doubt in our minds that the Sikhs had carried out very extensive preparations and that they together with the RSSS. were spoiling for a fight with the Musalmans. It was fairly clear that large scale disturbances were in the offing. Based on this, General Rees made his dispositions. His directive to the Commanders was that every conceivable effort should be made to keep the troops impartial and opportunities sought to inflict stunning casualties on malefactors. He, however, foresaw that in the event of general conflagration, his troops would not be able to cover such a vast area with bad road communications.

“The Force consisted of five active Brigades in addition to any fixed installations and training centres that were located in the districts of the Punjab covered by the Punjab Boundary Force. The proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim troops was about 35 per cent and 65 per cent. Without an exception all Brigade Commands and Unit Commands were Europeans and non-Muslims. There were very few Muslim officers even on Company Command level.

The effect of this lack of balance was brought to the notice of the Commander, who also realised the consequences.

“I advised General Rees to take the politicians and the Press into confidence and tell them what was being done and ask for their co-operation and assistance. Such meetings were arranged and went off very well. At the same time I went and begged both Muslim and non-Muslim politicians to issue a joint appeal for peace. Further we got Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and other Sikh leaders to also issue peace appeals which they did in a half-hearted

bank of river Ravi in Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts. Having finished with the butchery, the *jathas* would then loot the place and set it on fire. These *jathas* and their targets were very carefully controlled by a central organisation run by the Sikh personnel of the I. N. A. I believe Mohan Singh and Naranjan Singh Gill were the evil geniuses of this organisation. They prostituted their military knowledge for killing innocent Muslims including defenceless women and children. They ran a proper War Room with maps and everything, and indicated targets and detailed off *jathas* for dealing with them. Further, to conserve their arms and ammunition and to effect proper concentration of effort they restricted their activities to one or two districts at a time until all the East Punjab districts were hit and Muslims either destroyed or driven into so called Refugee Camps. Their object was clear. They were aiming at complete elimination of the Musalmans from Eastern Punjab so as to get a lever for their yet unborn Khalistan.

“To put it mildly, the Muslims were caught napping. There was no preparedness to meet the Sikh onslaught and there was no proper leadership. The local leaders left their people in the lurch and were the first to run when the trouble started. Under such circumstances the fate of the Muslims was a foregone conclusion. There is no doubt that this has cost us very dearly and that we have suffered one of the major disasters in our history.

“On the transfer of power on 15th August, East Punjab Government saw to it that 85 per cent of the Muslim Police were disarmed and humiliated and the Muslim

Civil officials sacked, leaving mainly Sikhs and odd Hindus. This measure alone was enough to break the Muslims' back. From then on the administration openly sided with the Sikh *jathas* and aided and abetted their activities. I have seen with my own eyes in Amritsar and Jullundur and I have also been told by leading Hindu officials, cases of Sikh police escorting looted property. They carried out excesses against the Muslims at the same time ignoring all activities of the Sikhs. In fact the East Punjab administration with its depleted and partial Police existed only in name.

“There is no doubt that up to a point the army remained unbiassed and did its best, but a stage was reached when the troops began to act partially and at times carried out excesses on the opposite community. At that time there was a great Muslim public demand that the troops employed in West Punjab and those employed in the protection of refugees in the East Punjab should be entirely Muslim.

“I have a feeling that if a proportion of Muslim officers had been put in command of troops at this stage, a lot of this criticism would have been disarmed and they would have been able to do some good both in helping the refugees and maintenance of law and order.

“I have seen and heard of some very gruesome things during the course of my stay. For instance scores of women and children were burnt alive in their houses, babies removed from the wombs of pregnant women and their heads severed, women raped and then spiked, procession of naked Muslim women taken out, young girls raped and murdered in the presence

of their relations. In places, I have seen respectable-looking Sikhs leading attacks on villages and taking great delight in removing the humble belongings of the poor victims. In Patiala territory, I have seen lorry-loads of loot being brought into Police stations for safe custody. On a number of occasions Patiala Police and the troops were seen standing by whilst the villages were being burnt and loot and massacres were going on. I have a feeling that very few Musalmans will be able to come out of the outlying places in the Sikh States to tell their sorry tales.

“I have had several opportunities of contact with people like Baldev Singh, Sawarn Singh, Gopi Chand Bhargava and others such like. I can say this much that there is no remorse or regret in the minds of Sikh leaders for what has happened.”

A striking example, from a different source, illustrative of the method of Sikh attacks as described in the above statement is given as an appendix to “Note on the Sikh Plan”.

XI

As we pass from August to September, we find millions of Muslims huddling together for safety in large or small concentrations or taking to the road and heading towards Pakistan. But their persecutors who had burnt their villages, plundered their property, raped their women and chased the wretched survivors out of their homes, pursued and slaughtered them on the way. Some instances of attacks on the foot convoys in Ambala, Jullundur, Amritsar, Ferozepore

and on the refugee camps in Jullundur are given below in way of examples.

ATTACKS ON FOOT CONVOYS

Ambala District.—The S. D. O. Rupar marched off a convoy of Muslims from Rupar to Kurali after the notorious attack on the Rupar refugee train at Sirhind in the first week of September. It was guarded by non-Muslim military and was attacked by the Sikhs, resulting in heavy casualties and plundered and abduction of young women and girls. The entire convoy would have been butchered had not Captain Hardings, I. A. arrived and killed a few of the attackers.

2. In the third week of September 1947 a convoy of about 5,000 Muslims coming from Chotala was attacked near Khari and the Magistrate ordered firing on the convoy. This caused considerable loss of life and property. Many girls were abducted. Major Witten, I. A., went to the spot and rescued the Muslims. 200 seriously wounded persons including babies, children, old women and men were brought back by him. They are eventually taken to a hospital near the Kurali Camp.

3. In the third week of September, a convoy of 15,000 Muslims was being brought under escort from Nanakpur, Rupar Tehsil. It was attacked resulting in 60 killed, many wounded and missing. 12 girls were abducted and there was considerable looting.

etc., at Kartarpur. 1,000 armed with firearms, spears, kirpans, which was attacked when passing through the town. No information from the escort about casualties was forthcoming, but the refugees put them at about 50. The Chief Liaison Officer (Pakistan) met several injured persons including women and children in the way. A lot of luggage and other property was lying on both the sides of the roads.

The foot convoy which started the same morning from the Amritsar Transit Camp for Lahore was attacked three times while passing through Amritsar. There was one serious attack with firearms, spears, swords, etc. Instead of passing the convoy by one of the two alternative routes, it was passed through Sharifpura, which was placed under curfew. Small

incidents started in Sharifpura after half the convoy had been through. At about 6-30 people started gathering in large numbers on both the sides of the road, but the Military (Gorkhas and Dogras) took no action. The Additional Police which is located in the Hide Market, started a regular loot and then the Sikh Jathas joined in. By 7-30 a. m. plunder and killing were in full swing and the Police looted for about half an hour. One of the Dogra officers went back to the Mal Mandi and informed the Muslim military and sought their help on the ground that since the Police had joined, there might be a clash between the Police and the Military. They came up and opened fire and dispersed the Sikh jatha. 12 Muslims were killed and 150 injured, mostly women and children. About 25-30 were near death. About 35 women were abducted. Quite a large crowd of about 6/7 thousands Sikhs had collected. A truck-load of Muslim Military reached there and announced that they were escorting the convoy, with the result that the Sikhs dispersed. The Brigade gave 4 three-ton vehicles and these were all filled up with the injured persons.

Further on, a bomb was thrown on the convoy near Putligar. Several persons were injured, but there were no fatal casualty. The D. C. himself saw two policemen who along with some jathas had attacked the tail-end of the convoy near the Chhehrta T. T. Post and killed Muslims and looted half a dozen carts. The D. C. arrested the two Police constables and 2 Gurkhas, a boy scout and three Akalis.

In the second week of September, a motor convoy was again attacked between the Transit Camp and Amritsar city. No details were available, but Sh. Sadiq Hassan, M.L.A., saw several injured being taken away. These attacks nearly became a daily occurrence.

On the 15th evening, a foot convoy marching from Shergarh, two miles from Hoshiarpur, was attacked by a Sikh mob. Several people were injured and one girl was abducted.

A few foot convoys had been started by the local Police from Tanda Urmur and beyond, under police escort which generally deserted on the way. They were then set upon by Sikh jathas who generally exterminated the whole lot and abducted young women and girls. Very few of them escaped to tell the story.

Amritsar District—A convoy in the second week of September was attacked thrice at village Singhi, Naurangabad and Tarn Taran. About 250 were killed.

Ferozepore District—In the second week of September, 7,000 Mussalmans started on foot from Zira (Faridkot State). They were attacked on the way and all young men were killed and young women abducted. 2,700 persons, mostly old men and women reached Gandasinghwala almost naked.

A Muslim convoy of about 3,000 was marching from the south of Ferozepore District towards Abohar. Information was received by the D. C. Montgomery that it had been attacked. He sent an Officer of the Punjabis to reconnoitre, who returned with the news that round about Abohar he had found the road littered with dead bodies. On making enquiries he had learnt that the entire convoy had been butchered with the active assistance of the Dogras who were escorting the Mussalmans. It is significant that no dead bodies of women were found by this officer. Presumably they had all been abducted.

ATTACKS ON CAMPS.

Jullundur District—About 15,000 Mussalmans had gathered in village Nurpur from the surrounding area. The Chief Liaison Officer (Pakistan) approached the D. C. to declare it a camp but he expressed his inability to do so and advised him to evacuate the village. The Dogras were protecting it. An attack was launched by a Sikh *jatha* in the third week of September and about a thousand were killed. A couple of

hundred were burnt alive and about the same number of young women were abducted.

2. There was a big concentration of about 10 to 15 thousand Mussalmans protected by the Dogras. It was attacked on the 16/19th of September resulting in 76 killed and 64 severely wounded. The remaining Mussalmans were evacuated to an open space by the 27 Rajputs.

3. The Dogras took over the protection of areas round about Jullundur about the second week of September. Since then conditions became unbearable. Two men were shot by them in village Khurla Kingra and another in village Partapura. Village Khurla Kingra had about 25,000 Mussalmans and Partapura about 50,000 Muslims. In the former village the two Muslims shot were sleeping on one side of the camp at some distance and in the latter the young man shot had objected to the Dogras moving about freely amongst Muslim girls.

There were similar attacks on refugee trains and goods trains destined for Pakistan and a list of such attacks is given as appendix. A certain historical significance, however, attaches to the derailment of the Karachi-bound Pakistan special, which left Delhi on the 9th of August, carrying the first batch of the Muslim staff who were to set up the Secretariat of the new Dominion of Pakistan. D. W. McDonald, Additional Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore who was asked by the Chief Secretary of the Punjab to investigate the matter submitted a report which is attached here as a separate appendix and which is of interest as showing the careful planning which had gone to the perpetration of this crime.

XII

September was by no means a quiet month in the West Punjab and non-Muslims suffered much at the hands of the retaliatory spirits in that part of the Province. There were isolated cases of stabbing in Lahore during the first week. At the end of the week, the town showed a marked tendency to return to the normal, when the atmosphere was again disturbed by the news of the flare-up in Delhi and the rumour that Maulana Shabbir Ahmed, a theologian much respected by the Muslims, had been assassinated. This rumour had a most disconcerting effect. 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 of the refugees were killed. On the 15th, a train of Muslim refugees which had been derailed and attacked by Sikhs near Amritsar arrived in Lahore, and three days later, came the news from Kasur that naked Muslim women had arrived there

in a refugee convoy. The situation deteriorated once more. Four non-Muslims were killed at the Lahore station and 12 near Moghulpura. The 21st of September was a bad day: a caravan of 50,000 Muslims from Jullunder arrived with heart-rending accounts of how they had been attacked by the Sikhs at 3 different places near Amritsar; a Muslim refugee train which had been attacked by the Sikhs between Sirhind and Ludhiana brought many dead and wounded to Lahore; and another train which had been attacked at Beas arrived with 109 corpses of which 72 were those of children. The next day the non-Muslim refugee train berthed at Moghulpura was attacked and 32 people were killed. A refugee special from Delhi was attacked at Amritsar; 17 trucks brought three to four hundred victims of this attack to Lahore on the 24th and caused much excitement.

News of such attacks spread throughout the province. There were isolated stabbings in Rawalpindi; sixty non-Muslims were killed on the 11th, and 14 on the 24th. A Muslim mob in Multan Cantonment attacked a lorry carrying non-Muslims. On the 2nd, Sikh evacuees attacked Muslim villages in Multan district and there was much looting and arson. On the following day, several villages in P.S. Sadr Multan were looted by Muslim mobs, and on the 5th, 300 Hindus were killed near Shujabad. A number of attackers were shot down by the Police, but the situation did not improve till the 12th. On the 14th, the Sikhs of villages Wanjari and Chak No. 9 (Multan district) who possessed illicit arms began to harass Muslim refugees coming into Multan. Non-Muslim troops also shot-down Muslims and abducted some Muslim women. During the last week, news of Sikh attacks on Muslim refugee trains added to the provocation and a non-Muslim evacuee train was attacked near Lodhran. Twenty evacuees were killed; forty Muslims were shot down by the military escort.

In Sialkot, an armed Dogra and Sikh mob, took the initiative and attacked village Patwal on the 2nd and large jathas

of Sikhs from Sheikhupura and Gujranwala heading for Wadhala Cheema created panic in Muslim villages. From the 2nd to the 11th there were daily reports of border raids by armed Sikhs assisted by Dogras from Jammu State.

In Sheikhupura, on the 3rd September, one Sikh jatha of 2,000 and another of the same number using hand-grenades clashed with the military who captured one small cannon. Sikhs attacked village Mahesh with hand-grenades on the same day and killed 300 Muslims. A couple of days earlier about 30,40,000 Sikhs had collected in village Gobindgarh and opened fire on the Deputy Commissioner who approached them with a white flag and held parleys with them in the presence of Brigadier Scott and the Officer Commanding the troops. The Sikhs refused to surrender their arms. Attacks on Muslim villages by well-armed Sikhs, sometimes on horseback, continued till the 9th. The evacuation of 40,000 Sikhs in Nankana Sahib began on the 13th and of 30,000 Sikhs in Sacha Sauda on the 18th, but they had refused to move until they received orders from the Akali High Command from Amritsar to do so. Throughout the month, Sikhs in this district continued to raid Muslim villages. In some cases they came out of their "refugee camps" at night to attack and returned to the camps at daybreak.

In Montgomery, Sikh evacuee columns broke up and attacked Muslim villages en route, Dogra escorts participating in these attacks. Faridkot State jeeps attacked Muslims in Pakpattan area. A non-Muslim convoy was attacked near Arifwala, but the military repulsed the attackers. A convoy of Sikhs and Hindus was looted on the 22nd near Pakpattan.

With the arrival of refugees from East Punjab, the situation in Lyallpur became explosive. Sikh military personnel, who were permitted to visit their relatives in the district and help them to evacuate, became a menace. Giani Kartar Singh's visit to Lyallpur on the 7th did not improve the situation. He

instigated the Sikhs to leave their villages without an escort, which was not calculated to make their exodus peaceful. They burnt their villages before leaving them and marched in thousands, in columns several miles long, carrying arms, and engaging the Muslims on the way.

There were attacks on non-Muslims in Sargodha, Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Attock and Campbellpur and on many of these occasions, the Pathans joined the local riff-raff in looting.

In Gujranwala, on the 14th, an armed Sikh gang attacked village Karial Kalan and another gang of 40 on horseback attacked village Jhallan. A train carrying non-Muslim refugees was attacked by a mob, at Kamoke on the 24th. Three hundred Hindus and Sikhs were killed, but the military escort inflicted heavy casualties on the attackers. Two trains were derailed by mobs, near Wazirabad on the 26th and the 27th. None on the first day and eight on the second day were killed.

This is as accurate and comprehensive a picture of the situation in the West Punjab in the month of September as can be given in a few paragraphs. It does not present the Muslims as entirely innocent. But there are some features of this picture which sharply contrast with the general pattern of events in the East Punjab during the same period. Muslim excesses, apart from isolated stabbings and sporadic—comparatively minor—happenings, occurred in waves, each wave being caused by some provocation from the Sikhs who were still residing in the West Punjab districts or by news of some major atrocity in the East Punjab. Train and truck-loads of Muslim corpses from across the border created reactions which it was not easy either for the individuals directly affected or for the authorities, to control. Convoys of Muslims arriving from East Punjab presented a pathetic spectacle, whereas convoys of Sikhs evacuating West Punjab left their villages defiantly,

killing and pillaging on the way. Hardly any attack by the Muslims went unpunished by the military or the police. The non-Muslim minority in the West Punjab, be it noted, were able almost up to the last minute, to be actively aggressive, and even when they were massed together in large concentrations, presumably for self-protection, to rush out at night and inflict casualties on the Muslims. A list of attacks in the West Punjab on refugee trains is given as an Appendix. It will not be without interest to compare it with the statement of attacks on Muslim refugee trains. If nothing else, the comparison will at least show that the Muslims were not nearly so efficient in the art of large-scale killings as the non-Muslims across the border. They had no plan, no method, no organisation. They acted as their natural impulses prompted them from time to time. Why they were angry, they killed and looted and burnt. When the anger passed, they fell again into a state of depression, puzzled at what had befallen them,—till they were provoked again. Unlike the Sikhs and the Hindus, they did not have to go through a programme drawn up for them in a War Room—a programme which they must carry out, provocation or no provocation.

XIII

Sprawling across the eastern part of the Punjab Province are the Punjab States—Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot, Jind and Kapurthala, ruled by Sikh Maharajas but with substantial Muslim populations. These ambitious autocrats were intoxicated more than ordinary mortals, by the dream of a Sikh sovereign State in which they imagined themselves as occupying powerful positions and extensive sway. They had long been flirting with Sikh extremist politicians and gradually

became the refuge and the strength of the Akalis. During the massacres, the geographical situation of these States, the autocratic authority of the rulers, and the resources at their disposals, gave them much better scope for furthering the Sikh Plan than was available to their co-religionists in the rest of the Punjab. The fullest advantage was taken of the facilities at their command to organise and carry out the large scale annihilation, plunder and expulsion of their Muslim subjects. Walled as they were behind the borders of their territories, little authentic news of their crimes managed to escape for a long time, beyond rumours which seemed incredible at the time but which subsequent events have shown to have been perhaps yet short of the whole awful truth. There is no doubt that extensive killings of Muslims in these States have taken place of which the full evidence will perhaps never come to light. We reproduce below a statement by a Muslim, who till four years ago was a senior police officer in the Patiala State Service and who is in a position to give both background and recent facts :

“ I retired from State Service towards the end of 1944. Whilst I was S.P., Narnaul, I learnt that the Raj Jotshi (astrologer) of Mohindergarh was said to possess an old copy of the *Sau Sakhi* predicting the suzerainty of the Sikhs in the Punjab and the establishment of a Sikh State, whose head was to be the successor of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It was said that the description of the ruler mentioned in the *Sau Sakhi* tallied with that of Yadavinder Singh, the present Maharaja of Patiala. This news found its way to the Maharaja who sent for the astrologer, and after hearing him, attached him to his personal staff.

“In those days, the Allies were suffering heavy repulses in the East and the invasion of India by the Japanese

was threatened. In view of the prediction in the *Sau Sakhi* and the possibilities involved in the threatened Japanese onslaught, the Maharaja explored all means of collecting as much armament as could be found. Divers were engaged to carry out extensive searches in old wells in the various forts in the State, including those in Bhatinda, Bahadurgarh and Mohindergarh. I also had a search made in the Mohindergarh Fort under the orders of S. Gurdial Singh, the then I.G.P., Patiala. Mr. Hutton, an old employee of the State, was specially recalled from Dehra Dun to undertake the reconditioning of old weapons recovered from the wells, as well as of those stored in the State armoury at Patiala. Later, he was deputed to experiment in the manufacture of rifles and guns in the factory of Ramji Dass Harbans Lal at Bassi Pathanan, Patiala State, which manufactured spare parts of sewing machines. I have seen two rifle barrels prepared in the factory.

“To make the prediction mentioned above come true, the Maharaja began to arm the Sikhs in the State. He also established contacts with the leading Akalis, contrary to the policy pursued by his late father. The Maharaja’s marriage to the daughter of Har Chand Singh Jaijee, an exiled Akali leader of the State, was not without political significance. Jaijee wielded considerable influence among the leading lights of the Panth. The Maharaja began seriously to interest himself in Akali affairs. Master Tara Singh, G. Kartar Singh, S. Baldev Singh, and other Akalis visited Patiala where they were treated as State guests and meetings in camera were held. The Akali movement gained momentum in the

Patiala State, though the Police continued, as usual, to keep an eye on the Akalis visiting the State. Arms were secretly distributed to the Sikhs outside the State.

“The Akalis’ influence on the Maharaja gradually increased. They began to interfere in the affairs of the State and prevailed upon the Maharaja to appoint a Sikh to replace Rana Tale Mohd. Khan, the Muslim Inspector-General of Police. The number of Muslims in the police and civil departments was considerably reduced and Sikhs appointed in their place ; Akali *jathas* were organised ; sweepers and chumars were converted to Sikhism ; Gurmukhi was introduced as the court language ; and non-Sikh State employees were threatened with forfeiture of service if they failed to pass the prescribed Gurmukhi examination. The representation of Muslims in State services was reduced below the percentage of population.

“After my retirement in December, 1944, I took up business and started a few industrial concerns in

Mr. Hutton's services were again utilised for the manufacture of firearms in Qila Mubarak. Bir Davinder Singh, S.P., Barnala, S. Sukhdev Singh, ex-Development Minister and S. Pritam Singh, Sindhu, ex-Income-tax Officer, were secretly deputed by the Maharaja to obtain firearms. S. Bir Davinder Singh, S.P. Barnala remained absent from his district for about a month. (It was said that S. Baldev Singh, Defence Member, India Union, was to arrange the supply of firearms to the State from British territory). On his return, it was seen that S. Bir Davinder Singh's car and trucks bore fictitious number plates, and the word 'Police' was found painted on them. Bir Davinder Singh when questioned by his colleagues and friends, gave out that he was on a secret errand specially entrusted to him by His Highness. Shortly after his return he collected firearms including rifles, revolvers, and pistols, recovered in criminal cases and deposited in Police and Judicial armouries in the Barnala District, and himself distributed them to the Akali *jathedars* in the Barnala District. Similar arrangements were made in the Sunam and Bassi Districts.

“A month or so before the last Id, I learnt that the Akali *jathas* in the State were armed through their *jathedars* by the Superintendents of Police in every district. They were meant to assist the State forces in launching attacks on the State Muslims. Reliable and trustworthy, present and retired officials of the Patiala State, especially the relatives of the Maharaja, were entrusted with the task of organising and arming the Akali *jathas*. The prominent Government officials among them were

S. Raghbir Singh, ex-Home Minister, S. Pritam Singh, retired Excise Commissioner, Major Arjun Singh, Retired Superintendent, Jail, S. Atma Singh, Chief Engineer, General Balwant Singh and General Bhagwan Singh. Armament, lorries, trucks, armoured cars, etc., purchased from Delhi through General Balwant Singh, ostensibly for the use of State Forces, were in fact meant for furthering the plan for the creation of Khalistan and the annihilation of Muslims in the State.

“After the Partition, *jathas* began to attack trains between Sadhugarh and Rajpura, and Rajpura and Dhuree, looting Muslims and throwing them out of the train after killing them. Simultaneously, meetings were held in State *gurdwaras* where spears and swords were freely distributed to the Sikhs. In the beginning, Sikh troops and Sikh *jathas* of the State attacked Muslim villages in the British territory adjoining the Patiala State. Loot and

from the Ambala side. The British officer stopped us and enquired as to whether the convoy had reached safely. We told him that three trucks of our convoy had been left behind. We also apprised him of the existence of the armed Sikh mob near Piplee and how our truck had escaped the attack. The British officer then proceeded towards Piplee and we waited for the three trucks which joined us a little later. We were informed that the mob had intercepted them by placing logs of wood on the road, but finding them fully armed had decamped behind the bushes. The logs of wood had been removed from the road with the help of soldiers in the tank.

We saw several corpses of Muslims lying on both sides of the road, being eaten up by vultures. Near Ambala, we met a convoy of 4/5 thousand Muslim refugees marching towards Ambala. They told us that they were from the Patiala State villages. On entering Patiala State territory, batches of armed Sikhs were noticed on both sides of the road waiting to attack and kill any Muslim they could find. On arrival at Hajpura, the convoy was detained at the barrier which was manned by the State Military and Police. Mr. Siri Krishen, Tehsildar, and another Magistrate were also present. Two machine guns were fixed at the barrier. Near the machine guns two armed Sikh mobs consisting of soldiers in mufti numbering about 200 were present. On the arrival of the convoy, they rushed towards us but were cautioned by the Lieutenant in charge of the Military at the barrier. They appeared to have been purposely kept there by the authorities for attacking vehicular and other

passenger traffic. This was probably done in the hope of avoiding direct responsibility of the State Military for such attacks. I am convinced that they were military men and not civilians. The private cars accompanying the convoy were searched by the Lieutenant after the women and others had been made to get out. Two shot-guns belonging to two refugees from Roorkee were taken possession of by the military. Large gatherings of armed Sikhs were noticed on either side of the road near the Rajpura Railway Station and in the bazar nearby. They did not attack the convoy, as the State officers at the barrier had warned them not to do so. At the second barrier located at the place where the Grand Trunk Road again crosses the railway line, another machine gun was located. In the Patiala State territory between Rajpura and Kukar Majra, armed Sikh mobs were noticed at many places by the road side. The road between the above two places was strewn with Muslim corpses. Under the bridge near Chawapail several armed Sikhs were lying in ambush to attack Muslim convoys. Similarly, at Doraha a big armed Sikh mob was seen but our convoy passed on safely. Among the mobs on the road I noticed several ex-military men as well as active members of State Forces in mufti.

“We reached Ludhiana at 9-30 a.m. and stayed there for the night. The police persisted in searching us, but the search was given up when the Superintendent of Police was told by the Officer in charge of the convoy that the convoy had been searched previously at Rajpura. Our convoy moved on the following morning. We observed Muslim refugees encamping between Ludhiana and Phillaur

and marching on the road in that sector. They were unprotected from the weather, were half-starved, in filthy clothes and in a depressed state. From Phillaur to Jullundur mobs of armed Sikhs were seen collected along the railway track and the road, waiting for an opportunity to assault Muslim convoys. Fortunately we were not attacked because we had adequate military escort. We saw another armed Sikh mob near Kartarpur but it disappeared on seeing our military escort. We came across another stream of Muslim refugees extending over a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. They were in the same predicament as those we had seen between Ludhiana and Phillaur. We also observed a refugee Up special train without an engine stranded near the Beas Railway Station. We were pleased to see that the Baluchi military escort attached to the train was alert and had taken up positions by the road side to ward off any attacks. When we reached Jandiala Canal Rest House, a military detachment of Gurkhas under three British officers stopped our convoy and advised us not to go further as, they said, the situation in Amritsar city was disturbed, and the Sikhs had opened fire on a refugee convoy in motor transport. We stopped for the night on the Jandiala Canal distributary bank. We resumed our journey the following morning and passed through Amritsar city. We observed a big armed Sikh mob in and around Amritsar. The police detachment of the Eastern Punjab at the Wagha barrier stopped our convoy for the purpose of scrutiny and detained 5 trucks of U. P. owned by evacuees of Roorkee and Saharanpur on the plea that trucks of the U. P.

could not go to Pakistan. In the course of unloading the passengers and their luggage from the detained trucks, the police seized several articles. We entered Pakistan territory and reached Lahore on 24th September.

“On arrival at Lahore I met Khalifa Mohammad Sadiq, Dewan of Jind State, an evacuee in Baghbanpura who told me that while in the Jind State he had known an armed Sikh gang of the Patiala State operating in a jeep in Jind territory, that they had attacked a Muslim family proceeding to Sangrur for protection and fired on them causing one death and grievous injuries to others. The Sangrur Police had tracked the culprits to Sunam city, Patiala State. No assistance was given by the District Superintendent of Police in apprehending the culprits, nor any assurance to check such operations. The Dewan whilst passing through the Patiala State territory on his way to Delhi had seen a Muslim village being looted by Sikh hooligans among whom was the Sikh *jathedar* of the village and his Akali followers, who shot dead a large number of Muslims. Sikhs indulging in murder and loot were again seen by the Dewan in another Patiala State village situated on the road.

“I have omitted to mention that all my jewellery, cash, household property, including my car are still in Patiala.”

There is no need to give details about the other States, as events in them followed the same pattern. According to census calculations, about 250,000 Muslims from Patiala alone are missing and unaccounted for. In Kapurthala, the Muslims formed the majority of the population. There are hardly any left now there.

XIV

This note is not intended to be a tale of horror. Gruesome details of rapes and tortures, and sickening accounts of brutalities and atrocities, of limbs torn and wombs ripped open, of maimings, beheadings and nauseating obscenities, have been deliberately avoided. Most of the thousands of refugee stories contain one or more of these details. But although they add enormously to the human suffering and humiliation, which these events have caused, an intelligent reader can well imagine them for himself. It is enough for such a reader to be told that the loss of human lives from genocidal attacks and from lack of food, exposure and floods has been so great that it is difficult to find a parallel to it outside a large-scale war. The Muslim population of East Punjab Districts and States, allowing for normal increase since the 1941 census, has been calculated as about 6 million. A census of refugees is already in progress in West Punjab and is about to be taken in other parts of West Pakistan. Till that is concluded it is not possible to give the accurate number of those from East Punjab who have been forced to take refuge in Pakistan. But provisional calculations put the figure at about five million. And there are some Muslims still stranded in East Punjab. The remainder—that is, half a million to one million Muslims—either rest beneath the earth's surface in unknown fields, ditches, drains, wells and rivers, or their bodies have been eaten up by dogs and vultures. Nor was it the intention to include all the events, even all the major events, in this note. There are too many of them, and too many others which will never be known as those who could truthfully relate them are dead.

The purpose of this note is merely to show that the crime of the Sikhs and their Hindu instigators, and accomplices was a premeditated crime, that these murders and massacres were

planned, and that even as the secret preparations presaged an organised annihilation of Muslims, the methods of annihilation reveal previous preparations. The incidents that have been mentioned here have been selected with this end alone in view and do not claim to constitute an exhaustive picture, either in time or space, of the entire scene.

Have the Sikhs succeeded in their plan, the plan to dominate the land from the Jumna to the Chenab? Certainly not so far as the trans-Ravi area is concerned, the area with "the canals and the canal colonies" and the sacred shrines of Sacha Sauda and Nankana Sahib. Here they were thwarted; perhaps by Muslim resistance and retaliation; perhaps by the fact that the Partition *preceded* the decision of the Boundary Commission, so that when the latter was announced there was already a Muslim Government in control of the trans-Ravi tract; perhaps by the fact that the Coalition Government resigned in March and because of it the Sikh war-machine had to be put in motion too soon. The large-scale concentration of Sikhs, four hundred to five hundred thousand strong, and fully armed which stayed behind in Lyallpur till after the Partition and then was deliberately evacuated by Sikh leaders to East Punjab without any apparent immediate cause, seems to point to a revision of the Plan, necessitated by some unexpected sequence of events.

In the East Punjab, however, the plan succeeded remarkably well. Within a few weeks an enormous population of Muslims, that had been living there for generations was either wiped out or turned out completely and thoroughly. The fire-arms and other lethal weapons collected and manufactured over a number of months, the persistent conditioning of the Sikh masses by ceaseless propaganda and fanatical preachings, the organisation and steady growth of the Akal Fauj, the close co-ordination with the Sikh States, the active help—with men,

money and material—rendered by the British rulers, the pact with the Hindus and their militant organization the UGDA, the unity of purpose which inspired Hindus and British in all walks of life including civilian officials and the army—all these yielded an ample return. These elements of the Plan manifested themselves in all parts of the province and where they found the fullest scope and encountered the least obstacles, as in the Panch Punjab and the Sikh States, their success was phenomenal.

LIST OF APPENDICES

	Pages
1. Police and Military Participation in Attacks ..	i—x
2. Attacks on Muslim Refugee Trains ..	xi—xvii
3. Attacks on non-Muslim Refugee Trains ..	xviii—xx
4. Attacks on Sialkot-Jammu Border ..	xxi—xxix
5. Attacks on Wagha-Kasur Border ..	xxx—xxxiii
6. Report of D. W. McDonald, Esq., Additional Deputy Commissioner, Ferozepore, on the derailment of the Pakistan Special on 9th August 1947.	xxxiv—xxxvi
7. A statement on Delhi Disturbances by a Military Officer on 21st September 1947.	xxxvii—xliv

APPENDIX I—continued

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Statement No. or source of information	Nature of atrocity	Personnel involved	Name of force or unit if known
9	13-8-47	..	Amritsar City	153	Bombing, firing, butchering and looting.	Sikh and Hindu mob mixed with police.	
10	13-8-47	..	Villago Sangrana, Police Station Suddar, Amritsar.	29	Raid, 175 killed	400 Sikhs organised by Amritsar Suddar Police.	
11	13-8-47	..	Kabra Hakiman, Amritsar.	46	Firing loot and burning	100 Sikhs in military uniforms headed by Sub-Inspector of Galwali Gate Police Station.	
12	14-8-47	..	Idgah Amritsar	46	Firing, 2 men, 1 woman and 2 children killed.	Dogra soldiers	
13	14-8-47	..	Muslims mohallas in Jullundur (Mohalla Quzian, Khasilein, Kishampura and Faccn Bagh).	19	Firing and burning of shops and houses.	Police and military of Jullundur.	
14	14-8-47	..	Villago Pasrovi, District Hoshiarpur.	45	Bombing, firing, butchering and looting.	Sikhs and Members of R. S. S. volunteers with police.	
15	15/19-8-47	..	Hoshiarpur, District Amritsar.	49	Firing, looting, butchering, etc., 5,000 killed.	Sikhs organised by In-charge of Police Station, Hoshiarpur (Harbans Singh).	Incharge Police Station, Hoshiarpur.
16	15-8-47	..	Bazar Bakrawana, Amritsar.	65	Firing, looting, butchering, etc., 500 killed.	Sikhs headed by Sikh S. J. B. Division.	..
17	15-8-47	..	Hoshiarpur	114	Butchering and looting..	Mobs of Sikhs about 500 in number.	..

18	15-8-47	..	Village Hoshiarnagar, District Amritsar.	104	Firing, butchering and looting.	Sikh mob with police ..	..
19	15-8-47	..	Village Golwarah, District Amritsar.	170	Butchering and firing ..	Sikhs with the aid of police.	..
20	16-8-47	..	Rasulpur, Police Station Jandiala, Amritsar.	74	Firing, bombing and butchering, 300 killed.	500 Sikhs organised and headed by Hindu and Sikh Police of Police Station, Jandiala Gturu.	Jandiala Police.
21	16-8-47	..	Railway Road, Jullundur	19	Firing and burning of shops and houses.	Six dozen military and police personnel.	4 dozen soldiers, 2 dozen police-men.
22	16-8-47	..	Bassi Ali Khan, Hoshiarpur.	48	Firing, butchering and looting.	About 300 members of R. S. S. and I. N. A. military.	I. N. A.
23	16-8-47	..	Village Eub, Police Station Patti, District Lahore.	132	Butchering and looting..	Supported by military ..	Pati Police.
24	16-8-47	..	Sabzimandi, Delhi ..	208	Killing, 3,000 casualties	Sikhs and military ..	Indian military.
25	16-8-47	..	Office of Daily Dawn in Faizbazar, Delhi.	208	Arson and killing, killed 10 men (members of the staff)	Police and military ..	..
26	17-8-47	..	Hoshiarpur ..	115	Firing, butchering and looting.	Local military and police	Police of Hoshiarpur and local military.
27	17-8-47	..	Bassi Kalan, District Hoshiarpur.	43	Firing, butchering and looting.	100 Sikhs mixed with local military and police.	..
28	17-8-47	..	Village Hoshiarnagar, District Amritsar.	154	Firing, butchering and looting.	Sikh mob under command of Sikh Head Constable.	..
29	17-8-47	..	Village Panj Warh District Amritsar.	67	Butchering and raping ..	Sikh police raped the abducted girls.	..
30	17-8-47	..	Hoshiarpur City ..	42	Looting and killing ..	Sikhs and police ..	..

APPENDIX I - continued

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Statement No. or source of information	Nature of atrocity	Personnel involved	Name of force or unit if known
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
31	18-8-47	..	Hoshiarnagar, Police Station, Gharinda, Amritsar.	21	Firing and killing, 1,600 killed.	Sikh military with Sikh and Hindu hooligans.	
32	18-8-47	..	Talwandi Sardan Lal Singh, Police Station Barala, District Gurdaspur.	41	Shooting and killing, killed all Muslims of the village.	Sikh military police of Dera Baba Nanak.	
33	18-8-47	7-30 a.m.	Ferozepore ..	47	Firing, butchering and looting.	Large number of R.S.S. volunteers with Sikhs.	
34	18-8-47	..	Sadan, District Hoshiarpur.	77	Police officials (Muslims) were disarmed at a scene of fighting.	..	
35	18-8-47	..	Village Bhamnian, District Jullundur.	123	Firing, looting and butchering, 300 killed.	Sikhs mixed with military.	
36	18-8-47	..	Village Nathuwala, Faridkot State.	151	Slaughtering and abduction.	Sikh rioters with military and police of the State.	
37	18-8-47	..	Village Khair Thal, Alwar State.	376	Killing and looting, 150 killed.	Non-Muslim raiders and State military.	
38	18-8-47	..	Id Gah Camp, Delhi ..	376	Killing, 50 killed ..	Sikh jatha aided by Hindu military.	
39	19-8-47	..	Pindiyan Saiyidan, Police Station Lakhoke, District Amritsar.	101	Firing and butchering, 30 killed.	Sikh military with Sikh and Hindu hooligans.	

40	19-8-47	..	General Civil Hospital, Jullundur.	19	Firing	..	Sikh policemen posted near G. C. Hospital.
41	19-8-47	..	Dharamkot	35	Firing	..	100/150 Sikhs mixed with military and police.
42	19-8-47	..	Hoshiarpur	6	Muslim police officials were disarmed.	..	..
43	19-8-47	..	Village Sadhawal, Faridkot State.	150	Killing and looting	..	Sikhs and police and military.
44	19-8-47	..	Village Chochla Sahib, Police Station Sirhali, District Amritsar.	172	Slaughter, 12 killed	..	Sikhs and police
45	20-8-47	4 p.m.	Police Lines, Jullundur	2	Attack resulting beating of Muslim police who had been disarmed and relieved by Sikh police.	..	Sikh police who relieved Muslims.
46	20-8-47	..	Village Suchania, Police Stations Dhariwal, District Gurdaspur.	125	Butchering	..	Sikhs and military
47	20-8-47	10 a.m.	Civil Lines, Jullundur..	2	Firing by policemen, injury to 1 Muslim.	..	Sikh police of Jullundur
48	21-8-47	..	Ladowal, Jullundur	107	Firing, butchering and looting.	..	600 Sikhs organised by Noor Mahal Police.
49	21-8-47	..	Bhatinda, Patiala State	147	Slaughtering and looting	..	Sikhs, supported by military.
50	21-8-47	..	Village Nadore, Police Station Jawajaji, District Kangra.	241	Slaughtering, 100 killed	..	Hindus, police and military.
51	22-8-47	..	Village Gidri Bhagiari, District Amritsar.	68 & 69	Firing, butchering and looting, 200 killed.	..	400 Sikhs mixed with police.
52	22-8-47	..	Pathankote, Gurdaspur	101	Shooting, 9 killed	..	By Sikh Sub-Inspector of Pathankot.

APPENDIX I—continued

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Statement No. or source of information	Nature of atrocity	Personnel involved	Name of force or unit if known
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
53	22-3-47	..	Field Gang, Ludhiana ..	44	Firing and looting on a truck resulting in the death of Rs. 10,000 and gold and silver jewellery for spating the truck.	Kaparthala military and police.	..
54	22-3-47	..	Village Chak Misri, District Amritsar,	107	Butchering, looting and arsoning.	400 Sikhs mob mixed with police and military.	..
55	22-3-47	..	Village Satepur, District Jullundur,	120	Firing, butchering and looting.	About 1,500 Sikhs with Gurkha military.	Gurkha military.
56	22-3-47	..	Saidpur, Police Station Patna, District Lahore,	127 & 128	Butchering and abduction, 33 killed.	Patel Police with Sikh hoodlums.	Patel Police.
57	22-3-47	..	Village Pharsal, District Kangra,	241	Slaughtering and looting.	Police and civilian Dogras.	..
58	23-3-47	..	Atapur, Police Station Rohru, Jullundur,	111	Firing and butchering, 300 Muslims killed.	Sikhs from surrounding villages.	Local Police.
59	23-3-47	6 a.m.	Blackfords, Patna State	139	Slaughtering and looting, 2,500 Muslims killed.	Sikhs supported by military and police.	Patna Police and military.
60	23-3-47	..	Village Madhwal, District Amritsar,	157	Slaughter, 12 killed ..	Sikhs and police ..	..
61	24-3-47	..	Village Kharan, Police Station Bahawal, District Hoshiarpur,	157	Butchering and looting, 2,500 killed.	Sikhs, military and police	Bahawal Police

62	24-8-47	..	Near Islamia High School, Ferozopore, Grand Trunk Road.	219	Butchering, 400 killed ..	Sikhs and Dogra military and police.
63	25-8-47	..	Between village Kot Mammed Khan and Police Station Sirhuli, District Amritsar.	158	Slaughter of foot convoy, 3,000 killed.	100 Sikhs accompanied by a batch of Sikh military.
64	25-8-47	..	Chanyan, Tahsil Ajnala, District Amritsar.	25	Firing and killing and also burning of houses.	Sikh military with local armed bands, organised by Jathadar Munch Singh.
65	25-8-47	..	Zailghar, Ajnala, District Amritsar.	61	Shooting and looting ..	Dogra military and Police.
66	25-8-47	..	Ghawala, Police Station Ajnala, District Amritsar.	22	Shooting and killing ..	Dogra escort and Sikh mobs.
67	25-8-47	4 p.m.	Village Sahival, District Amritsar.	162	Firing and butchering ..	Sikh military. ..
68	26-8-47	..	Village Naraingarh, District Amritsar.	86	Bombing, firing and butchering, 35 killed.	Sikh gang mixed with military.
69	26-8-47	..	Sujanpore, District Gurdaspur.	7	Shooting, butchering and looting.	Sikhs and Hindus with Sikh military.
70	26-8-47	..	Deri Baba Nanak and Ravi Bridge.	98	Firing, killing and looting.	1,000 Sikhs
71	26-8-47	..	Village Buh, Police Station Patti, District Lahore.	131	Firing, butchering and looting.	Sikh gang with military and police. Patti Police.
72	26-8-47	..	Gurdaspur ..	120	Butchering ..	Sikhs and military ..
73	26-8-47	..	Ch. No. 6 'O' Bikaner State.	Nil	Killing and butchering..	Sikhs ..
						Military statement No.

APPENDIX I—continued.

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Statement No. of source of information	Nature of atrocity	Personnel involved	Name of force or unit if known
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
74	20-8-47	..	Village Zangarh, Police Station Sanhowal, District Ludhiana.	175	Butchering, 170 killed ..	3,000 Sikhs accompanied by Sikh soldiers wearing Patiala State Army badges and Police.	..
75	27-8-47	..	Phagwara ..	44	Firing and looting on a truck resulting carrying away of Rs. 10,000 and gold and silver jewellery for sparring the truck.	Kapurthala military and police.	..
76	27-8-47	..	Village Sirsa, District Hoshiarpur.	52	Looting, burning of houses, string and butchering.	Sikh gangsters under Ram Singh and Harnam Singh, Juchehara.	..
77	27-8-47	..	Ludhiana City ..	170	Looting and killing ..	Non-Muslim mob and local police.	..
78	28-8-47	..	Barnala, Patiala State ..	145	Slaughter, 4,000 killed, 1,000 injured.	Sikhs supported by military and police.	Patiala police and military.
79	28-8-47	..	Village Sahawal, District Ludhiana.	239	Butchering, 150 killed ..	2,500 Sikhs ..	..
80	28-8-47	..	Bahadurgarh (Dolbi) ..	183-A	Killing, 700 killed ..	Gurkha troops ..	Gurkha troops.
81	31-8-47	3 p.m.	Barnala, Patiala State ..	140	Slaughter, 3,000 killed ..	Sikhs supported by military and police.	Patiala police and army.
82	31-8-47	..	Village Khoeran, District Jullundur.	185-C	Slaughter, 70 killed ..	500 Sikhs and military ..	..
83	1-9-47	..	Ropar, District Ambala ..	133	Slaughter and looting of foot convey.	Sikhs and military ..	..

84	1-9-47	..	Ropar, District Ambala	133	Slaughter and looting ..	Police ..
85	1-9-47	..	Village Godda, Police Station Patti, Lahore.	107	Butchering and looting, 120 killed.	Sikh mob and military..
86	2-9-47	..	Village Ratta Gudda, Police Station Patti, Lahore.	133	Butchering, 120 killed ..	Sikh mob and military ..
87	2-9-47	..	Village Kangnan, District Jullundur.	121	Firing, butchering and looting.	About 1,000 Sikhs mixed with Gurkha military.
88	3-9-47	..	Village Burj Pout, District Ludhiana.	204	Killing and shoot, 150 killed.	Sikhs, police and military ..
89	3-9-47	..	Hansi, Ambala ..	441	300 killed ..	Hindu mob and police ..
90	4-9-47	..	Village Kangnan, Sarival, District Jullundur.	119	Butchering, firing, looting and arrests.	Sikhs with police ..
91	5-9-47	..	Village Bhawnian, District Jullundur.	117	Firing, looting and butchering, 300 killed.,	Sikhs mixed with military ..
92	5-9-47	..	Village Sheikhpura, Kapurthala State.	141	Massacre, 6,000 killed ..	4,000 Sikhs ..
93	5-9-47	..	Jagraon Refugee Camp, District Ludhiana.	185	Slaughter at Refugee Camp, 600 killed.	1,000 Sikhs and Army personnel on guard duty at the Camp.
4	5-9-47	..	Ramjas College, Karol Bagh.	407	Killing of students (examinees) 50 killed.	S. S. military and police ..
	5-9-47	..	Katra Fayyaz-ud-Din, Delhi.	251	Carried out searches and arrested 70 Muslims.	Police ..
	5-9-47	..	Qarol Bagh ..	251	Ordered the Muslims of Qarol Bagh to evacuate at a few minutes' notice.	Do. ..
	5-9-47	..	Gali Doorwali and Model Basti, Delhi.	305	Arrested 360 persons and afterwards killed them.	Do. ..

APPENDIX I — concluded

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Statement No. of source of information	Nature of atrocity	Personnel involved	Name of force or unit if known
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
98	8-9-47	..	Sultanpora, Kapurthala State.	240	Slaughter of foot convoy, 1,685 killed.	Sikhs and military escort	Kapurthala Army.
99	8-9-47	..	Village Harbanspura, District Gurgaon.	432	Killing, 800 killed	Hindu jats assisted by non-Muslim additional police.	..
100	12-9-47	..	Jullundur Railway Station	142	Firing and killing, 100 killed.	Hindu military and police	..
101	16-9-47	10 p.m.	Gali Sahtra, Delhi	405	Firing from house tops, 4,000 killed.	Dogra and Sikh military	..
102	18-9-47	..	Village Shahliwal, District Amritsar.	185-C	Slaughter, 70 killed	500 Sikhs and military..	..
103	22-9-47	..	Delhi	218	Looting	Military	..
104	2-10-47	..	Village Bhaini, District Gurdaspur.	289	Killing and looting, 3 killed.	Sikhs and police	..
105	..	..	Sharifpura, Amritsar	99	Firing, butchering and looting.	Sikh mob mixed with military.	..
106	..	..	Village Khabe Dogran, District Amritsar.	71	Firing, butchering and looting, 275 killed.	Sikh jathas mixed with military.	..
107	..	..	Village Bhojjan, District Amritsar.	179	Butchering, firing and abduction, 1,000 killed.	8,000 Sikhs mixed with military.	..

APPENDIX II—continued

No.	Date	Time and Train No.	Place of occurrence	Statement No. or source of information	Who attacked and their number	Weapons used	Dead	Injured	REMARKS
8	24.8.47	6 am, 33 UP	Ludhiana (between Khanna and D.S. raba).	177	Sikhs ..	Spears, hatchets and swords.	4	..	Sikhs attacked the train. Non-Muslim military made no efforts to check the robbers.
9	24.8.47	..	Maur Railway Station.	320	250 Sikhs ..	Spears and hatchets.	13	4	..
10	24.8.47	..	Sekhand Railway Station.	125	Alahis and H. S. S.	Swords, spears and guns.	..	..	Seventy persons out of the whole train survived.
11	27.8.47	..	Near Koli and Guman Railway Station (Kalka).	410	..	..	100	..	..
12	29.8.47	..	Bhawal Railway Station, Hissar.	140	Mob of Hindus and Sikhs attacked the train.	Swords ..	..	..	The hoodlums dragged out the Muslims of the train and put them to sword.
13	1.0.47	..	Sikhand Railway Station.	133	Sikhs and Patiala State military.	..	100	75	..
14	2.0.47	..	Sirhand Sharif ..	Daily diary, dated 5/10/1947 from C/O, West Punjab.	Non-Muslims	..	1,000	700	Attack was organised with the help of the civil authorities.
15	2.0.47	..	Dera Railway Station	410	40 Sikhs ..	..	..	..	..

16	4-9-47	..	Narela Railway Station (Kalka-Delhi Section).	402	Sikhs	..	..	..	..	Considerable loss of Muslim life was involved.
17	5-9-47	..	Khojwala, Kapurthala State.	242	Sikhs	..	..	4,700	..	The train was derailed. Chief Minister and the young Prince Kanwar Sahib were present on the spot but did not interfere.
18	5-9-47	..	Between Kapurthala and Jullundur City.	Daily diary dated 5/6th October 1947 from CLO, West Punjab.	Non-muslims	..	..	1,200	..	The train was attacked twice between Kapurthala and Jullundur City.
19	5-9-47	..	Bijwasan Railway Station on the BB and CI Railway Narrow Gauge, near Palam Aerodrome, Delhi.	402	..	..	..	..	..	..
	5-9-47	..	Bahadargarh Railway Station on Rohtak-Delhi Section.	402	..	..	..	..	..	..
	5-9-47	..	Railway Station, Palam, Near Delhi.	405	..	..	..	..	..	The train was bombed.
	5-9-47	..	Badli Railway Station in the suburbs of Delhi.	405	Sikhs and Hindu Jats.	..	..	..	..	..
	5-9-47	..	Between Doraha and Sahnewal.	422	4,000 Sikhs	..	..	..	..	Only 450 of the whole train survived.
	6-9-47	4 UP for Muradabad.	Delhi	402	..	..	..	..	..	The train was bombed.

APPENDIX II—continued

No.	Date	Time and Train No.	Place of occurrence	Statement No. or source of information	Who attacked and their number	Weapons used	Dead	Injured	REMARKS
25	9-9-47	..	Khojewala, Kapurthala State.	160	500 Sikhs and Military.	..	1,000	700	Attack was organised with the help of civil authorities.
26	10-9-47	..	Kapurthala Railway Station.	142	Sikhs	..	1,000	..	Two miles away from Kapurthala Railway Station the train was derailed and attacked by Sikhs.
27	10-9-47	..	Khojewala Railway Station (next to Kapurthala).	160	Sikhs and military	..	1,000	..	When the train left the station it was derailed. Military escort joined hands with the raiders.
28	12-9-47	..	Jullundur Railway Station	142	Hindu Police and military.	..	100	..	When the train reached Jullundur Railway Station Hindu Military and Police fired on the refugees.
29	12-9-47	1 p.m.	Kapurthala State ..	369	Sikhs	..	..	..	The train was derailed and looted.
30	16-9-47	..	Beas Railway Station	284	Sikh mob ..	..	500	..	
31	16-9-47	..	Sahnawal Railway Station.	356	Mob of 1,400	Swords, spears and automatic bombs.	2,000	..	

32	19-9-47	..	Doraha Station, Patiala State.	189	Sikhs ..	..	2,500	..	The train was derailed and many Muslims were shot dead.
33	19-9-47	..	Jullundur	Station Rp., dated 19/9	Sikhs and Hindus.	..	..	..	The Hindu escort only fired in the air.
34	19-9-47	..	Beas Railway Station	312	Sikhs ..	..	300	..	Three-fourth of the occupants of the train were killed.
35	19-9-47	..	Ditto	194	Sikh Military and police with the hooligans from a non-muslim refugees train stationed at Beas.	..	..	..
36	20-9-47	..	Sirhand Railway Station.	282	Sikhs ..	..	4	..	
37	20-9-47	..	Sirhand Bassi	207	Do. ..	Firing with guns.	..	2	The attack was repulsed by a British Major.
38	20-9-47	..	Beas Railway Station	207	40/50 Sikhs including one constable with rifle.	Fired after taking positions on the mounds.	..	..	Attackers dispersed.
39	20-9-47	..	Rajpura	208	20,000 Sikhs	..	200	150	Kindu military fired in the air.
40	20-9-47	..	Beas Railway Station	210	Sikhs ..	..	168	168	
41	20-9-47	..	Rajpura	192	Do. ..	..	65	65	Four incendiary bombs were thrown on a roofless compartment which caught fire.

APPENDIX II—continued

No.	Date	Time and Train No.	Place and occurrence	Statement No. or source of information	Who attacked and help rendered	Wounds used	Dead	Injures and	REMARKS
37	21.0.47		Between Bhabha and Landhara.	U. R., dated 29th September 1947.	Armed Sikhs		6	40	A number of dead bodies were removed by U. P. O. at Jodhpur. Chaudh. Jha took part in the search operation in dead bodies and 40 injured when the road was searched.
38	21.0.47		Between Bhab and Anandpur.	301	Sikhs		116		
39	21.0.47		Anandpur	301	Do.		94		
40	21.0.47		Delhara Railway Station	323	Sikhs washed by military.		12		
41	22.0.47		Near Landhara Railway Station.	342	Sikhs		..	..	Only 16 out of the whole train survived. The train was attacked by a large number of Sikhs.
42	23.0.47		Bhab	U. R., dated 29th September 1947.	Non-armed		100	200	Robbery Special train from Delhi.
43	23.0.47		Delhara Railway Station.	301	Sikhs		200	..	The coach did not open due to the attack.

49	23-9-47	..	Railway Station Dhandari Kalan, near Ludhiana.	S. R., dated 23rd September 1947	Non-Muslims	..	18	50	Pakistan personnel special which arrived on 19th September 1947, at Lahore from Delhi.
50	23-9-47	03.05 hours.	Ludhiana	S. R., dated 23rd/24th Sept. 1947	..	..	400	15	A Britisher arriving from Bombay stated that he witnessed U. P. Refugees trains at Ludhiana and Amritsar Railway Stations attacked and heaps of refugees were lying on the platforms.
51	23-9-47	12.00 hours.	Amritsar	Ditto	..	..	16	15	
52	23-9-47	..	Chavapali Ludhiana.	S. R., dated 23rd 1947	..	..	400	..	
53	24-9-47	20.00 hours.	Amritsar	S. R., dated 26th 1947	Non-Muslims	..	3	..	Troops' special train carrying personnel of the 2nd Punjab Regiment and Pakistan G.H.Q. from Meerut was attacked at Amrit- sar. Two soldiers of the train killed.
54	5-10-47	..	Do.	Daily diary, dated 5/6th October 1947, from CLO, Wes- Punjab Gov- ernment.	Do.	..	2,000	1,600	Delhi refugees train was attacked at Amritsar.

APPENDIX III

Attacks on Non-Muslim Refugee Trains

No.	Date	Time and Train No.	Place of occurrence	Source of information	Who attacked and their number	Weapons used	Dead	Injured	REMARKS
1	11-8-47	20 DN. Sind Express.	Lahore outer signal	C. I. D. "Sitrops".	Muslim mob	..	13	6	
2	24-8-47	..	Near Badami Bagh	Ditto	..	..	1	1	Train was stopped and a Sikh Captain killed.
3	25-8-47	Coming from Multan.	Between Walton and Lahore.	Ditto	..	Knives ..	..	5	
4	12-8-47	242 DN.	Near Mandra ('Pindi Distt.).	Ditto	3 "unknown" men.	Tommy guns & spears.	2	2	Only Sikh casualties.
5	18-8-47	241 UP	Kalyan Rly. Station (Pindi).	Ditto	Mob of 20 ..	AXES ..	1	1	Only two men in the mob were carrying axes.
6	23-8-47	242 DN.	Between Daultala and Sukho ('Pindi.)	Ditto	" Raiders " ..	..	8	4	Military escort inflicted casualties on raiders.
7	27-8-47	220 Train	Near Golra ('Pindi.)	Ditto	..	..	2	..	Two Hindus were killed and thrown out of the train.
8	25-8-47	44 DN.	Khanawal ..	Ditto	Mob ..	..	..	4	
9	25-8-47	7 UP	Shahmal (Multan)	Ditto	..	..	..	1	Thrown out of the train.

10	25-8-47	43 UP	Shujabad (M.N.)	Ditto	..	..	..	1	1	Thrown out of the train.
11	28-8-47	44 D.P.	Shankot (Multan)..	Ditto	..	..	..	5	..	..
12	30-8-47	7 UP	Between Kassowal and Iqbal Nagar.	Ditto	..	..	..	"A few".	..	While travelling on foot-boards, Sikhs pushed down by Muslims and killed.
13	20-8-47	..	Near Jassar (Sialkot)	Ditto	..	..	..	2	..	Two Sikhs killed and thrown out of the train.
14	20-8-47	..	Near Sodra (Sialkot)	Ditto	..	Mob	..	..	..	Mob was dispersed by military firing.
15	25-8-47	Frontier Mail.	Between Hasan Abdal and Burhan (Campbellpur).	Ditto	..	..	Knives ..	3	..	Stabbed and thrown out of the train.
16	21-8-47	137 UP	Paikhal (Mianwali)	Ditto	..	Pathans 50/60.	Revolvers	1	..	Lt. K. S. Grewal of 4/8th Punjab Regiment shot dead. No other Hindu passenger touched.
17	27-8-47	148 DN.	Saramdwaha (Mianwali).	Ditto	..	Muslim mob	Fire arms	..	..	Mob exchanged fire with military escort.
18	24-8-47	..	Lodhran (Kasur) ..	Ditto	..	..	..	13	..	..
19	9-9-47	..	Near Badami Bagh (Lahore).	Ditto	..	..	..	..	..	The evaceue trains carrying non-Muslims from Rawalpindi was derailed.
20	21-9-47	..	Moghulpura ..	Ditto	..	Muslim mob	Knives and lathis.	32	60	Refugee train was attacked while berthed at Moghul-pura.
21	24-9-47	..	Lodhran (Multan) ..	Ditto	..	Ditto	..	20	70	Military escort killed 40 of the attackers and wounded 100.

APPENDIX III—concluded

No.	Date	Time and Train No.	Place of occurrence	Source of information	Who attacked and their number	Weapons used	Dead	Injured	REMARKS.
22	10-0-17	..	Between Raiwind and Raju Jung.	C.I.D. "Sitrep"	Muslim mob	..	..	..	Casualties not known, military escort inflicted casualties on the mob.
23	12-0-17	..	Near Pailchal (Mianwali).	Ditto	Muslim mob 3/4,000.	..	..	1	Mob led by Pathans. Only one non-Muslim evacuee was injured, military escort dispersed the mob.
24	24-0-17	12-30 hrs.	Karnoko (Gujranwala).	Ditto	Muslim mob	..	300	250	Military escort killed 15 rangers and injured 15.
25	25-0-17	..	Wazirabad	Ditto	Pathans	..	8	30	Troops opened fire on attackers and dispersed them.

APPENDIX IV

Attacks on Sialkot-Jammu border

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Source of information	Nature of attack	Who attacked and their number	Casualties		Damage to property	Persons kidnapped or abducted
							On East Punjab side	On West Punjab side		
1	16-9-47	..	V. Schaprar	S. R. dated— 19-9-47	..	200 Hindus	..	..	Destroyed crops.	
2	18-9-47	..	V. Nawan Pind (Sialkot).	2-10-47	Firing	Non-Muslims including Sikhs and Dogras.	..	3 killed	..	
3	20-9-47	..	V. Ghujaw (W. Punjab).	2-10-47	Do.	Ditto	..	3 seriously injured.	..	
4	20-9-47	..	V. Kundanpur	20-9-47	..	Mob of non-Muslims including armed militaymen.	..	1 killed	..	
5	22-9-47	..	V. Sail (Sialkot).	3-10-47	..	Soldiers from Jammu State.	..	..	Took away 4 goats.	
6	24-9-47	..	V. Dhandev, P. Sdesor.	3-10-47	Robbed Muslims.	4 non-Muslims soldier from Jammu State.	..	..	..
7	25-9-47	..	V. Chambara	3-10-47	..	3 military men with armed rifles.	..	..	Looted Rs. 1,201.	

15	13-10-47	Chamama Khurd (W. Punjab) Sialkot.	16-10-47	Opening rifle and automatic fire.	250 assisted by Dogra military.	..	1	..	Killed H. C. Mohd. Fusiq in charge of D. A. Picket at Daudot.
16	16-10-47	Khamam V. P.S. Phillaura, Sialkot.	18-10-47	Opening fire with bron and machine guns.	Some military men of Jammu State.	..	2 Muslims	..	..
17	17-10-47	V. Sangur, P.S. Chaprar Sialkot.	17-10-47	..	Non-Muslims from Jammu State.	..	1 injured	..	One kid-napped.
18	19-10-47	V. Narula and Dera in Sialkot District.	23-10-47	Attacked with bron guns, mortars and rifles.	Dogras headed by Kashmir State forces.	..	12 killed	Village burnt.	..
19	19-10-47	V. Khunda V. Dharg, P.S. Phulkian, Sialkot.	22-10-47	Using automatic weapons.	Hindus associated by armed military from Jammu State.	..	3 killed, 1 injured	Village burnt.	..
20	19-10-47	Near Suchetgarh in West Punjab.	19-10-47	..	State forces	..	2 killed (Muslim) 1 killed (Chrsn.)	..	..
	10-10-47	G. Gagian, Gujrat Distt.	23-10-47	..	Dogras headed by Kashmir State forces.	3 Dogras	3 Muslims	..	(Including woman).
	10-47	V. Khabal (Sialkot) V. Chhani Dheru, V. Bara, Kundal, V. Chotta Kundal, V. Chak Pamber (Sialkot).	23-10-46	Using mortar and machine guns firing and using automatic grenades & artillery.	5/6 State Light Infantry.	..	..	Villages completely burnt.	..

APPENDIX IV—continued

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Source of information	Nature of attack	Who attacked and their number	CASUALTIES		Damage to property	Persons kidnaped or abducted
							On East Punjab side	On West Punjab side		
23	20-10-47	..	(Gujrat) Chak Laywala in the limits of V. Mohammad-Mohamad-wala (West Punjab).	S. R. dated— 23-10-47	Using rifles and 2 brown guns.	Sikhs supported by 20 military men.	50 Sikhs killed, 3 injured	..	..	..
24	20-10-47	..	V. Dakhon (Gujrat Distt.)	21-10-47	..	Machine-gun firing.	..	1 killed	..	..
25	20-10-47	..	Va. Khokhar, Bhabha, Khatkar P. S, Phillaura (W. Punjab).	20-10-47	Firing with brown gun & rifles.	A mob from Jammu State.	..	14 persons killed.	..	..
26	21-10-47	..	V. Jhandi Dara, Chahota Kaudal, Dara Kaudal, Kallan and Bana (West Punjab), Phillaura Sialkot.	25-10-47	State troops	..	..	1,750 killed.	..	..
27	21-10-47	..	Davlat Chak & Khaspur Marrian.	20-10-47	Forcing the villagers for evacuation.	Non-Machin military plus foot account by Sikhs.	..	..	..	..

28	22-10-47	..	V. Dakhna (Gujrat).	27-10-47	Arson, loot and killing.	Armed mob from Jammu State.	..	25 killed, 4 injured.	All houses in Dakhna were looted and burnt.	
29	22-10-47	..	Villages in Shaktargarh.	26-10-47	..	1,500 Sikhs.	..	..	..
30	23-10-47	..	V. Dakhna, Gujrat.	26-10-47	..	Armed mob from Jammu State assisted by State military.	25 killed	..	..
31	23-10-47	..	V. Nargol, Shaktargarh Tehsil.	..	Arson and killing.	Armed civilians from Jammu State.	..	1 woman killed, 2 injured	..	Several houses and harvested crops burnt.
32	23-10-47	..	V. Matianwala, V. Rajan, V. Dakhna (Gujrat).	24-10-47	Arson	Dogras from Kashmir State.	..	30 persons burnt to death.	All three villages completely burnt.	
	23-10-47	..	Villages in Shaktargarh.	26-10-47	..	Sikhs supported by military.	..	..	..
	24-10-47	..	V. Jarwal, P.S. Phillaura (Sialkot).	26-10-47	..	Jammu State military assisted by 500 civilians.	..	..	..	Some attackers sustained injuries.
	24-10-47	..	Bhiko Chak, Jagowal, Kharol.	27-10-47	Arson	500 Armed civilians from Jammu State.	..	..	Burnt the three vil- lages.	
	25-10-47	..	V. Akmal, Sialkot.	27-10-47	Arson and killing.	200 armed men from Jammu State.	..	12 killed	Burnt the village.	
	5-10-47	05-00 hrs.	Vs. Bhandar Verral, Tehsil Shaktargarh.	29-10-47	Rifles, auto- matics and khukris.	1,500 armed men from Jammu State and headed by military men in plain clothes.	3 Gur- khas in uniforms killed.	5 killed	..	

APPENDIX IV.—continued

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Source of information	Nature of attack	Who attacked and their number	CASUALTIES		Damage to property	Persons kidnapped or abducted
							On East Punjab side	On West Punjab side		
38	27-10-47	..	V. Thakarpur near Shakargarh-Jammu Border.	S. R. dated— 31-10-47	Firing ..	Non-Muslim mob from Jammu.	..	..	An old man was burnt in a house.	..
39	28-10-47	..	V. Jesong, P. S. Phulkian, District Sialkot.	31-10-47	Firing ..	Dogra from Jammu State assisted by State Military.	..	1 Constable missing with 100 rounds of ammunition	..	..
40	31-10-47	..	Matowala, Gujrat.	3-11-47	Firing ..	Mob from Jammu State.	..	1 killed	..	..
41	31-10-47	..	Matowal, Gujrat	2-11-47	Araon ..	Mob from West of Manawa, Jammu State	..	..	3 houses set on fire, crops burnt	..
42	3-11-47	10 00 hrs.	Sambal, P. S. Lesser Kohan, Sialkot.	7-11-47	Bomb and rifle firing.	A party of Military men.	..	1 killed	..	..
43	3-11-47	14 00 hrs.	V. Mohi ..	5-11-47	Rifle firing ..	Non-Muslim mob	..	1 killed	..	..
44	3-11-47	10 00 hrs.	V. Sambal, P. S. Lesser Kohan.	7-11-47	Bomb and rifle firing.	Military men from Jammu State.	..	1 killed	..	..

APPENDIX IV—continued

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Source of information	Nature of attack	Who attacked and their number	CASUALTIES		Damage to property	Persons kidnapped or abducted
							On East Punjab side	On West Punjab side		
53	6-11-47	..	V. Thale Kalan, Sialkot,	S. B. dated— 13-11-47	..	State civilians	..	1 killed, 3 injured	..	..
54	6-11-47	..	V. Dhan ..	3-11-47	Boying	200/300 non-Muslims,	..	..	..	..
55	7-11-47	..	Ch. Boda and Mohi (Chujrat.)	8-11-47	..	Mob of non-Muslims including armed military men,	..	..	..	..
56	8-11-47	..	V. Dhan (Gujrat),	8-11-47	..	200/300 non-Muslims,	..	..	..	..
57	8-11-47	..	V. Dhong, P.S. Bhudkhan,	13-11-47	..	Mob of non-Muslims including heavily armed Jammu State military,	..	3 killed, 1 wounded,	..	Several houses set on fire,
58	10-11-47	..	V. Mohi and Chak Budha,	13-11-47	Open gun, rifle and muskets loaded, log gun fire,	4/7,000 civilians and military men from Jammu,	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX V

Raids on Wagha-Kasur Border

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Source of information	Nature of attack	Who attacked and their number	CASUALTIES		Damage to property	Persons kidnapped or abducted
							On Road Punjab side	On West Punjab side		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	13-9-47	..	V. Sahjra (West Punjab).	S. R. dated 6-10-47	Raid	Sikhs	..	..	Removed 21 cattle.	..
2	14-9-47	..	V. Sahjra (West Punjab).	6-10-47	Attack	A Sikh mob headed by 13 men in police uniform.	..	Killed 1 Muslim and 1 Christian	..	Kidnapped 9 Muslims and 13 Christians which were released by A.S. I. (Muslim) Singh after having paid Rs. 1,800 as ransom money.
3	24-9-47	12-35 hours.	Baba village, 3 miles from Jallo Station.	24-9-47	..	..	1	..	..	..
4	29/27-9-47	..	V. Lidd (West Punjab).	1-10-47	Cherrying rifle	20 Sikhs	1 Christian killed, 2 wounded.	..	Some cattle taken away	..

No.	Date	V. (West Punjab)	Taragsh (West Punjab)	Date	Attempt to rob cattle grazing.	Sikhs	Wounded	Other	Remarks
6	2-10-47	V. Ballanvala and Baran (Knsur).	V. Taragsh (West Punjab).	4-10-47	..	Sikhs	..	..	..
7	6-10-47	Chattianwala and Badian (Knsur).	Chattianwala and Badian (Knsur).	8-10-47	Firing	100 armed and mounted Sikhs.	1	..	..
8	8-10-47	V. Shohjan (Knsur).	V. Shohjan (Knsur).	10-10-47	Firing with two bron guns and 18 rifles.	50/60 Sikhs headed by militarymen.	1	..	..
9	9-10-47	Wagha Camp..	Wagha Camp..	S. R. 01444.	Firing	Sikhs	3	..	..
10	12-10-47	Zabbako	Zabbako	01515	..	Sikhs	..	..	2 Muslims and 1 Christian abducted while cutting fodder in fields.
11	12-10-47	Sudha Singhwala (West Punjab).	Sudha Singhwala (West Punjab).	13-10-47	Firing	11 armed Sikhs	..	..	Kidnapped two Christians.
12	13-10-47	Ballanvalan	Ballanvalan	14-10-47	Do.	50/60 Sikhs	3 wounded.	..	17 kidnapped including 7 women and 4 children.
13	13-10-47	Do.	Do.	14-10-47	Attack with firearms and spears.	50/60 Sikhs aided by 20 armed military soldiers.	3 injured	..	17 abducted including 7 women and 4 children.
14	15-10-47	Shohjan	Shohjan	St. Rp. 01535.	Jatha of Sikhs armed with light auto-..	Sikhs	4	..	..

APPENDIX V—concluded

No.	Date	Time	Place of occurrence	Source of information	Nature of attack	Who attacked and their number	CASUALTIES		Damage to property	Persons kidnapped or abducted
							On E. Punjab side	On W. Punjab side		
15	15-10-47	..	Rajatal	S. R. dated 10-10-47	..	Sikhs	1 killed, 1 wounded	..	..
16	19-10-47	..	Balanwala (Kasur).	20-10-47	Firing with Bren guns and rifles.	100 Sikhs supported by ten militarymen.	1	..	..
17	20-10-47	..	V. Kanjar Hathus, P. S. Ganda Singh-wala.	20-10-47	Attack with guns and spears	A dozen Sikhs..	..	120 cattle driven away.	..	
18	20-10-47	..	V. Chatianwala, P.S. Lulliani.	20-10-47	..	Sikhs	..	..	Four villagers cutting fodder in the fields were kidnapped.
19	22-10-47	..	V. Kamal Pur (Kasur).	24-10-47	Firing	20 Sikhs from Mohidpur (EP) supported by 10 military men armed with rifles and guns.	1 wounded.	..	..

APPENDIX VI

Report of D.W. McDonald, Esq., Addl. Deputy Commissioner, Ferozepore, on the Derailment of Pakistan Special near Giddarbaha on the night of 9th August 1947

That this train was derailed with deliberate intention there is not the slightest doubt. I will now try and give a picture of how this crime was carried out.

It is reported that five men arrived near the spot in a khaki coloured Jeep in the late evening, and that two men on a camel joined them. So long as I was at the spot no one could be secured who would even disclose the caste of the occupants of the Jeep. Every one questioned stated that it was dark and they could not tell. These men came to the spot through Satrah village, which is about 2 miles away. They left the Jeep on the Satrah-Daula Kach Road directly opposite telegraph post 203/21, which is a distance of about 550 yards. They approached to within about 150 yards of the Railway line, where there is a water-course running parallel to the Railway, and from

there laid two cables reaching up to the railway lines. So far as I can make out from an inspection of the damaged line, they must have laid two charges of gelignite on the inside of the rail, passing the cables under the line. These charges were electrically fired by a battery placed at the spot 150 yards away in the watercourse. Information regarding the approach of the Special was obtained by tapping the telephone wires at the spot, and presumably listening into the conversation between the Railway staffs of Giddarbaha and the previous station. Immediately the engine passed the selected telegraph post (203/21) the battery was touched off and the Gelignite charges fired. The explosion took place when the middle of the second bogie from the engine was over the spot. The explosion dislodged 7 feet of the rail and also blew a hole into the vacuum tube under the second bogie. This leak in the vacuum system must have immediately caused all the brakes of the train to jam on. The bogie under which the charge was fired and two behind it capsized and four others were derailed—one in front and three behind the capsized bogies. A sketch showing the position of these seven bogies is attached. So is a sketch showing the layout of the site of accident.

When I reached the site of occurrence, I heard rumours that work on arranging for this crime must have been going on for some days, and the Railway staff being Hindus, did nothing about it. This is quite wrong. Any trained Engineer or any man trained in guerilla warfare can carry out such an operation as this within a matter of a few minutes after leaving the Jeep. One thing is obvious from the manner in which this crime was executed and from the material recovered at the spot, and that is that the leading culprit is a man who has served in the army in some engineer unit or is a man who has been trained in guerilla warfare.

Material recovered at the spot was:—

- (1) Three pounds or so of Gelignite, massed together and not in paper wrapped sticks as is usual.
- (2) A cigarette tin with what looks like ordinary river sand 1/4 full.
- (3) Fair length of cable wire.
- (4) A large eveready battery, high tension.
- (5) Two metal hooks with stick holds and with cables attached.
(These were hanging from the telephone wires and had obviously been used for tapping the wires).
- (6) Seventeen empty .450 revolver cartridge cases.

It was reported that the train escort opened fire on the culprits and they returned the fire while bolting. This must account for recovery No. 6 above. The

battery was found about 50 yards further from the train than the empty rounds. It was probably dropped in the hurry to get away. A telephone was obviously used, but this must have been taken away. The cable used was new and must have been brought to the site on two new card-board drums. These were recovered with the cable. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ ' piece of the blown-away railway line was found at the spot but the remaining $4\frac{1}{2}$ ' to 5' piece is missing. I can only presume that this is mixed up in the debris of the wrecked railway track and carriages.

The train must have been going a fair speed to have gone so far past the spot where the line was blown. This and the fact that the damage was done after the engine and first bogie had passed, is alone responsible for the small list of casualties. Due to the fact that the engine continued to pull and all brakes were automatically applied by the explosion, the train was kept stretched and the bulk of the carriages retained their upright position. If the line had been blown just before the engine reached the spot, the engine would have stopped dead by burying into the ground and the whole train would have piled up on to it. It was, therefore, an act of Providence that the engine was allowed to go over before the damage was done to the line.

From the fact that new cable wire was used, gelignite which is only a military supply was employed, a new battery and a telephone were amongst the equipment taken to the spot, a khaki coloured Jeep was the means of transport, and 450 revolver rounds were found at the spot, I am of the opinion, *though I am reluctant to express it*, that this crime was perpetrated by some men still in military service.

(Sd). D.W. McDonald,

Dated 10th August 1947.

Addl. Deputy Commissioner, Ferozapore.

To—

Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, Lahore (by name).

APPENDIX VII

**A statement on Delhi Disturbances made by a Military Officer on
21st September 1947**

Subject :—DELHI DISTURBANCES

I was one of the Military Officers attached to the Q. M. G.'s Branch, G. H. Q. INDIA in connection with the move of Pakistan Government to Karachi.

Early in August 1947, we started despatching the personnel of the Pakistan Government by Special Passenger Trains. This continued till the middle of the month, after which the train service had to be abandoned on account of disturbances in Eastern Punjab. Towards the end of the month BOAC Aircrafts were chartered to fly the stranded Government personnel from Delhi to Karachi. The I. N. A. also placed some aircrafts at our disposal but later on these were withdrawn and requisitioned by the Government of India for "Other purposes." On arrival of the BOAC Aircrafts from England the "Operation Pakistan" began on the 4th of September 1947 from Palam Airport.

By this date, the general situation in Delhi had become tense and in spite of the Delhi City having been under an 88-hour curfew, conditions had deteriorated. Refugees, especially the Sikhs coming from Punjab, were responsible for spreading panicky news and mass meetings were being held every day in the refugee camps. The directive from East Punjab was "Do not allow Pakistan Personnel or property to escape." All incoming Railway Trains to Delhi were being attacked in the suburbs and Muslims were being massacred. Palam Railway Station vicinity is one of the examples. On the whole the outlook was far from bright and it was quite apparent that trouble would break out at any moment. In spite of the curfew in Delhi area, the Sikhs could be seen moving about in jeeps, armed with swords and possibly other weapons. There was a general rumour that trouble would break out in Delhi on or about the 5th of September and even New Delhi which had hitherto escaped communal disturbances would not be spared. Yet the authorities in New Delhi did not adopt any precautionary measures to prevent trouble and in spite of high tension and explosive atmosphere even curfew was not imposed. I was staying in a flat, immediately above the premises of Messrs. Fazalbhoy & Sons in Queensway, Connaught Place.

The disturbances broke out in the surrounding villages of Delhi on 5th September, and from Palam aerodrome I could see the smoke of fire.

not more than three to four miles away. The Muslim residents of these villages were looted, killed and turned out of their homes. Those who had the good fortune to escape came to us for shelter, because we had some Muslim troops guarding the airport area. The number of these refugees was about three hundred and many of these saw the Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and explained their sufferings and grievances to him when the Honourable Member was returning from Delhi on the 8th of September.

7th September 1947

At about 08:00 hours I left my flat in Connaught Place and proceeded to Delhi Railway Station. During my brief stay at the Railway Station I found that the situation was far from being normal. I had gone to see my younger brother (who is an Officer in the Army), who had reached Delhi by Punjab Mail on the previous evening and had to spend the night at the Railway Station under a very tense and explosive atmosphere. During the night that he was at the Railway Station, three bombs or hand-grenades were thrown on the Muslim passengers, which resulted in ten persons being killed and several others injured.

The trains which reached Delhi that morning had blood in some of the compartments. I saw my brother off on the Punjab Mail bound for Bombay. That was the only train which went out of Delhi without any incident. Thereafter every train leaving Delhi on G. I. P. line was stopped near Nizamuddin and Muslim passengers pulled out and put to death. I left Delhi Railway Station at about 09:00 hours and I have been told that the general killing and looting at the Railway Station started immediately afterwards.

At about 09:20 hours I passed through the outer circle of Connaught Place (on my way to Palam Airport). The looting in Connaught Place had started. I saw hundreds of people, mostly Sikhs and other hooligans, breaking open the shops and looting everything. There were two lorry load of Military Troops standing by on the road side and there was some Police too. But neither of these two parties took any interest in what was going on around them and looked quite unconcerned. When nearing Plaza Cinema, I saw two dead bodies lying on the foot-path. I did not stop my vehicle because I was unarmed. On our way out from the Connaught Place we saw three more dead bodies (Muslims) lying in front of the Rivoli Cinema.

I was on duty at the Palam Aerodrome up till 18:00 hours on the 7th of September, and during the day we got all sorts of news of mass murder, loot and arson all over Delhi. At about 19:00 hours we returned to the Pakistan Transfer Office at 'L' Block. This office by that time had taken the shape of a refugee-

camp and there were about six thousand people—a majority of these from the Lodi Road Colony area. We had to open another camp at Palam on that day. Rescue parties were organised and under the personal supervision of other officers rescuing of men, women and children was carried out from the affected area.

On 5th September, most of the Muslim Matric Examinees were killed and butchered outside the examination hall at Karol Bagh.

On 7th September, the whole of Lodi Road and Willingdon Airport area was surrounded by the Sikhs and every Muslim who was trapped was put to death. The figure of those killed at the Willingdon Airport and Lodi Colony on this day alone will easily be a few hundred if not a few thousand. An Englishman who happened to be at the Willingdon Airport on that fateful morning related to me all these details. He told me that the Sikhs dressed in civilian clothes used sten guns and swords to kill their victims. The Willingdon Airport remained closed for the next six or seven days.

Some of the above-mentioned officers who went to rescue the trapped Muslims in the Lodi Road colony had narrow escapes. We have seen burnt houses, men, women and even children. The Police did not do anything to protect the innocent people or prevent the looting of their shops or houses and instead gave their full support to the hooligans and thus added more chaos to confusion.

On that evening I had to go to my flat in Connaught Place and rescue some of my own people who were staying with me. Accompanied by a military escort I reached the flat at about 21.00 hours. The first thing which struck us was the looted and empty shop of Messrs. Fazalbhoy and Sons. All the other Muslim stalls, in the arcades of the vicinity had been looted, but in contrast to this not a single Hindu shop or stall had been touched. Our own flat had become a small refugee camp as all the women and children of the surrounding flats had come there. It took the hooligans four to five hours to complete the looting of Fazalbhoy premises. This was done in the presence of the Police and the Military who did nothing to prevent this large-scale loot.

8th September 1947

This day is generally known as the great day of massacre loot and arson in New and Old Delhi. In Connaught Place nearly all the Muslim shops were looted, e.g., Messrs. Hussain Bakhsh, Capital Boot House, Umar & Co., Ghani Stores, Fazalbhoy and others. Muslim shops and property in Chandni Chowk, Sadar Bazar, Sabzi Mandi and Paharganj were looted on a grand scale and hundreds of Muslims killed in these localities. The Muslims lost their

morale, and the will to resist, because they had not only to resist the well-armed Sikhs but also found the Police and Military against them. Those who escaped being slaughtered fled from their homes leaving everything behind. The majority of the Muslim Police had either been disarmed or posted to some unimportant places in the city. A number of these policemen fled and found refuge in our camp. By the evening of 8th September, there were approximately twelve thousand Muslims as refugees in our 'L' Block area. The water supply in this particular area was cut off for nearly 24 hours and in the end when water could be found, it was the unfiltered muddy water from the taps used for watering the gardens, and thousands of thirsty people had no alternative but to drink it.

Some of our officers and a handful of Muslim troops went to the worst affected localities like Karol Bagh and Paharganj and saved as many lives as they possibly could. They saw many dead bodies and burnt houses. All those who had been rescued had the same tale to tell that neither the Police nor the Army had been helpful to them in their plight. As a matter of fact there are instances where the Police has forcibly ejected Muslim occupants of the house, put them in their truck and dumped them in one of the refugee camps under the pretence of taking them to safety. The houses which fell vacant in this manner were immediately occupied by the Hindus or Sikhs with its property. Exactly this happened to Mr. H. Muntaz's servants who were living in a flat just opposite Plaza Cinema.

Wherever the Muslims put up any resistance against organised attacks, it was ruthlessly put down by the military or Police Force and the mischief makers were given a free hand. Such were the conditions and chaos which existed on the 8th of September. No Muslim could feel safe. It was a very black day for the Muslims in Delhi. Although the whole of Delhi and especially part of the New Delhi area was supposed to be under curfew, there was no proper checking during the curfew hours. Machine gun fire could be heard in Connaught Place as late as 22:00 hours.

9th September 1947

In spite of the "Shoot to Kill" order given to the troops by the Area Commander, looting and killing continued all over Delhi on the same scale as on the previous two days. This order may have been given in good faith, but it was generally known and felt that it was more applicable against Muslims than against non-Muslims. More and more troops were poured into the disturbed areas but the situation was far from being under control. The Sikhs, in their bid to wipe out the Muslims in Karol Bagh and Paharganj, apart from using

automatic weapons even used 3" Mortar. Isolated Muslim property in these localities was first looted and then set on fire. In other places the property was looted and the vacant houses were occupied by the non-Muslims.

Shortage of rations had become very serious. There were hundreds of people who had not had anything to eat for two or three days.

The Purana Qila refugee Camp was opened and thousands of Muslims who had fled from their homes took shelter in it. By the evening of the 9th, there were approximately 25,000 refugees in Purana Qila and more were pouring in from all directions.

An eyewitness who was working in Purana Qila as medical relief saw lorry-loads of dead bodies being dumped between New Delhi water-works and Feroz Shah Kotla. By the evening he estimated the number of dead bodies taken to this dump to be in no way less than 10,000. At 19:00 hours (on 9th September 1947), the dump of dead bodies was burnt with petrol and fuel. This fire was witnessed by thousands from the Purana Qila fort. To avoid panic, he informed the occupants that the fire was due to a rubber dump. This person who is well known to many high officials of Pakistan is here and can vouchsafe for this statement, and can give further information of the RSS activities in Delhi.

10th September 1947

In the meantime the evacuation of Government personnel from Palam Airport was going on smoothly. On this morning the I. N. A. Hindu ground staff struck work in order to paralyse and delay our work from Delhi. But this did not mar our spirits and we carried on the work with our own volunteers. However next day all the staff returned to duty.

The situation had slightly improved in New Delhi but places like Dhiraj Pahari, Bara Hindu Rao, Nawabganj, Qasabpura, and Jhil Kulanja suffered heavy losses in life and property (of Muslims).

11th September 1947.

Although the situation showed some signs of improvement, but in New Delhi the looting of Muslim houses and bungalows was still in progress. Food and rations had arrived. The refugees in Purana Qila who had been in a sad plight were organised and distribution of food arranged as far as it could be done. The number of refugees had gone up to about 50,000. Pandit Nehru, Commander-in-Chief, India, and Lady Mountbatten paid a number of visits to the refugee camp. On 10th September one of the lorries evacuating refugees from Old Delhi side was fired at by a machine gun in the immediate vicinity

of Kashmiri Gate. It is believed that this fire was directed from a military picquet posted on top of this gate. When the lorry reached Purana Qila, two of its occupants had died and three seriously injured including a baby with a bullet through the chest. Later on during the afternoon when Lady Mountbatten visited the camp she was apprised of this incident. This goes to show that unarmed Muslim refugees were shot at by the custodians of law in broad daylight.

On 11th September, the Delhi Police made its first appearance at the Palam Airport and started examining the baggage of all Pakistan bound passengers. By the orders of the Government of India, all licensed arms were confiscated by the Police.

13th September 1947.

But on 13th morning, a new Hindu Police Squad arrived at the Palam Airport. They were accompanied by the Superintendent of Police and one Civilian Sikh wearing sherwani. On this particular morning the Police started making a thorough search under the personal supervision of this Sikh. The search was being conducted in a disgraceful manner and the behaviour of this Sikh was rude towards the passengers. On enquiring about his designation or the authority to conduct the search, he refused to reveal his identity to myself. However the Superintendent of Police told us that the Sikh had been authorised by the High Command to supervise the search of all the Pakistan passengers. He conducted himself in such a bad manner that apart from intentionally delaying every aircraft for two to three hours, he was not even courteous to the ladies. In fact he himself wanted to search the ladies. When it was pointed out to him that if it was his intention to search the ladies then he should have brought some woman for this purpose, he replied that he did not have enough time to go into all such petty details and if we did not allow him to do what he liked, then no aircraft would be able to take off that day. He was also rude to the crew of the aircrafts.

This Sikh is reputed to be a Magistrate. Apart from confiscating all licensed arms and authorised ammunition, the following things were confiscated from the passengers :

- (1) Scissors of all types, big and small.
- (2) Razor Blades.
- (3) Forks and Knives.
- (4) Tonges.
- (5) Dry and tinned rations.
- (6) Cotton and silk cloth including women's head coverings.
- (7) Bed-Sheets.

When he was requested not to be so abrupt in handling the contents of the boxes, and just pulling out and throwing saris on the ground, he replied "I am doing all this in a vindictive spirit. I am trying to take revenge for the happenings in West Punjab. You must remember that this is Hindustan and not your Pakistan. You are now in India and you will be treated in any manner we like. If you have got anything to say you can go and tell it to your Jinnah." These words were uttered by him in the presence of the British BOAC aircraft crew, two other military officers and myself.

Later on in the afternoon the Area Commander and a Representative from the Supreme Commander's Headquarters arrived at the Palam Aerodrome and this Sikh Civilian was asked to go away. His name I have been told is Sardar Harbhajan Singh.

I left Delhi on 15th September, and up till that date the situation could be summed up as follows :—

- (1) Sixty per cent Muslims from Old Delhi and 90 per cent Muslim residents of New Delhi had fled from their houses and taken refuge in Purana Qila or elsewhere.
- (2) All empty flats in Connaught Place and other houses in Now Delhi had first been looted by hooligans and then occupied by non-Muslims, mostly Sikhs.
- (3) The Muslims in Delhi have been terrorised to such an extent that very few will go back to their homes and settle down again.
- (4) At least 20,000 to 25,000 Muslims were killed in Delhi between the 4th and 14th of September 1947. The casualties suffered by non-Muslims do not exceed 2,000 in all. Apart from this hundreds of Muslims were injured, the loss of property and the number of people rendered homeless cannot be estimated. Muslim women were abducted or converted.
- (5) In spite of the ban, Sikhs could still be seen with swords and kirpans. The Government of India had imposed this ban for three reasons :—
 - (a) enough Muslims had been killed or terrorised,
 - (b) to dupe the Pakistan Government and use this banning of swords and kirpans as political propaganda,
 - (c) the Hindus after witnessing the mass slaughter and atrocities inflicted on the Muslims by the Sikhs were themselves afraid that these very swords may be used against them.

- (6) Licensed weapons were still being confiscated from all persons leaving Delhi, with the result that I had to leave my 12-bore Shot gun with a friend of mine.
- (7) Attackers in no instance were disarmed but Muslim citizens resisting the attackers instead of being helped were disarmed, forcibly evacuated to near areas, their houses given over to attackers for loot and occupation e.g., in Sabzi Mandi on 8th September 1947.
- (8) Disarming, harassing and searching of Muslim areas, which apparently were neither responsible for loot or creating trouble.
- (9) Majority of the Muslim Police had either been disarmed or found refuge in Purana Qila Camp;
- (10) *No Hindu casualties in Mohallas.* No Hindu Mohalla or area either attacked, looted or occupied.
- (11) RSSS were responsible for all organised attacks; Sikhs for killing, loot, arson and occupation.
- (12) Military in the beginning indulgent—allowed looting, killing and occupation while it stood by. It constantly harassed the Muslims in disturbed areas and helped the insurgents.

