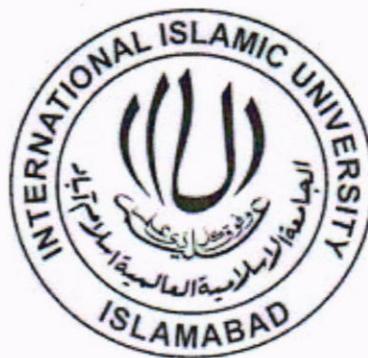


**THE PUNJAB POLICE AND COMMUNAL RIOTS  
A CASE STUDY OF RAWALPINDI DIVISION**

**1940-47**



**SUMERA RASHEED  
M. Phil  
Reg# 21-FSS/MSHIS/S09**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY  
ISLAMABAD**

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**SUMERA RASHEED  
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**Supervisor**

**PROFESSOR DR. JAVED HAIDER SYED**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY  
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**SUMERA RASHEED  
Reg# 21-FSS/MSHIS/S09**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the  
Degree of Masters of Philosophy in the discipline of History  
with specialization in Modern South Asia  
at the faculty of Social Sciences,  
International Islamic University  
Islamabad**

**Supervisor**

  
Professor Dr. Javed Haider Syed

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riots

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## APPROVAL SHEET

### THE PUNJAB POLICE AND COMMUNAL RIOTS A CASE STUDY OF RAWALPINDI DIVISION 1940-47

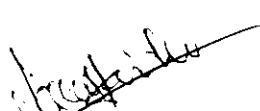
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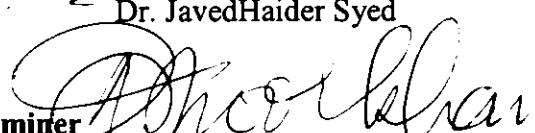
Accepted by the Department of History, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad, in the partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY**

Supervisor

  
Dr. Javed Haider Syed

Internal Examiner

  
Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan

External Examiner

  
Dr. Farooq Ahmed Dar

Date: 20.10.2012

Head  
Department of History,  
International Islamic University,  
Islamabad.

Dean  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
International Islamic University,  
Islamabad.

## Certification

Certification that content and form of thesis entitled "**The Punjab Police and Communal Riots A case study of Rawalpindi Division 1940-47**" submitted by **Sumera Rasheed Reg#21-FSS/MSHIS/S09** have been found satisfactory for in the fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree in the Master of Philosophy in History with specialization in Modern South Asia.

### Supervisor



**Dr. Javed Haider Syed**  
Professor (R)  
Department of History  
Quaid-i-Azam University,  
Islamabad.

### Internal Examiner



**Dr. Abdul Zahoor Khan**  
Assistant Professor  
Department of History  
International Islamic University,  
Islamabad.

### External Examiner



**Dr. Farooq Ahmed Dar**  
Assistant Professor  
Department of History  
Quaid-i-Azam University,  
Islamabad.

**Professor Dr. Nabi Bux Jumani**

**Dean**



Faculty of Social Sciences  
International Islamic University, Islamabad.

## **Declaration**

I here-by declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

  
**Sumera Rasheed**

TO MY  
**ABU ABDUL RASHEED HAIDRI**  
AND  
**MY LATE FATHER IN LAW FAZAL AHMAD**

الحمد لله رب العالمين

## **ABSTRACT**

**The purpose of this study is to examine the historical development of Police in Islamic and International perspective, from ancient time of India to emergence of Pakistan in 1947, including British era. The thesis signifies communal riots erupted in Punjab during the period 1940-1947 and in particular in Rawalpindi Division.**

**Rawalpindi Division was an important area of the Punjab because military activities and many British administrative and intelligence offices were located here. Rawalpindi Division comprised six districts Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Jehlum, Mianwali, Shahpur and Attock. The Punjab was the traditional centre of Muslim rule and civilization in India. It had a unique position in Pakistan scheme because of its strategic geographical location and important agricultural resources. The Punjab was a home of three important religions but the Hindus and Sikhs resented Muslim rule over India. British who occupied India by the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, their only interest was to collect as much money as possible an trading. They did not bother about the people or the law and order which continued to deteriorate. The colonial masters deliberately made the police their instrument for the consolidation of the Raj and greater glory of the empire keeping at all costs.**

**The situation in Rawalpindi brought under control by deploying army and police at sensitive parts of the cities in the riots of 1947. But the horrible situation of murders, killing and burning homes raise the questions on the efficiency and fair administration of the police. The study is aimed to look into efficiency and fair dealing of situation by the police created by the communal**

riots.

**The evaluation of communal riots is based on the number of cases registered/First Information Reports lodged at different Police Station of the districts. Due attention has also been given towards action by Police in dealing with these riots by discussing the fate of criminal cases in courts.**

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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**I would like to thank to the individuals working in National Archives of Pakistan, National Documentation Wing, National Institute of Historical and**

**Cultural Research, National Library, Gordon College Library, Police College Sihala Library, National Police Academy Library, Library of Police Bureau of Islamabad, Library of Lawrence College and Municipal Library Murree, Punjab Public Library Lahore, Libraries of International Islamic University and Quad-i-Azam University.**

**It is my pleasure to acknowledge here the contribution of my family and friends. I am grateful to my mother not only for her sincerest prayers, encouragement and moral support but also for her patience, she helped me during that trauma which I suffered due to sudden death of my first premature child.**

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**I am deeply indebted to my father, who has been a constant source of inspiration, all my life. His advice, training and guidance enabled me to reach a stage that I could write this thesis. Thank you Abu, my mentor and my role model.**

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AIML	All-India Muslim League
AINC	All-India National Congress
SHO	Station House Officer
ASI	Assistant Sub-Inspector
IGP	Inspector General of Police
DIG	Deputy Inspector General
CMG	The Civil and Military Gazette
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
DC	Deputy Commissioner
FR	Governor's Fortnightly Reports
INA	Indian National Army
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
MSF	Muslim Student's Federation
FIR	First Information Report
PML	Punjab Muslim League
PUP	Punjab Unionist Party
RTC	Round Table Conference
PPAI	Punjab Police Abstracts of Intelligence
RML	Rawalpindi Muslim League
RMSF	Rawalpindi Muslim Student Federation
IPC	Indian Penal Code

## **GLOSSARY**

<b>Anjuman</b>	Association
<b>Chowki</b>	Police Check Post
<b>Gramini</b>	Village Head Man
<b>Hadd</b>	Punishment for special crime laid down in Quran
<b>Jirga</b>	Tribal Council
<b>Khalifa</b>	Caliph
<b>Kubra</b>	Senior
<b>Majlis</b>	Meeting
<b>Muzalim</b>	Criminal Act
<b>Pir</b>	Any Hereditary Spiritual Leader in Islamic Tradition
<b>Qazi</b>	Muslim Judge
<b>Shariat</b>	Principal of Life, Religion laid down in Quran
<b>Sarkar</b>	District
<b>Tehrik</b>	Movement
<b>Sughra</b>	Junior
<b>Thana</b>	Police Station
<b>Thanedar</b>	Station House Officer (SHO)
<b>Tehsil</b>	The largest Administrative Sub Division within a District
<b>Zaildar</b>	Officer Incharge of Group of Villages
<b>Zamindar</b>	Land Owner

## INTRODUCTION

**The present research is designed to analyze the functioning of Police in Rawalpindi Division in the freedom struggle during 1940-47.**

**The word of "Police" has been derived from the Greek word" Polis" meaning City. Term "Police" connotes a civic organization responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and for the maintenance of law and order. The word was adopted in the English language in 18<sup>th</sup> century and its earliest official use was made in the designation of commissioners of Police appointed for Scotland in 1714.**

**In early times, there was no regular Police force in India and the keeping of the peace ensured by a system of villagers was enforced through the headman. The laws of Manu, which were recorded in about 500 B.C and continued to exercise a very strong influence on the political and social life of Hindus, also throw some light on the policing in ancient India. According to them, the chief duty of the king was to restrain violence, maintain patrols, fix posts and appoint a number of agents and spies.<sup>1</sup>**

**The Police as an institution has been there in ancient and medieval India. The modern time Police have been put on firm footing by the British. When the Mughals took over the rule, their main objective was to sustain their empire and authority; they made all higher appointments hereditary. The provinces were put under the Subedars or Governors. Subedars were responsible for the administration including the system of criminal justice and keeping peace and order in their jurisdictions.**

Under the *Subedars*, were *Faujdars* in charge of *sarkars* (districts). Every area under the charge of *Faujdars* was divided into *Thanas* and *Chowkies*. Each *Faujdars* had 500 to 1500 sepoys under his charge, depending on the size of the district or *sarkar*. In big urban centre, the chief of city Police was called *Kotwal*. A certain number of persons in each district were appointed to patrol by nights.

The Mughals also had a vast network of spies, who would report orally or in writing to the *Daroghas* of the *Chowkies*. The Mughal system of justice and Police administration collapsed with the decline of Mughal Empire and takeover by the East India Company after their victory in the Battle of Plassy on 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1757. As the Britishers consolidated their hold in parts of the country, They found the Police in disorder and tried different remedies in different provinces. If the village Police was scrapped in one province the *Zamindars* were divested of their Police power in the others. Some how their reforms failed to improve the crime situation. The Punjab has been an important province for British. Sir Henry Lawrence was made Chief Commissioner and at that time the N.W.F.P and Delhi were included in Punjab, Sir Henry Lawrence divided the province into divisions under Deputy Commissioners. He organized double system of Police. Body of *burkandaz* under Deputy Commissioners, which developed later into the civil detective Police. A Police crops under himself (the Chief Commissioner) which later developed into the military preventive Police.

The Police Commission passed an act which was promulgated as the Police Act(v) of 1861. The Police of each province was under the provisions of this Act.<sup>2</sup> The East India Company's interest was only to collect as much money as possible and trading. It did not bother about the people or the law and order, which continued to deteriorate. The colonial masters deliberately made the

Police their instrument for the consolidation of the Raj and greater glory of the empire keeping at all costs.

The British, who occupied India by the middle of the nineteenth century, brought with them the concept of "Territorial Nationalism" to bear upon the Indian communities. They failed to realize that the conditions here were different from those in their own country but in subcontinent many communities lived together but two communities, Hindus and Muslims have been living in the same area since the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, the advent of Islam in India. Yet, the two moderate Hindus and Muslims leaders like G.K. Gokhale and Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah worked hard to bridge the gulf between the two communities. They succeeded to a certain extent when the Lucknow Pact was concluded in 1916. But the Hindu and Muslim unity could not last far long and rapprochement came to an end in 1922, when the two communities perceived clash of their interests in Khilafat-non Cooperation movement. Since then the breach between the two kept on increasing and Nehru Report (1928) had widened the gulf between Hindus and Muslims considered parting of ways. Ultimately the anti Muslim policies of the Congress ministries (1937-1939) compelled the Muslims to demand a separate home land in March 1940. With this demand the communal problems took a new turn as the Muslims, under the flag of All India Muslim League, started a relentless campaign for Pakistan, which they ultimately secured on 14 August 1947. Of the Muslim majority province of the British India, the Punjab had a unique position in the Pakistan scheme because of its strategic geographical location and incomparable agricultural resources. The Punjab, remained the only Muslim majority

**province where the Muslim League was unable to form its ministry till the creation of Pakistan.**

**One important thing which differentiated the Punjab from the other provinces of British India was the pressure of the third community in the region i.e the Sikh community. The pressure of the Sikhs was very significant. They were only 12% of the population of the Punjab. The Sikhs were also a party to the communal harmony of the province. The mass energy generated during the non-cooperation movement flowed in to communal channels shattering the fragile Hindu and Muslim intente. The supervision of non-cooperation movement as followed by a weak Congress leadership divided over tactics and issues. Gandhi's role in Hindu-Muslim alliance had introduced religion as an issue in politics. In his absence the Hindu extremists took the lead in exploiting and encouraging communalism based on religious animosity. The Muslims were poor and backward. The growing economic gap between the Hindus and the Muslims had made the latter insecure. The trust and understanding during the non-cooperation having broken down.**

**The Hindus were superior in wealth, education and organization as well as in press and platform propaganda. The Muslims in Punjab were majority in name only, by their refusal to acquire English education; they had surrendered their right to employment and commercial enterprise. Communal antagonism was aggravated and intensified by the vernacular press, as the printed word was considered the gospel truth. A number of factors led to increasing communal consciousness in the Punjab. Religion as such became the basis of political and communal consolidation. An analysis of the Hindus and Muslim clashes manifests basically the following four issues of conflict.**

1. Music before mosque.
2. Cow slaughter
3. Exclusiveness of Hindu religion and defilement of sacred religious symbols.
4. Anti Islam literature.

During 1940-47 Rawalpindi division played a very significant role in the freedom movement. Rawalpindi division comprised of Rawalpindi, Shah Pur, Jhelum, Gujrat, Attock, Mianwali. Being an important division of the Punjab, Muslim leaders focussed attention to mobilize and re-organize Muslim League in this region. They organized the Punjab Muslims Student Federation. Quaid-i-Azam visited Rawalpindi and attended public meetings with the students. Though apparently the failure of Simla Conference of 1945, paved the way for the elections in 1945-1946, which were fruitful for Muslim League.

Inspite of sweeping the elections in Punjab the AIML was not allowed to form its ministry. The British Governor invited Unionist Party to make a cabinet. In protest the Punjab Muslim League decision to launch a civil disobedient movement intensified the communal tension between the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims. The situation in Rawalpindi became tense. Various militant volunteer organizations of the non-Muslims including the Aakali Fauj, the Rashtiya Swayam Sewak Sangh (R.S.S.S) were active against the Muslims. The situation in Rawalpindi division was brought under control by deploying army and Police at sensitive parts of the cities; but the riots reached the rural areas. Britishers tried hard to control the situation in Rawalpindi division through its Police department. But people were so aggrieved and their emotions highly intensified by their political parties that it would not be easy to control the

**political frenzy. Police tried to keep the situation under control till 1947 in Rawalpindi division. The horrible situation of murder, killings, looting and burning houses raised the questions on the efficiency and fair administration of the Police. How much Policemen were fair in dealing the communal problems in Rawalpindi Division. How far Police department's steps were effective in dealing communal problems in Rawalpindi Division. These are some important questions to be answered in this study.**

**Rawalpindi division has always been an important centre, both politically and socially. But unfortunately nothing has been published on Rawalpindi division and its Police performance during these years.**

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY**

**At the arrival of British, the whole subcontinent was in turmoil due to decline of Mughal power so British revived the Police system to cater the law and order situation, crime and communal riots. As the time frame of this study will focus from 1940-1947, in which, the system of the Police introduced by Britishers and the performance of Police in communal riots in Rawalpindi division for peace would be scrutinized. Although this system of Police and its performance was not up to the expectation of the people of Punjab, but it helped a lot to prolong the rule of British in Punjab and particularly in the subcontinent. This topic has a unique significance because to establish peace is necessary in society for any political system. It is one of the least researched area which unfortunately remained neglected. For in depth study there is a need to have a meaningful research on this topic.**

## OBJECTIVES

The focus is, to see the administration of British through Police department and bring those elements and flaws of their administration which aggravated the communal problems. Western writers always presented the good picture of British administration. This study is actually a critical analysis of Police administration through primary and secondary sources to present new dimensions and facts to keep the record correct.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this study is to examine at some length the performance of Police in communal problems in the Rawalpindi division during 1940-1947. Scantly has already been written on the subject by the Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and British writers, but almost all the books available on the subject are written either in literary style or with journalists approach. Consequently, the facts have been either dramatized or exaggerated. Most of the academicians who have touched upon the issue have not given it more than few pages in their works relating to the performance of Police in communal riots in Rawalpindi division. *The Police in British India 1860-1947* by Anandswarup Gupta focuses on history of Police and whole activities of Police department in general but activities of Police in Rawalpindi division are not sufficiently scanned.

Thesis of Raja Adnan "The Rise and Growth of All-India Muslim League in Rawalpindi: 1940-47" discusses the communal problems in Rawalpindi district but does not discuss the performance of Police during these disturbances.

Thesis of Hasan Masod "Communal Relation in British Punjab" focuses the relations among the people of Punjab under British rule because it was one of the

important provinces of the subcontinent. This thesis only highlighted the problems not the steps of Police taken to solve these problems.

*Communal Riots in the Punjab 1947* by Farooq Ahmed Dar highlighted the tense political environment between the Congress and Muslim League which forced the people to plunge into communal disturbance and ultimately riots. He has not discussed it through administrative aspect so Police role is missing. It did not provide satisfactory information about Rawalpindi region.

*Police Throughout History (From 634 A.D to 1947)* by Tariq Ashraf Mughal provides complete information about the British Police from its origin till 1947. But it lacks information about role of the Police during riots and separately no area has been discussed to highlight the performance of Police.

*Our Police Heritage in Punjab* by N.A. Rizvi is very informative study about Police department but it did not cover the whole topic in detail. This book has only one Chapter in which the role of Police in disturbance of Punjab is relevant.

An article by Dr. Shoaib Suddal, "Reforming Pakistan Police: An Overview" included in *Police Organization in Pakistan*, published by HRCP, 2010, is worth mentioning. The report also traces the origin of Police department in South Asia.

So there is plenty of room for an academic research on the subject. An attempt has been made to collect the scattered available material to give a comprehensive account of how much Police officials were professional in dealing the communal problem in Rawalpindi division in fact during that crucial years.

## **METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES**

**The methodology will be historical and descriptive, research will be conducted by the use of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources material is available in National Archives of Pakistan Islamabad, the Punjab Archives, Lahore and National Assembly of Pakistan in which we have proceedings of Police and Police Administration Reports and Punjab Police Abstracts of Intelligence. Secondary source material is available in different libraries like central Library of International Islamic University, Seminar Library History department Q.A.U., Library of Police College Sihala, National Police Academy, Library of Police Bureau of Islamabad and National Documentation Wing, Islamabad.**

## **ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

**The study will be divided into four chapters.**

**Chapter 1 History of the Punjab Police Department.** This chapter will deal with origin and the brief history of Police. The history of Police will be traced from the earliest times to present day. **Chapters 2 Communal Riots in the Punjab.** This chapter will discuss about the Communal Relations of the Punjab, with special reference to the Muslim Sikh relations throughout the history till 1947. **Chapters 3 Communal Riots in the Rawalpindi district.** This chapter is about the communal problems of Rawalpindi district. **Chapters 4 Communal Riots in Rawalpindi Division.** This chapter is about the Communal Riots of Rawalpindi Division. These last two chapters are descriptive and narrative but are comprised of primary, confidential and official sources i.e, the FIR registers of the concerned Police Stations scanning the real, unbiased, eyewitness and first

**hand evidence of the whole situation. Finally the summary and conclusion of the whole study will be drawn.**

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **BRIEF HISTORY OF POLICE**

**There is no crime free society in the world. There has never been and as things stand shall never be. When crime is under control and within tolerable proportions, people are reasonably satisfied. Police is responsible to control the crime. The ultimate objective of the Police is to ensure writ of the law, to maintain law and order situation well under control so that individuals live in peace and harmony. They must be able to conduct routine matters without any fear of injury, and there should be no threat to any one's life, property and honour.**

### **Definition of Police:**

**The word of “Police” has been derived from the Greek word “Polis” meaning city. Term “Police” denotes a civic organization responsible for the prevention and detection of crime and to maintain law and order. Generally accepted definition of Police is:**

**They are people authorized by centre, a group, community or society to regulate interpersonal relations within the group, community or society through application of force or show of force.<sup>1</sup>**

**The origin of Police in society is the outcome of mass reasoning against the apprehension of disturbance and can be termed as old as human history itself.**

**Originally this term stands for;**

- The good governance of a community through civil administration.**

- **Enforcement of laws and regulations.**
- **Maintenance of health.**
- **Maintenance of cleanliness.**
- **Maintenance of general public order.**<sup>2</sup>

### **Islamic Perspective:**

#### **Quranic Concept:**

**“And let there be amongst you a force calling others to do good and commanding equity and forbidding evil and they are those who are blissful.”**

**(Al-Quran 3:104)**

**Assist in pious deeds for righteousness and desist from aiding the evil forces and criminal elements.**

**(Al-Quran 23:96)**

**“Allah Commands Justice.”**

**(Al-Quran 16:90)**

**And let not hatred of any people seduce you that ye deal not justly, deal justly, that is nearer to your duty.**

**(Al-Quran 05:8)**

**Islam stresses on organization of sound criminal justice institutions to repel evil.**

### **Holy Prophet Muhammad (S. A.W) Concept of Justice:**

**Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) said:**

**What has been the cause of the downfall centre of the previous nations is that when a thief of noble origin was caught, he was allowed to go without punishment, whereas a thief of humble origin was subjected to punishment. I**

**swear, by Allah, that if Fatima, daughter of Muhammad, committed a theft, I would have her hand cut off.”<sup>3</sup>**

**Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique (R.A.) (632-634 A.D):**

**The first great Caliph of Islam Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique (May God be pleased with him) once said that;**

**“I shall defend the weak against the strong, for the weaker amongst you is the stronger with me until I redress his wrong and stronger shall be as the weaker until I have taken from him that which he has wrested.”<sup>4</sup>**

**Hazrat Umar Farooq (R.A.) The Founder of Police Department (634-645 A.D):**

**The second Caliph of Islam, Hazrat Umar Ibn-al-Khattab was the first Muslim head of the state who introduced various departments and institutions such as the military department, departments of education, finance, jails and Police etc for the first time. The Police force at that time was known as *Ahadas* and the Police officer as the *Sahib-ul-Ahadas* and they were responsible for keeping the supremacy of law. Hazrat Umar (R.A.) who lived like an ordinary Muslim, appointed Abdullah-bin-Utiba for the protection of markets. He gave the following instructions to Hazrat Abu Hurairah (R.A) who was appointed as *Sahib-ul-Ahadas* for Bahrain.**

**“Keep peace in the area, let not the centre people contravene the law. They should not measure or weigh incorrectly. No body should build any house on a road so as to hinder passage. No one should over load an animal. No body is allowed to sell or buy liquor”.<sup>5</sup>**

He himself patrolled the streets in the nights, to keep himself informed of the conditions of his people. According to Imam Malik, Hazrat Umer (R.A.) once said; “In Islam, no one can be imprisoned without due course of justice.”<sup>6</sup>

There were two cadres of *Shurtas* at that time i.e. *Shurta-e Sagheer* and *Shurta-e- Kabeer*. *Shurta-e-Sagheer* was Municipal Police Officer to serve and work for local community, *Shurta-e-Kabeer* was state Police officer who used to work and serve as a federal agency to protect state’s interest. There was no concept of Jail in Arabia before Hazrat Umar (R.A) hence the punishments were very severe. He bought five houses in Mecca and used them as prisons. He also set up jails in some district of various provinces. After the establishment of prisons some changes were made in kinds of punishment. One accused namely Abu Mujhan Sakfa was habitual drinker, he was sent to jail instead of *HADD* punishment. The punishment of exile was also introduced by Hazrat Umar (R.A) as Abu Mujhan Sakfa was exiled and sent to one Island as punishment.<sup>7</sup>

### **Hazrat Usman (R.A.) (645-656 A.D)**

During Hazrat Usman’s (R.A.) reign the third caliph of Islam, all the departments of state worked as during the reign, of Hazrat Umar (R.A.). He used to hear public complaints after Friday prayers.

### **Police During the period of Hazrat Ali Al-Murtaza (R.A.) (656-661):**

In an Islamic state one expects much more from the Police. During the period of Hazrat Ali Al-Murtaza (R.A) the fourth caliph of Islam, the designation of *Sahib-ul-Ahadas* became *Sahib-ush-Shurta*, which were entrusted

inter alia; with the duties of suppression of beggary, control over unqualified doctors/Hakims, removal of unlawful encroachments etc.<sup>8</sup>

The *Shurta* was also entrusted with the duties of checking and stopping of porters and boatman from carrying heavy loads. Therefore the social aspect of the duties of the Police were known to the Muslim society as far back as the time of Hazarat Ali (R.A).

### **Police During the period of Umayyad:**

The Umayyad Caliphs maintained the organization but preferred to name it *Ehdaas*. Its Chief, who was called *Sahib-ul-Ehdaas*, had semi military functions. He not only detected and punished crime, but removed causes leading to it.

### **Police During the period of Abbassides:**

When the Abbassides came into power, the chief police officer was *Sahib-ush-Shurta*. Only a very respectable person of high status was appointed to this post. He maintained law and order, suppressed crime, conducted investigation and punished the guilty.

*Sahib-ush-Shurta* was divided into *Kubra* (senior) and *Sughra* (Junior) branches. The senior branch dealt with offenders from the ranks of Amirs, and people of high position, while the junior branch handled the masses in general.<sup>9</sup>

## **International Perspective**

### **Early Policing in the European Countries Ancient Europe:**

The military bodies such as the praetorian Guard under took Police responsibilities in ancient Rome whose main function was the maintenance of law and order. Crime was investigated and prosecuted by private citizens. Enforcement of law can be traced back to the idea of communal responsibility for maintaining order and suppressing crimes.<sup>10</sup>

### **Police in France and in its Colonies:**

In France during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Louis XIV (1638-1715 A.D) The King of France established a small central Police organization consisting of 40 Inspectors who supplied the government with information on the conduct of private individuals, largely from paid informants, but their work was political. The King exercised a kind of summary justice on the basis of this.

In the time of Louis XV (1710-1774) The King of France, the Police took active part in building markets, constructing streets, looking after street lights, hospital and children. It sought employment for the unemployed, provided rescue services, took stock of city's food supplies, inspected drains, cleaned streets, checked prices and also surveyed dangerous buildings. After the French Revolution (1789-1799), two Police branches were established one for the ordinary duties and the other for the political crimes. In countries like France and its colonies, Police prevented conditions threatening public safety or morals.

In the later stage, in France and countries influenced by the Napoleonic style of administration, the duties of Police were broadly explained to include the enforcement of regulations concerning public health, erection of buildings and so forth.<sup>11</sup>

## **Police in England and in its Colonies:**

**In Southern England, King Alfred (871-899) developed the concept of social responsibility for maintaining the King's peace. This tradition was considerably strengthened by the Norman administration by William the Conqueror in 1066 A.D.**

**In medieval societies, policing remained the responsibility of Feudal Lords. In England each noble man Policed his individual estate, subject to national laws that were mostly concerned with the protection of the King. Every noble man has appointed constables, for keeping peace and tranquility and arresting the perpetrators. Constables were often unpaid and citizens performed the job on turn by turn basis, which proved trouble some for them.**

**By the middle of sixteenth century, citizens who could afford it, took to pay deputies to perform their duties. The quality of constable declined drastically because cost became the main factor.**

**In late 17<sup>th</sup> century, Londoners protested the ineffectiveness of existing policing systems and agitated against it. On the other hand the city of London started to pay watchmen to guard the streets at night. They were usually elderly men who otherwise were unemployable and for the most part were inefficient.**

**In 1785 an attempt was made to establish a Metropolitan Police force. It was the only policing body in the capital, together with the Bow Street runners an early form of Police officers who were nick named "Robin Redbreast" because of the red waist coats they wore. They had some success against the rampant high way robberies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Between 1770 and 1828, six commissions were appointed by the English parliament for the development of regulatory body for law enforcement. Of these six commissions fifth report of**

select committee (1812) and the Bird Committee on Police (1813) were worth mentioning.<sup>12</sup>

The inability of these forces to deal with the widespread lawlessness, particularly in London, led to a demand for more effective protection of populace. Until 1828 none of the English efforts proved successful in establishing a satisfactory Police force which could effectively face lawlessness and other problems.

In 1829 after much parliamentary debate concerned with cost and the ramifications for civil rights, the Home Secretary (later Prime Minister) Sir Robert Peel introduced the Metropolitan (London) Police Act 1829, popularly known as Peel's Reforms. This was the world's first modern Police force and the pattern it established became a model for many other systems which had influenced the style of policing in almost all the European countries. Crime prevention was the main objective of the Metropolitan Police force and other forces that were set up in Britain in the wake of its success. It was considered better suited for the public. Police constable should be civil and courteous to the public. The force was successful, organized and disciplined.

The rest of England was slow to follow but other countries began establishing modern Police system, some countries developed a centralized Police system, but a decentralized system was developed in the United States of America. After several years the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) was formed and similar organizations followed in Australia, India and Canada. Impressed by the success of the British Police model other nations, throughout the world, adopted Police system on the same principal.<sup>13</sup>

## South Asian Perspective

### **Police through History in the Sub-Continent:**

#### **Ancient India:**

Policing in India during Hindu period has been described in Ancient literature. In Primitive civilization, the entire socio-economic and security administration was the collective responsibility of the villagers themselves. Security performed under the direction of the family or village headman was known as *Gramini*. During the Pre-Vedic period the institution of *Gramini* was too strong that without the *Gramini* counsel the King was not able to take any action. In the course of development of civilization, the King became strong. In some literature, the duties of the ruler to the subject have been mentioned. But it is hardly comprehensive and elaborate as to how the rulers were supposed to ensure criminal justice and policing. “Laws of Manu” (500 B.C.) explained the policing as King’s function e.g., to punish criminals, restrain violence and appoint agents or spies.<sup>14</sup>

No clear reference is available about any specific criminal justice organization in Vedic literature. The *Jatakas* which were written later than 600 B.C. contains stories of a legendary character about the 550 existences, system of the self governing village communities between 600 B.C. to 326 B.C. The picture becomes somewhat clear during the Maurya period (320-383) B.C. The two notable documents “Arthashastra” of Kautilya and “the Accounts of Megasthenes” written during the third century B.C. do not disclose proper facets of policing and its systematic implementation, as it is commonly understood in modern times.

However, the King was considered to be the fountain head of justice responsible to protect the subjects, restrain violence and punish the offenders. Mutilation and lynching were a common punishment and death penalty was awarded even for such minor misconduct as evasion of taxes, damaging a sacred tree, obstructing a royal procession going to the hunt. The main role was to protect the villagers during wars and to collect taxes in peace. There were no proper system of policing during the Mauryan period and Gupta period (320-540) A.D either in the towns or in the villages as it is usually understood in modern times. At village level, collective administration and security, planning, decision making and socialistic economic system persisted. The village head *Gramik, Gramadhik, Gramyukta, or Gramini* as they were called were elected chiefs, responsible for the security. For this purpose the head used to appoint Police constables known as *Pradesikas* and *Patharidars*.<sup>15</sup>

### **Muslim Rulers in South Asia:**

The arrival of Muhammad Bin Qasim (712-715) A.D. in this region and establishment of a Muslim state in northern India ensured security, peace and stability for the people of this area. Thereafter India gradually started coming under the sway of Islam.

In the medieval age, from the invasions of Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi (1001-1025) A.D to the exile of King Bahadur Shah Zafar 1858, India remained under the Turks and Mughals. The *Qazis*, well versed in Islamic law and jurisprudence, filled in the seats of judgment. However in public and political offence, the law made no distinction between Muslims and non Muslims. The *Panchayats* used to decide some cases among the Hindus according to Hindu Law.

**Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi was known for his administration of justice. He provided justice to all, irrespective of caste and creed, colour and status. Even his own sons and relatives were not spared from the laws of the *Shariat* if they committed offence.**<sup>16</sup>

### **Policing during Delhi Sultanate 1206-1526 A.D:**

**During the Sultanate period, the appointment of the *Faujdars* came into force, that was purely military oriented. The *Faujdars* exercised control over the contingent of military troops and carried out the Sultan's order within their respective jurisdiction. One of the important duties of the *Faujdars* was to ensure proper policing of the rural areas of the District and he could set up "Thanas" covering a group of villages. Each Thana was placed under a *Thanedar*. Special *Faujdars* could also be appointed to look after notorious areas of thieves and robbers. *Muhtasib* was the chief officer concerned with the Police administration. A *Kotwali* and his subordinate officers assisted him. The Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-1210 A.D) established a permanent Muslim Kingdom in India, and consolidated the conquests of his master Mohammad Ghauri (1178-1206 A.D). He dispensed even handed justice to the people and exerted him-self to promote peace and prosperity of the realm. During his regime peace and tranquility, treasure required no guard, the flock needed no shepherd and that the wolf and sheep drank water side by side at a same pond. The concept of thieves and theft was out of question. The appointment of *Mohtasibs* in the department of *Al-Hisbah*, responsible for supervising the morals of populace, seems to have been made first in the reign of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak's successor, King. Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish (1211-1236), son in law of Aibak, also had a great sense of**

justice. According to Ibn-i-Batuta he had fixed a chain and bell in his palace so that the aggrieved person may not have any difficulty in approaching the Sultan for justice.<sup>17</sup>

During the reign of Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-1286), the ninth Slave King, the administration and justice was the order of the day. He maintained partiality even to his own kith and kin. He built roads, controlled robbery and made the country safe for travelers. His punishment exceeded all bounds. About his justice Dr. Ishwari Prasad, an Indian writer remarks, "Sultan's inexorable justice was great no one dared to ill treat his servants and slaves."<sup>18</sup>

Feroz Shah Tughlaq (1351-1388) A.D. introduced administrative reforms and suppressed the practice of mutilation and torture. During Sultanate Period (1200-1526) Police work was discharged by chowkidars and pathardars under the supervision of Sarpanch, Gumashta and Mohsil. The Muhtasib was a chief of the Police, a chief engineer of public health and an inspector of morals. He was empowered to delegate his Police duties especially in the cities to the *Kotwal*. During the Sultanate period, a Commander-in-Chief of the army was selected for this purpose. One *Kotwal* of Delhi was raised to the status of *Malik-ul-Umra* (Chief of the Amirs). *Kotwals* were always selected from respectable and loyal households and this tradition was maintained to some extent in the British period also. The force under him was entirely civil in character. The sub-ordinates under him patrolled the thoroughfares in the city at night and guarded vantage points. Leading men were appointed as Warden in the city area and thus public co-operation was enlisted.<sup>19</sup>

**Police during the Mughal Rule(1526-1857 A.D):**

In 1526 A.D the first Mughal King Zaheer-ud-Din Babur (1526-1530) after defeating Ibrahim Lodhi brought the Sultanate of Delhi to an end and became the founder of Mughal dynasty. He was descendant of both Chinghiz Khan (1196-1227) and Timur Lane (1396-1405). He was pre-occupied in suppressing opposition hence could not control his vast kingdom properly. His tenure was very short and died in 1530 A.D. <sup>20</sup>

After King Babur, his son Hamayun (1530-1538, 1555-56) came in to power but he could not consolidate his kingdom and was overthrown by Sher Shah Suri in 1540.

Sher Shah Suri (1538-1545) having a great sense of justice brought highly efficient Police reforms. He appointed the most celebrated men from the community to organize the Police activities with the elected *panchayat*. Police system was based on the principle of local responsibility. The Chief *Shiqdar* in his District and *Shiqdar* in his *Pargana* were responsible for the maintenance of peace. They were duty bound to keep a strict watch over thieves, robbers and people of bad character and to punish them. The village headman called *Muqqadam* and *Chaudhary* were made responsible for the maintenance of peace and detection of criminals in their localities. On the commission of offence if the criminal was not detected the concerned headman was apprehended. He was asked to make good the loss in case of a theft and hanged in case of a murder.

Local responsibility system ensured complete security of life and property of people and peace in the country. "During Sher Shah's rule an old woman might place a basket full of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of punishment which Sher Shah inflicted".<sup>21</sup> King Hamayun defeated the successor of Sher Shah Suri and once

again came in to power in 1555. After king Humayun his son Akbar came in to power. During the great Mughal Akbar period (1556-1605) Akbar Nama and Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal, were written which helped to know Criminal Justice System and Police.

### **Role of Kotwal during Mughal Rule:**

**Kotwal** is a Hindi word developed from *Kot*(a fort) and meant the keeper of a fort. The word is still in use in India and Pakistan. The *Kotwal*, by and large, resembles the present day Inspector of Police. Officer Incharge of the City Police Stations were known as *Kotwal* and the charges of the Police station held by them were called *Kotwalis*. The *Kotwal* was a Police Officer who was responsible to detect, investigate, punish & prevent crime, to trace the whereabouts of all offenders and evil doers and to look after the life and property of the people. He had to keep himself informed of all the occurrences in the town and used to keep a strict watch over the *Serais*. The *Kotwal* was solely Incharge of the town administration. His force used to patrol the city at night and guard the thoroughfares, prevent theft and robbery, and kept watch over the movements of strangers. He was assisted by his sub-ordinate officers in the discharge of his manifold duties. He appointed force of *Sawars* (horsemen) and *Barkandazes*. He made *Chowkis* (policecheck posts) in important wards of the town, with a force of one horseman and twenty to twenty five footmen.<sup>22</sup>

Under *Faujdars*, there were *Shikadars* incharge of a *pargana*. *Thanedars* worked under the *Shikadars*. They were Incharge of *Thanas* and assisted by *Barkandazes*. During Emperor Akbar's time the city administration was streamlined and all the important cities and towns were placed under the direct charge

of the *Kotwal*. In the Mughal period, the chief police officer in the capital was known as *Kotwal* who almost corresponded to the *Sahib-ul-Shurtah* of the Abbasides.

The Provincial *Kotwal* was in charge of the capital city of the province. The *Kotwal* was a secular functionary. In addition to his duty as the chief of the city police, he was required to perform the duties of *Muhtasib* and duties for the municipal administration in the city.

The *Kotwal's* court was known as *Chabutra* which is a Hindi word denoting a raised platform for the purpose of sitting. He opened a register of local inhabitants to keep himself abreast of their activities, means of livelihood and mode of expenses and took notice of every new arrival and departure. The duties of *Kotwal* were to prevent and detect crime, to arrest thieves and robbers, maintain peace, protect and recover the stolen property in the city. He kept a network of informers for criminal intelligence. He also curbed social abuses. He also ensured legitimate disposal of heirless property measures and currencies, kept an eye on bad characters. He supervised transport arrangement, cleared the city's brothels, extinguished fire, prevented distillation of alcohol, identified and located cheats.

He also looked after customs, regulated market prices and arranged burial of unclaimed corpses. He got prepared inventories of the property of missing persons, prevented slaughters of cattle in public, kept guard over the treasury and held charge of lockups and jails. He acted as a coming magistrate presumably in the cases, which he considered important enough to go to higher court. He also functioned as the Superintendant of the town Police.

The King used to appoint the *Kotwal* of capital Delhi as deemed fit. He was also the master of etiquette at the royal court. In the provincial towns, the appointment of *Kotwal* was made by the central government. The *Subedars* or *Nazims* selected *Kotwal* for smaller places.<sup>23</sup>

### **Role of Faujdar during the Mughals Dynasty:**

The appointment of the *Faujdars* came in to force during the time of Delhi Sultanate which were purely military oriented. In the early stages both in Europe and Asia, Police used to look after the cities only. The rural population was, till very late stages, given pockets of military bodies to suppress trouble whenever it exceeded the capability of the people to deal with it themselves. In Muslim India an officer known as *Faujdar* was appointed to control crime in the rural areas.

A province of the Mughal Government was placed under the *Sipahsalar* or *Nazim* who was directly responsible to the Emperor for overall administration of province. The province was sub-divided into *Sarkars* (Districts) each of which had a number of *Parganas*. The *Amir* or *Shiqdar* was the head of the *Parganas* and each *Sarkar* was under the charge of the *Faujdar*. They were appointed by the Emperor or Governor but were placed under the command and control of the *Nazim*.<sup>24</sup>

Each *Faujdar* was the chief policeofficer as well as the administrative and military head of a *Sarkar*. The commander of a military contingent ranging from 500 to 1500 soldiers, spreading over the *Parganas* but main agency under him was of *Barkandaz*. His main duties were to maintain law and order, to apprehend criminals and to commit them to a criminal court for trial and punishment. To

help *Faujdar*, *Thanedars* in charge of small areas, used to perform duties. He was also vested with executive powers to enable him to act as a Police magistrate. The *Faujdars* were responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the rural areas. The village community continued to settle crimes in the villages in traditional ways. *Faujdars* were responsible for the safety of their properties, tackling crime and punishing the culprits operating in the rural areas.<sup>25</sup>

Two *Chowkidars* used to function in the village. One was responsible for the maintenance of law and order and detection of crime while the other one was responsible for the safety of live stock and crops.

After Akbar his son King Jahangir (1605-1628) followed the policy of his father in terms of local administration. As a token of justice he instituted a chain of justice connected with a cluster of bells in his chamber so as to redress the grievances of aggrieved persons. King Shah Jahan (1628-1658) also followed the enlightened policy of his grand father Akbar and enjoyed a reputation for justice and clemency. Emperor Aurrangzeb Alamgir (1658-1707) was an unbiased judge and made no distinction between the rich and the poor, the noble and the commoner. During his reign Aurrangzeb reached its maximum extent, but under his weak successors the Empire began to decline and came to its final stage in the reign of last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar (1837-1857). The Mughal rulers being inspired by the Umayyad and Abbasside rulers had fixed a day in a week to attend personally to *Muzalim* (Criminal Work). Akbar's day was Thursday, Jehangir's Tuesday and Shah Jahan's and Emperor Aurrangzeb's Wednesday. The governor of a province had a responsibility similar to the King in his own jurisdiction. As the power of Mughals declined and the Empire began to disintegrate, the Police became ineffective and crime in both cities and rural

areas increased. During the period of virtual anarchy in the country, complaints of day light robberies on highways multiplied.

The Marathas in south India followed a spectacular policing system, identifying criminal castes and clans such as *Ramoshish*, *Bhil* and *Kohli* and allocated them the maintenance of village security, for which they received *Haq* or Salary from the villagers.<sup>26</sup>

### Village Police:

In the Punjab, responsibility for the peace of the village and for reporting crime rested primarily on the *Lambardar*. In some parts of the province where there were more *Lambardar* than one was selected from among them an *AlaLambardar* or Chief Headman. The *Lambardars* were therefore regarded as jointly responsible for the performance of their duties. Besides, a superior officer called *Zaildar* or *Inamdar* supervised the headmen of the villages of his circle which included as far as possible people of one tribe or villages which had some connection or affinity. In the frontier districts the institution of the *Jirga* or Tribal Council had to settle disputes and punish offences.<sup>27</sup>

### British Era and Police System (1757-1857 A.D):

With the decline trend of the Mughal Empire, the British East India Company emerged on the horizon of India as the rising power in South India with the passage of time and due to luxurious life styles of the Indian rulers, the Company succeeded in setting up its factories in Surat, Calicut, Masulipatnam, Madras and Bombay. These factories proved as units in themselves which had contingents of traders, soldiers, writers, book keepers and peons.

In 17<sup>th</sup> century, The East India Company had a trading centre at Masulipatnam besides the principle settlement at Surat on the west coast. Gradually the Company with their administrative and commercial experience took upon themselves the responsibility for Police duties in the context of such growing anti social practices, i.e. sale of liquor and counterfeiting. The Company acquired the power in June 1757 after the Battle of Plassey.<sup>28</sup>

Lord Clive (1765-1767) laid the foundation of the British Empire in the Sub-Continent. Local *Zamindars* were held responsible for the security of the common people, and the collection of revenue, but the *Zamindar* oppressed and plundered people. Lord Warren Hastings (1774-1785) centralized all powers in the hands of the collector, but the glory of the building up the splendid empire belongs to Lord Wellesley (1798-1805).

The East India Company had consolidated its hold on large parts of Indian sub-continent, while the population was governed by the Mughal or Islamic law, the personnels of various other dominations and the Customary laws. The Company felt the need of enforcing a single set of laws common to all communities.<sup>29</sup>

Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of the East India company realized the need of introducing a suitable Police force to suppress violent crimes particularly gang robbery. In that pursuit, he placed great emphasis on an indigenous system of policing. In 1722 he established civil and criminal codes for each district of Bengal. In 1774 he restored a system of *Faujdars* which was prevalent earlier. The *Zamindars* were asked to assist the *Faujdars* for suppression of dacoities, violence and disorder. It was made clear that the

**Zamindars would be suitably punished if they failed to meet the just demand of the *Faujdars*.<sup>30</sup>**

In 1782, Warren Hastings made another attempt to introduce Police reform for reducing the expenditure on *Faujdari* establishment. The Regulation of 1782, provided also for a *Kotwali* establishment for each of the three i.e. Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. By another proclamation *Zamindars* were made responsible for Police functions and threatened with heavy penalties for failure or negligence. The *Zamindars* were empowered to appoint *Thanedars* answerable for the good behavior of the local population. They were made responsible for the restitution of the losses sustained in dacoities and robberies. These regulations of 1782 were meant to tighten the control of the Governor General over the administration of criminal justice.<sup>31</sup>

The remarkable step taken by Lord Hastings to give a face lift to the Police was the creation of a separate office under the authority and control of the President of the Council to receive and collect information through the *Faujdars*. Interestingly this office was the seed from which sprung, in the long run the fully developed Police system in India.<sup>32</sup>

Cornwallis (1786-1793, 1808) is known as the innovator of an organized Police administration in Bengal. When he assumed office as Governor General of Bengal, violent crimes and dacoities had increased manifold. Many *Zamindars* clandestinely had joined hands with the dacoits and indulged in robberies and other heinous crimes to enrich themselves. The idea of Hastings was to introduce an indigenous Police system, wherever possible. But Cornwallis preferred Europeans to Indians who thought that Europeans take control and responsibilities.

Cornwallis brought out a Regulation on the 7<sup>th</sup> December 1792. Whereby the Company took the policing of the country in to its own hands and attempted to introduce the first elements of uniformity. The *Zamindars* were totally deprived of the power and responsibilities of maintaining peace and tranquility in their areas. They were compelled to disband their local Police force. Thus he succeeded to curtail the power and position of the *Zamindars* and the duties performed by them were transferred to the European officers. He was one of the British rulers in India to display total lack of faith in natives of the land and their institutions especially in the area of criminal administration.<sup>33</sup>

**Evolution of the *Thana* System under *Daroghaby* Lord Corn Wallis in 1792:**

The Districts were divided into several areas called *Thanas* for Police administration. Each *Thana* having jurisdiction of approximately 400 miles was placed under the charge of a native *Darogha*. A *Darogha* with 20 to 22 armed *Barkandaz* was accountable to the Collector. The Magistrate was the appointing authority of the *Daroghas* and they had to function under his jurisdiction. They were empowered to arrest offenders and send them to the Magistrate within 24 hours of the arrest. Lord Cornwallis thus made the beginning of the establishment of the Royal Police Force.<sup>34</sup>

**Appointment of Inspector General of Police:**

In 1808, the appointment of a Superintendent of Police was one of the major developments in Police administration analogous to the later Inspector General of Police. The objective was to have an officer at the capital of the

province who could co-ordinate the activities of the district authorities for the purpose of crime and prevention of public disorder.<sup>35</sup>

### **Appointment of District Superintendent of Police:**

In the wake of Corn-Walli's Reforms Fifth Report of Select Committee issued in (1812) and the Bird Committee on Police in Bengal (1813) analyzed the causes of inefficiency and ineffectiveness of the Police System. Some of the recommendation of the Bird Committee were accepted and acted upon and for first time the district superintendent was provided for each district, solely for supervision over the Police.<sup>36</sup>

### **Appointment of Deputy Superintendent of Police:**

In the Province of Madras Police regulations namely regulation of 1802 followed by another in 1812 were passed. First time in 1834 a Deputy Superintendent was appointed in Madras.

In 1843 in Sindh, Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Napier recommended to make the Police efficient and effective in the newly conquered territory. He realized that only under a recognized organization, the Police could function properly and produce desired results. Sir Charles Napier preferred the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) as his model. In the province of Sindh an officer titled as the Captain of Police with a Lieutenant each in Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur commanded the Police. Jacobabad and Tharparkar were administered as political agencies and headed by the army officers. The first Lieutenant of Karachi Police was Lieutenant Edward Charles Marston while the first Magistrate of Karachi was Mr. Preedy. The new system constituted a

separate and self-contained Police organization under which the officers had only Police duties to perform. Sir Charles Napier's system was based on two principles. Firstly, the Police should be completely separated from the Military and secondly, must be an independent body to assist the collectors in discharging their responsibilities for law and order but under their own officers. He followed the principle that the civil Police and the military force must be quite separate. Indeed it was a pragmatic idea and a new approach to the problems which was eventually followed throughout India in phases.

Drawing inspiration from Charles Napier's Police organization in the Sindh, the Bombay Police was remodeled in 1853 and adopted the pattern of Sindh Police. Thus made the Police a self contained unit with a superintendent in every district, who was generally subordinate to the District Magistrate but had extensive control regarding discipline, equipment and efficiency over his force. In 1849 after the annexation of the Punjab the Sindh style of policing was also introduced over there.

The East India Company introduced the Commissionerate System (British System on the lines of London Metropolitan Police) in three presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, because the Europeans in India lived in these cities. The Commissionerate system was based on the London Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 aimed at producing a professionally autonomous service oriented force. For the rest of sub continent the Company chose the Irish Constabulary Act of 1836 as the model of Indian Police which created a militarized body of men meant for maintaining law and order over a turbulent and hostile population.

**The Police system throughout India was not uniform. Almost different types of Police development were made in the teeth of apposition of Magistrate, Collectors and others. Each Presidency introduced an independent Police system in keeping with the local problems and administrative needs.<sup>37</sup>**

## **Police During (1858to 1947)**

### **First Police Commission 1860:**

**In August 1860, under the Chairmanship of M.H Court first National Police Commission was constituted. The Commission was given a Memorandum on the different Police systems of British India which the Government of India received from the Secretary of State, containing detailed guidelines for the desired system of Police in India. Eventually keeping in view the guidelines and propositions, on the recommendation of the Police Commission of 1860 the Indian Police Act of 1861 was enacted.**

**However, the Act did not come into force automatically in this act it was stipulated that it will apply in any province only where so notified by the Governor General in Council.**

**The general structure of the Police force was set out in the Police Act of 1861 whereby Police was provincially administered by local government and not subject to the general control of the Governor General. In 1861 the designation of Captain was altered to that of Commandant. Later on both the designations of Captain and Commandant were abolished. The immediate control of the Police devolved upon the Commissioner and the district force were placed under the command of Superintendents. The Indian Police Act of 1861 gave statutory expression to administrative experience gained during several decades of the**

**East India Company's rule. It provided the Police force in the country with the necessary statutory backing and also laid down the broad lines along which the force was to be developed and expanded. It visualized Police as a cadre meant only for duties of mechanical nature. The Act itself stated:-**

**The administration of the Police throughout the general Police district shall be vested in an officer to be styled as Inspector General of Police and Assistant Inspector General of Police as the Local Government shall deem fit. The administration of the Police throughout the local jurisdiction of the magistrate of the district is vested in the District Superintendent of Police and such Assistant District Superintendents, as the Local Government shall consider necessary.**<sup>38</sup>

**The Inspector was the highest subordinate rank, and was the back bone of the Police Subordinate Service. The mode of recruitment of subordinate ranks varied from province to province. Again the Indians filled in a majority of the subordinate posts.**

**The English authority employed various methods over a prolonged period of about 90 years and finally arrived at a solution, which brought in to being a new Police set up in India. The new Police possessed a definite structure and it established hierarchy and an effective command and control. The Police were no longer an amorphous institution piloted by a group of amateurs who had practically no direct accountability.**<sup>39</sup>

## **Second Police Commission 1902:**

**The first National Police Commission of 1860 had uplifted the Police in India. Then the Police Commission in 1902, initiated progressive steps, aimed at taking the Police further ahead.**

**The Governor General appointed the Police Commission in July 1902 headed by H.L. Frasere, Chief Commissioner of the Central Province. This Commission went in to the detail of the organizational structure of Police at the District level, functioning of the Railway Police and River Police, recruitment, training and pay structure of different subordinate ranks of Police.**

**The commission heard the bitterest complaints about behavior and corruption of the Police. These complaints were not made by non officials only, but also by officials of all classes, including Magistrates and Police Officers both Europeans and native.**

**It was generally admitted that Police Constable possessed the characteristics of the classes, they belong and that corruption was no more an essential characteristics of the Constable than that of the Peon. The corruption of the Constable was more intolerable because of the greater measure of oppression and exertion which his Police power afforded.**

**Among the important recommendations of the commission were its suggestion for recruitment of constabulary and for their training at Provincial Police Schools. The pay of a constable was fixed as Rs.8.00 per month with an increment of Rs.1.00 accruing in three, ten, and seventeen years of approved service. The Head Constable was classified in to three grades with a salary of Rs.15.00, Rs.17.50 and Rs.20.00. This responsibility of incharge of police station devolved on the Sub-Inspector of the new cadre, who were recognized as the**

back bone of the Police force. The responsibility of the District Magistrate for the criminal administration of the district was in the nature of general control and direction and not a constant and detailed intervention. The Divisional Commissioner was not desired to interfere directly in the details of Police administration and his responsibility was only to supervise and advise District Magistrates.<sup>40</sup>

### **Division of Provinces into Police Ranges and Establishment of C.I.D:**

The Police Commissioner's Report gave fresh impetus to the development of the Police force in all provinces of India. The most significant developments were the creation of Criminal Investigation Department (CID) under the charge of a Deputy Inspector General of Police (DIGP) who was also to head the Railway Police and emergence of the Intelligence Bureau (IB). It was also suggested that all the large provinces be divided into Police ranges in each of which a Deputy Inspector General of Police be placed in full administrative charge of the Police. With the advancement of science the Indian Police adopted the scientific methods of investigation and in some fields as in the development of fingerprint system, it had the distinction of making initial experiments leading to outstanding results. In 1934 Police Rules were promulgated in the Punjab.<sup>41</sup>

### **Other Police Acts:**

The other laws concerning Police were passed subsequent to the enforcement of the Police Act V of 1861. In 1888, the Indian Police Act was passed to give authority to constitute Police forces for special purposes and to employ Police beyond the limits of a province.

**In 1895, Act VIII was passed to rectify the legal defects in the Police Act, when it was noticed that Policemen who were suspended or overstayed their leave could escape liability. An Act known as Police (incitement to disaffection) Act XXII was enforced in 1922, due to the apprehensions resulting from political agitation.<sup>42</sup>**

### **Classes and Ranks of Police Officers:**

**The expression “gazetted Police officer” is applied to Police officers appointed under section 4, Act V of 1861, and includes the Inspector General, Deputy Inspector General, Assistant Inspector General, Superintendents, Deputy Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents. The expression “enrolled Police officer” is applied to Police officers appointed under section 7, Act V of 1861, and includes Inspector, Sergeants, Sub Inspectors, Assistant Sub Inspectors, Head Constables and Constables. The expression “upper subordinate” includes all enrolled Police officers, of and above the rank of Assistant Sub Inspector. The expression “lower subordinate” includes all other enrolled Police officers.<sup>43</sup>**

### **Railway Police:**

**The Government Railway Police was first established on the pattern of the East Indian Railway. In the Punjab, the need for Railway Police arose in 1868. When the unguarded Railway Stations, good sheds, railway yards and passengers became an easy prey to burglars and cheats. The situation was aggravated by some Railway Officials who were oppressive in their behaviour and some others, who were illiterate and deceitful and quite often abetted commission of frauds. A move for having Police was, consequently, made by the Railway authorities themselves, to which the government consented. The Railway Police for the Punjab and Delhi was sanctioned in 1868, which started working in January 1868 with a strength of 204 men of all ranks drawn from the**

districts, where vacancies were filled by recruitment. The charge of the force, which was to cover 234 miles of railway line, was given to an Assistant Inspector General of Police under the general supervision of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Lahore.

The Punjab Railway Police showed its monetary value in the very first year. It did valuable service for the Company in protecting the property of the public and the amount of compensation for loss of goods by theft fell to Rs: 400 per year. It also detected and brought to justice 35 Railway servants for theft of the company's property.<sup>44</sup>

## **Departments of the Police**

### **Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D):**

The name Criminal Investigation Department (CID) was first used for the detective branch of the Metropolitan Police of London in 1878. When it was reorganized for proper recording and dissemination of information. Till then, the enquiries and investigations of a special nature depended on the individual knowledge of a handful of detectives. The suggestion for establishing CID in the Provinces of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent came for the Police Commission of 1902-03. In the Punjab the department was set up in 1905, with Sir Edward Lee French as the first Deputy Inspector General.

### **Punjab Finger Prints Bureau:**

The credit for discovering the utility of Finger Impressions goes to China, where finger marks were first discovered on fragments of ancient pottery. In the

Punjab, an Anthropometric Bureau was started in Phillaur in 1894 and the finger print system was introduced in 1896. The Finger Print Bureau at Phillour was the largest institution of its kind in India and worked for the Punjab, Dehli, N.W.F.P, Balochistan and the Punjab States. In 1894, it had commenced with only four experts, while in 1927 it had 33 officers under a Deputy Superintendent of Police. For purposes of discipline the Bureau was supervised by the Principal of Police Training School, although the ultimate control rested with the Deputy Inspector General of the CID. The Phillaur Bureau handled about 30,000 finger print slips of convicts every year. It was a source of revenue to the government and was one time, earning forty thousand rupees per annum from the fee charged for the examination of finger impressions in dispute in Civil cases.

### **Forensic Science Laboratories:**

What ultimately grown into the Police Forensic Science Laboratory at Lahore, took its birth as a photographic section of the CID in 1930, on account of the necessity of urgently producing photographic copies of certain documents. An ordinary camera and some accessories were its entire equipment and a chemical section was opened in same period for examining suspected materials, developing finger impressions.

### **Telecommunications:**

The question of equipping Police with wireless communication system was mooted in February 1931, but no practical step could be taken till July 1943. A part from the routine Police duties, the wireless section rendered valuable assistance during flood by establishing stations at strategic points.

### **Provincial Armed Reserves:**

**The first unit of the Provincial Armed Reserve was raised in the Punjab in 1928, under the name of Additional Police to supplement the district Police in emergencies. Its creation was motivated by the political and communal agitations interspersed with acts of terrorism. The force was commanded by an Assistant Superintendent of Police. It was temporary and its strength increased and decreased according to the demands of the time.**

### **Special Police Establishment:**

**The increase in frauds and corruption resulting from the swelling of contracts for supplies and provisions for the defense services during the Second World War necessitated the setting up of a Special Police Establishment in August 1941, under a Deputy Inspector General of Police, responsible to the central government for investigating corruption, launching prosecutions and pointing out organizational defects.**

### **Fire Arms Bureau:**

**The foundation of a Fire Arms Bureau was laid by De-Heaume, one of the principals of the Police Training School Phillaur, in about 1945. It is now functioning under the Crime Branch of the CID at Lahore.<sup>45</sup>**

## **Police Training Schools**

### **Police Training School Phillaur:**

**In the Punjab, prior to 1861 the Police Battalions mostly consisted of old soldiers already trained in drill, while the *Barkandazes* of the civil Police were left to themselves to pick up whatever they could from their surroundings. On reorganization under the Police Act, the newly employed hands were sent directly to their places of posting and picked up work similarly.**

**The Provincial Police Training School was established in 1891 at Phillaur in a building originally built as a *Serai* by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan on the Grand Trunk Road between Dehli and Lahore converted by Ranjit Singh into a fort, with a moat around it, with the intention of making it a base to extend his territory beyond the Sutlej.**

**The School began with a course of training for six months but shortly later classes for directly appointed Inspectors, European Sergeants, Sub Inspectors, Prosecuting Officers and Head Constables were added. A principal of the rank of Assistant Superintendent and later Superintendent of Police supervised it under the control of the Inspector General till that responsibility was placed on the Deputy Inspector General of the range.**

**The school had an average library a big armoury and a criminal museum containing an infinite variety of home made and other arms, appliances of house breaking, counter feinting, forgery and boot legging, empty shells, poisons and gambling dice.**

### **Police Training College Sarda:**

**Sarda is a village in Rajshahi district, East Bengal, about 13 miles by a coastal road. The surroundings are picturesque, the Ganges presenting a superb view. The buildings inherited by the College were of historic interest as they belonged to the silk factories established by the East India Company at Sarda after the Dutch had settled themselves in the same trade at Rajshahi.**

**The buildings which were added after 1913, according to the requirements of the College, included four rows of quarters for Inspectors, Sub Inspectors, Head Constables and the Clerical and Hospital Staff, a double storeyed hospital building with a separate Dispensary, an operation theatre and a segregation ward, a house for the Chief Medical Officer, a three storeyed building for Sub Inspectors under training, which also had classrooms, a Police Museum, a Model Police Station, a recreation room, the Law Instructors Library and subordinate officer's guest room. The first Principal at Sarda was Major H. Chamney, who served there till 1919 and left many legends.**

#### **Recruits Training Centre Sargodha:**

**The Recruits Training Centre at Sargodha started in 1934 as a local arrangement of the Range with a skeleton staff drawn from Mianwali and Jhang districts almost a part of the District Police Line.**

#### **Women Police:**

**To deal with the women involved in the Kisan agitation in the Punjab, nine temporary Women Constables and one Constable were enrolled in Lahore district on the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1939 and retained till the end of August. In September 1942, civil disobedience brought into prominence the necessity of Female Police**

**Officers when some girl students arrested in Delhi and sent to Lahore refused to get down from a railway train.**

**A post of a Lady Inspector was created for the Railway Police at Lahore some time after 1920. It was made permanent in 1938 and was abolished in 1957. The work done by this officer was to assist stray women, protect women passengers, search female railway compartments and render assistance to women injured in accidents.<sup>46</sup>**

### **Creation of Pakistan in 1947:**

**The turbulent years between the two World Wars were critical for the local Police all over the country. The first World War was occasioned as part of aggression and general increase in crime. Political and economical disturbance also added to the increasing task of the Policemen. Prominent among the major eruptions of violence were the Moplah Rebellion (1921-1922) and Rampa Fituri 1922-23. Both the uprisings were on a large scale and tested the courage and commitment of the Police in difficult campaigns, and pin pointed the need for the creation of distinct Police units, trained and equipped for dealing with disorders of this nature. An immediate prelude to the Moplah Rebellion was the creation of the Malabar Special Police.**

**During the War, the duties and responsibilities of the Police multiplied and grew in complexity. The Defence of Indian Rules required the Police to enforce a “Plethora” of restraining and regulatory orders, which not only added tremendously to their work, but also depend the hostility of the people while the strain caused by the duties connected with war continued. The Quit India Movement launched on 8<sup>th</sup> August 1942, thrust the Police men into a welter of**

agitation demonstrations and mass upsurges, which brought them into increasing conflict with their own people. At the time of independence, Pakistan inherited the Police force that had the history to suppress the local population. Since Pakistan Police continue to obey the same laws and rules, wear the same uniform and follow the same procedure as before independence, the people of Islamic Republic of Pakistan can not distinguish between the Police serving the British rulers and the Police belonging to an independent country. According to Allama Iqbal, "Justice is an inestimable treasure but we must guard it against the thief of mercy".<sup>47</sup>

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## CHAPTER - 2

### COMMUNAL RIOTS IN THE PUNJAB

No doubt the Hindus and Muslims shared many cultural values and economic relationships. But these common social practices could not bring total homogeneity between the two communities.<sup>1</sup> For historical and other reasons, the impact of Islam was most marked in the north-west and east of the sub-continent, where it acquired a substantial presence. Later, most Muslim rulers, having struck deep roots in the country of their adoption, had to fight the hordes of Muslim invaders (Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali) from many central Asian lands, to defend their possessions and their “Indian” subjects. In the wars that followed, an Indian Army consisting both Muslims and Hindus, would face the “foreign” Muslim invaders. Such foreign invasion would gradually bring a degree of proximity between Islam and Hinduism, suggestive of the emergence of a new identity, somewhat different from its pre-Islamic variety. It was this “Indian-ness”, which found expression in the uprising of 1857 such a conscious avowal of a common identity by the Hindus and Muslims of India, however, proved to be a transient phenomenon, as the country was to discover soon. With the advent of the British rule in India in 1858, Hindu and Muslim relations entered into a new phase.<sup>2</sup> The Muslims have been living in India for more than thirteen hundred years but co-existence with Hindus have never been there. Through centuries the two nations lived apart from each other though inhabiting the same land.

Quaid-i-Azam had said this act at the lunch given by Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmad, Vice Chancellor Muslim University, Aligarh, on March 08, 1944.

Tracing the history of the beginning of Islam in India, he proved that Pakistan was established the day when the first non-Muslim was converted to Islam in India long before the Muslim established their rule. As soon as a Hindu embraced Islam he was out caste, not only religiously but also socially, culturally and economically.<sup>3</sup>

It was a new ideology that had begun to take root on Indian soil where Hinduism prevailed one person against millions of persons had no significance. The significance replete with formidable sequences was that Islam was pitching up against Hinduism; a new way of life versus an old one. Hindus served the Muslim ruler but as assimilation and power sharing was the Muslim rule on India characteristic. As the Indians of all creeds served the British when they ruled over India. There did not exist any sense of belonging between the British and Indians. The relationship between the rulers and ruled cannot be called co-existence. This is endorsed by the Muslim as well as British rules of India. Today the Arab chiefs in different states find them more docile, obedient and submissive than their brethren in Islam. Nations who experience long periods of slavery inculcate in them traits of artful hypocrisy. But when such people become masters, are cruel to the extreme. Hindus and Jews, in this respect are sister communities. Some Arab, Muslim societies have experienced Jewish barbarity and are still enduring extreme kind of torture. But as far as Hindu barbarity, it is only the non-Aryan Hindus, i.e the untouchables, the Christians and the Muslims of South Asia who know it.<sup>4</sup>

Nirad. C. Choudhry can be quoted as:

The current belief is that the Hindus are peace-loving and non-violent people and this belief has been fortified by Gandhism. In reality, however, few human communities

have been more war like and fond of bloodshed. I know, this will not be believed, for Hindus militarism lies buried under a mound of mythical notions, about their non-violence as the Aryan Kingdom lay under mounds of sand until layard began to unearth it.

And the same author throws light on the extremely deplorable condition of Indian Muslims since the day they lost their rule over India at the hands of the British.

One thinks of the poles as an unhappy people, whom history has treated and in treating very shabbily. But I do not consider that even their fate has been as tragic as that of the Muslims of India not only in their present state but even from the time the British ousted them from political power. At one stroke their position they had in India was that of dominant colonial minority ruling a large subject population.<sup>5</sup>

**The major factor of rivalry and conflict between the Hindus and Muslims is religion** Ideologically Hinduism and Islam are antithetical to each other. During the centuries of co-existence, however, Muslims had adopted some Hindu elements but Hinduism and Islam never produced any general ideological synthesis.<sup>6</sup> An addition to the existing community sense, we also note the process of Islamization. Islamization involved the spread of ideology, customs and practices of pristine Islam. Islamization helped the process of uniform Muslim culture through out the country, aided by some orthodox reform movements, such as Wahabi, Faraizi and others.<sup>7</sup>

Further more, Hindu revivalism also played its part in developing Muslim separation. Hindu renaissance was a prominent feature of the Indian, especially north Indian public life and politics during late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Few urban Muslims, whether in Bengal or in the Punjab could have

been unaware of the increasing Hinduisaion of public life, from the growing dominance of Hindu press of Hindu idiom of nationalist politics. Few could have been ignorant Hindu University movement of the second decade of the twentieth century and Suddhi and Sangathan campaigns of third decade.<sup>8</sup>

There is no doubt that Hinduism and Islam are two different, indeed, sharply opposed religions. Hinduism is a complex of creeds and cults, mostly derived from non-Aryan sources but supported with Aryan thought and practices. It is practically hard to define in concrete terms. The main sources of its inspiration is traced back to a body of very ancient Sanskrit scriptures, the Vedas. Divinity pervades all things, mountains, rivers, trees, stones, plants, animals (cow in particular) and many more. This, in turn, necessitates different modes of worship of different gods and goddesses, diverse rituals and conflicting ceremonial observances.

Islam, on the other hand, is a religion of doctrinal unity where only one view of God is acceptable, namely that of Allah. There is no God but Allah. Only one series of revelations concerning him exists, which are codified in the Holy Book Quran. These revelations were conveyed to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who is the last Prophet. Consequently all Muslims believe in the authority of the Quran and Sunna, the tradition of the Prophet as the abiding source of their faith. These fundamental difference and divergences in Hinduism and Islam naturally influence Hindu-Muslim relations. The Muslims for instance, reject the Hindu worship of many gods and goddesses. In addition, the Muslims find it extremely hard to comprehend the sanctity given to the cow under the Hindu law. For them it is a legitimate sacrificial animal. In this sense frequent Hindu-Muslims riots over slaughter are a manifestation of the opposing social

**sentiment between both rather being the cause of it. They are merely a symptom of the clash of the opposing religions and cultures.<sup>9</sup>**

**The Muslims were poor and backward and the realization of their backwardness dawned upon the Muslims with the disintegration of the Mughal empire. Even sufi scholars like Shah walliullah (1703-62) were concerned about the deteriorating Muslim economic conditions.<sup>10</sup> In his letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali, he wrote:**

**The Muslim community is in a pitiable condition. All control of the machinery of government element is in the hands of Hindus, because they care only people who are capable and industrious. Wealth and prosperity are concentrated in their hands, while the share of Muslims is nothing but poverty and misery..... it is incumbent upon you to march to India, destroy Marhata domination, and rescue weak and downtrodden Muslims from the clutches of non-Muslims.<sup>11</sup>**

**With the decline of Muslim political power all those associated with education, statecraft administration, defence and so on, found themselves in a highly adverse situation. The Muslim middle classes, which were poets, historians, scholars, ecclesiastical divines, painters, teachers, calligraphers, news writers, physicians, diwans, munshis, accountants, musicians, illuminators of manuscripts, book binders, qaris and specialists in the weapons, who had been previously patronized by the state, found no place in the new system of civil service. The Muslim nobles associated with the court were left without a patron.<sup>12</sup>**

**The other aspect, which had a long lasting effect on Muslim economic life, was how they adjusted to the new challenges. A large number of educated individuals with a knowledge of English were required for the political administration of the country, which could not be manned exclusively by the**

British.<sup>13</sup> Realizing the importance of obtaining a western education, Hindus grasped their opportunity and acquired it. The Muslim classes rejected the basic notion of the superiority of western values and institutions. To learn English and acquire western knowledge went against their pride and the memory of bygone superiority. Muslims lost an early opportunity of acquiring the new knowledge that could provide secure government employment.<sup>14</sup> By being more receptive to the opportunities offered by modern education, more Hindus acquired western education and became trained to fill the subordinate ranks in government service. They also took steps to complete the research and scientific fields. Hindus seized all these opportunities in the commercial and industrial fields. Initially they started in Calcutta as brokers, financiers and agents.<sup>15</sup> Communalism became all the more a source of conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims in the wake of economic disparities and political inequality generated and developed during the British rule. The dialectical element in the situation came to be further reinforced by economic and political factors.

Economic development in the country clearly favoured the Hindus as compared to Muslims. Most of the gainers were high caste Hindus, though the Parsis and Sikhs also did fairly well. The main losers were the Muslims who had formed the major part of the Mughal aristocracy, lawyers and artisans in the luxury handicrafts. The British not only deprived the Muslims of positions of power and pelf but also singled them out from deliberate repression in the wake of 1857 War of Independence.<sup>16</sup> The ever growing hostilities were rooted essentially in economic life. The Hindus were superior in wealth, influence, education and organization as well as in press and platform propaganda by their refusal to acquire English education. They had surrendered their right to

employment and commercial enterprise. The deplorable economic plight was described by a contemporary source “poverty had become a badge of a Musalman. There is hardly one who does not owe some amount or other to the Hindu money lender. Day by day the immovable property of the Musalmans is passing into the hands of the Hindus and whatever they earn by the sweat of their brows goes in some shape or other to strengthen the other community..... Muslims of the Punjab alone owe a debt of about Rs: 15,00,000/- on which they pay the *bania* ( Hindu money lender) annual interest of Rs: 2,30,000,000/- one half of their annual earnings of Rs: 5,00,000,000/- one half thus finds its way into the pockets of others as interest. It comes to this, then, that whatever we earn belongs to the other or to put it in other words our position in this country is that of slaves; for what else is a slave but one who labours for others.<sup>17</sup>

The situation was not different in the business sector. Non-Muslim business classes were well established in the new economic order by the time the Muslims began to move. By the 1940s, the Non-Muslim capitalist group had developed to a point where as W.C. Smith wrote in 1946, it was ready to dominate the entire country..... Birlas, Tatas, and Dalmias were big industrialists, lending their financial support to their own community interests in general and the Indian National Congress in particular Muslims industrialists were very few and far between. Mostly they were traders belonging to a few communities like Memons, Bohras and Ismailis operating from their Bombay base. Muslim majority regions were not favoured by the British for industrial purpose.<sup>18</sup> The third major factor which hurt the feeling of Muslims and made them dependent on Britishers. British administration gradually strengthened its

position in India but produced gulf between Hindus and Muslims. From the day one they treated the Hindus and Muslims differently. The British statesmen and officials were ready to treat the Muslims as a distinct political group in India. They were nominated to serve on the Imperial Legislative Council and on the education and public service commissions. Before the introduction of the elective principle in to the constitution of rural local government as a result of Ripon's reforms (1883), the Muslims were officially nominated to such bodies.

The Indian Council Act of 1892 accepted many demands of the Congress such as enlargement of councils, discussion of financial statements and rights of interpellation. The Muslims felt that government had succumbed to Congress pressure. They became more firm in their conviction that unless their interests were protected by the government, they would be completely wiped out. Hence they must devise measures to secure their full share in the constitutional reforms. There emerged Hindu revivalist movements in order to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses for political action. This was interpreted by the Muslims as foreshadowing the virtual establishment of a Hindu raj in India once. The British relinquished their power. Meanwhile efforts were made through the Muslim reform movements of the nineteenth century to transform Muslim attitude towards the Hindus. These movements were generally based on a rejection of Medieval Islam in India in favour of the early Islam in Arabia.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, there was the growing political consciousness among the Muslims. Although the establishment of Muslim League on 30 December, 1906 was the first steps towards political realization but communal conflicts were instigated with this political realization because of the presence of third party i.e., the Britishers.<sup>19</sup>

Actually the factor of British administration had not been ruled out in instigating the communal tension in India. It is not uncommon to trace the roots of conflicts to the Act of 1909 which, for the first time, provided institutional legitimating to the notion of a distinct, separate political identity. Introducing separate electorates was a clever and novel British devise to create a sense of communitarian solidarity and to them watch the spectacle of alignments being forged on the basis of religious affiliations. The measure of success in achieving such goals is, in part, reflected in the arguments marshaled to advance and sustain sectional claims. Muslim group, in particular, not only discovered a new vocabulary to articulate their aspirations but also insisted on being heard as representatives of their community. The act of 1919 enlarged the scope of communal politics. The franchise was extended to the elected and non-official members. They were represented in much greater strength in enlarged legislatures and above all, they received some degree of authority. The implications of the reforms were not felt at the height of the non-cooperation movement, when provincial election in 1920 were generally boycotted. But once that phase was over, the writing on the wall was clean. In 1922, a powerful lobby of Punjab based traders, merchants and money lenders, resorted to the boycott of municipalities to protest against the provision of separate representation for the Muslims. The divisive effects of devolution of power were mostly felt in Bengal where Muslims were economically and politically weak and were therefore less well represented within the councils and for that reason, less lapsable of utilizing the reforms to their advantage. Muslims, already aggrieved by the terms of the Lucknow pact, insisted on securing the benefit of their majority position.

**Moulvi Abdul Karim observed:**

Theoretically it is all very well to say that communal representation stands in the way of the building up of a national state. But in India, which is a land of many communities, many creeds, many cultures and many tradations, it is not possible to have a thorough national fusion, completely separating the religious and socio-religious concerns of life from the economic and political interests. For the present, the interests and aspirations of different communities must be separately considered and satisfied.<sup>20</sup>

Emergence of the Indian National Congress in 1885 added a new dimension to Hindu-Muslim relationship. From the beginning of this organization, Muslims kept themselves aloof from it. Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) came in the forefront to preach to the Muslims that without education, Muslims would diminish their identity if they stepped in politics. This advice was followed by the vast majority of the people. To counteract the efforts of the Congress, Syed Ahmad Khan took four concrete steps. He founded the Indian Patriotic Association, the Muhammadan Educational Conference, the Muhammadan Defence Association of upper India, and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of upper India.<sup>21</sup>

This political realization strengthened among the Muslims with the partition of Bengal (1905) and its annulment. The Muslims were forced to form their own political party Muslim League (1906). Gradually both political parties gained popularity among Hindu and Muslims separately. These parties did not help to bridge the gulf of both communities on the other way brought them to that stage where there was only animosity and distrust. Manifestation of this rivalry was seen in communal riots.

Swami Dayananda Sarsoti established a society for the Protection of Cow Gaurakhshini Sabha in 1882. There were anti-cow killing riots at Lahore, Ambala, Delhi and Ferozpore in the next year. Again in 1886, there were riots at Ludhiana and Delhi and at Rohtak in 1889. There were riots in United Province and Bihar in early 1890s and a major clash at Bombay in August 1893 in which several hundred people were killed or injured.<sup>22</sup> This anti cow killings engulfed the two communities. Conditions were particularly bad in U.P. Streets were turned into battlefields where the two communities could cross swords. The anti Muslim movements *Shuddhi* (Purification) and *Sangathan* (consolidation) expressed the Hindu extremists desire and determination to make India safe for Hinduism.<sup>23</sup>

The partition of Bengal became main reason for the hostility between Muslims and Hindus. The Hindu agitation caused increased in riots. The Swadeshi Movement led to the boycott campaign and in its turn, resulted in communal clashes.<sup>24</sup> Riots started in different parts of the country on the occasion of religious festivals like Dussehra, Muharram and Eid, in 1921. These riots reached on highest point with the Moplah uprising.<sup>25</sup> In July 1921 led the Moplahs to believe that war against the British was imminent and in preparation arms were collected and messages were sent from mosque to mosque. In August a Police force tried to arrest, some of the Moplahs which was resisted by the mob and a sever encounter took place. The riots were started at Nagpur, Agra, Saharanpur, Shahjahanpur, Lucknow, Muradabad, Bhangalpur, Panipat and Gulbarga.

In September 1924, the publication and circulations of a pamphlet containing an anti Islamic poem. This was followed by riots in Kohat, in these

riots 155 people were killed and injured.<sup>26</sup> Riots also took place at Allahabad and Lucknow in 1924, and in 1925 at Aligarh. It was widely believed by both the Hindus and Muslims that these riots could have been prevented if the British authorities really wanted to do so.<sup>27</sup> In 1925, a Nagpur doctor Keshav Rao Ram Hedgewar started a militant Hindu organization, Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (R.S.S.S). Its belief, that Hindustan is just for Hindus who have lived in it for thousand of years and the Muslims are foreigners. Young, old and children, all were eligible to take part in the activities of the R.S.S.S. The only membership requirements was to have firm faith in Hindu parentage, heritage and culture. The organization decided to boycott Muslim shopkeepers, to employ mobsters on heavy salaries and to collect dangerous weapons including rifles, bren guns, revolvers and hand grenades.<sup>28</sup> In 1926-25, U.P, C.P and Bombay Presidency remained in riots. In this year the most suffered city was Calcutta where some local Hindu festivals increased the communal trouble. This resulted in a great economic loss to Calcutta. In these clashes 66 people were killed and several wounded. In 1927, almost 40 riots took place causing death of 197 and injuries to 1, 598 persons.<sup>29</sup>

Some of the serious outrages were caused by two publications against the Holy Prophet (PBUH), *Rangila Rasul* and *Risala Vartman*. In these books abusive language was used against Prophet (PBUH). The emotions of the Muslims were aroused, and riots broke out.<sup>30</sup> On the basis of communalism burning alive of men, women and children, assassinations, kidnapping the women and rape were common in most parts of the British India. It was estimated that 450 lives were lost and 5,000 persons were injured in communal clashes between 1923-27. During 1928-29, 22 riots occurred which caused the death of 204 and almost 1000 persons

wounded.<sup>31</sup> About 3000 persons were killed in a communal clash at Cawnpur in March 1931 due to launch of Congress “Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930-31. In this time main effected areas were Sukkur, Kishoreganj, Birla, Bombay and Benares.<sup>32</sup> Years of 1930-33 remained peaceful, but this peace could not last for a long time, in year of 1934 communal clashes started during Holi at Benares and Cawnpur and on Eid-ul-Azha at Bihar, Orissa, Madras, Sindh and Delhi on the issue of Cow Slaughter.<sup>33</sup>

Riots also started at Karachi which resulted in a number of causalities in March 1935. Hindus threw bricks from the roofs of their houses on the Muslim processions in Main Bazaar at Agra in April 1936. Muslims in revenge set fire to the house of a Hindu in which 11 people were burnt. Riots also broke out in Poona, Jamalpur and Bombay.<sup>34</sup> Hindus and Muslims fought at Panipat on the event of Holi in March 1937. The communal riots started at Lucknow in 1937.<sup>35</sup>

According to the Act of 1935, provincial elections were held in the winter of 1936-37. The Congress won with a clear majority in the provinces of Madras, Bihar, C.P., U.P., Orissa, Sindh and Assam and made coalition ministries in Bombay and North Western Frontier Province. The Congress came in power in nine out of eleven provinces.<sup>36</sup>

Some Congress leaders stated that now they will take revenge from the Muslims for the last seven hundred years of their slavery. No doubt, they did their best to harm the Muslims during their rule of two years. The communal riots started obviously, 72 incidents took place in Bihar, 33 in U.P and equally in C.P. Riots also broke out in Allahabad, Bombay, Asansol, Cawnpur, Benares, Cassmpore, Shikarpur and Sukkur. If the Muslims slaughtered a cow for sacrifice, the Hindu killed the Muslims, burnt their houses and attacked on their

women and children. Pigs were thrown into the Mosques, Azan was interrupted, Muslim shops were boycotted and Muslims were prevented from drawing water from village wells.<sup>37</sup>

During two years of Congress rule, the Muslim League Council and the Working Committee passed many resolutions and drew the attention of the government to the anti-Muslim policies of the Congress. In these resolutions, it was also requested to the Congress that they should work for the betterment of both communities. On the other hand they also requested to the masses to stay calm and peaceful.<sup>38</sup>

The Muslim League highlighted the atrocities of Hindus through Pirpur Report and Sharif Report. Muslims were delighted at the resignation of Congress ministries and the installation of the adviser regime. At this initiative the 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1939 was celebrated as the Day of Deliverance and the Muslims took a sigh of relief that the Congress regime had at last ceased to function. This day passed away without any major incident.<sup>39</sup> After the Second World War communal riots in India once again started, and the great Calcutta Killing started in August 1946. It was wrongly suggested that these riots started with Jinnah's call for the celebration of the "Direct Action Day" in India against the unjust use of absolute government power by the Congress. But the reality is that Jinnah started two days before the Direct Action Day, requesting the people to act peacefully. It was also declared that the day should be celebrated in a pure religious spirit.<sup>40</sup>

According to an official report, during the four days of rioting about 4,000 people were murdered and 10,000 injured. Property worth millions of rupees was destroyed.<sup>41</sup>

The 16 August, 1946 was a black day for Culcutta and also for the whole of India. Numerous clashes between the two communities were witnessed. The conditions at Noakhali and Tipperera became terrible because Muslims were in majority in both the areas. Muslims aslo attacked on Hindus killing many of them and destroying their property. However riots in Noakhali reported about abduction, rape and forcible marriages were rare. The main reason of these riots was 19% of population in Noakhali had almost 64% of the agricultural land. Their attitude was very harsh with Muslims. Hindus observed Noakhali day on 25October, 1946 in Bihar. Congress led huge processions and raised the slogans like *Khun ka Badla Khun*.<sup>42</sup> *Jinnah ko goli maro*.<sup>43</sup> *Pakistan ko Qabristan bana do*.<sup>44</sup>, etc.<sup>45</sup>

The disturbances in Bihar started from Patna and spread throughout the province. Muslim men, women and children were brutally killed. Hindu rioters destroyed the Muslim villages and broke all past record of violence in the country. The property of Muslims was looted. A large number of people tried to run away from Bihar but many of them were pulled out of trains and killed.

No action was taken by the Police or Judiciary to save the lives of people and their property, they did not try to stop the clashes. The Bihar Prime Minister clearly stated that he would not allow the British army to take any action against the Hindu rioters.<sup>46</sup>

Finally the military was called on 1<sup>st</sup>November but riots had been started on 25 October. The Hindu press obstructed the news very effectively.<sup>47</sup> It is clear that Bihar killings were well planned and organized because Hindu attackers were fully armed with weapons. The Muslim League claimed that the number of casualties were between 20 and 30 thousands but rough calculation of press was

**about 7 to 8 thousand Muslims lost their lives during the Bihar riots of 1946. Government tried to destroy all evidence against the rioters and no commission was set up for the inquiry.<sup>48</sup>**

**After two months latter riots also started in U.P, where Hindus killed many Muslims. During these riots, pregnant women were ripped off, their infants brains smashed on the ground. Holy Quran was torn and its pieces were thrown all over. But no Policemen or any other official came to restore the peace.<sup>49</sup> These riots remained till partition of India, but the main area of clashes was Punjab province because two communities lived over there and each of them claimed right to live there sole because Hindus and Sikhs were united against the Muslims.**

### **Punjab Politics and Communal Riots:**

**As the Punjab stands at the ancient gateway of India through it have passed the successive swarms of immigrants and invaders. The Aryans, the Scythians, the Greek armies under Alexander and the long succession of Muslim invaders and conquerors had all swept across its plains and had left their mark on the area. The era, however, in which Islam was brought home to the people of Punjab at large and in which the more thoughtful Hindus began to acquaint themselves with the tenets of their conquerors, was the period between the invasion of Taimur (1398 A.D) and the establishment of the Mughals dynasty by Zaheer-ud-Din Babur (1526 A.D). The Punjab also became the home of Sikh religion which started as a peaceful revolt against complexities and Brahminical subjection of Hinduism, developed under Muslim oppression into a military and political organization.<sup>50</sup> Sikh religion was founded by Guru Nanak in the 16<sup>th</sup>**

century. It came as a religion of peace and harmony. Mughal emperor Babur treated the Guru kindly and Guru prayed to God for the prolongation of the rule of his house. The enmity between the Sikhs and Hindus emerged during the period of guruship of Amar Das (1479-1574), and the Sikhs disconnected themselves from Hinduism through the inauguration of annual meetings, replacement of Sanskrit hymns by the Guru's hymns, preaching of monogamy, widow remarriage and forsaking of Sati and the caste system. This annoyed the Hindu Brahmins.<sup>51</sup>

The Brahmins went to the extent of requesting emperor Akbar to take actions against the Sikhs. When he refused to intervene, they began to bribe the local officials to harass the Sikhs. The Sikhs, under Guruship of Govind Singh (1595-1644), transferred themselves in to a disciplined body known as Panth. Govind gave them the title of Singh (lion).<sup>52</sup>

The friendly relations of the Sikhs and the Muslims strained when Guru Arjun (1563-1606), gave shelter to prince Khusro who had rebelled against his father emperor Jahangir. At the behest of Chandulal and Prithvi Chand, Guru Arjun was arrested and died in prison. The major cause of all the differences between the Sikh and the Muslim authorities was the prejudice of Hindus, who never accepted the Gurus and the panth of the Gurus.<sup>53</sup>

The relations among the three major religious communities Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were strained and at time, converted into great animosity, till last three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The communal relationships worsened due to the new challenges and with the annexation of the Punjab in 1849.<sup>54</sup>

**The Punjab was the traditional centre of Muslim rule and civilization in India. The Muslims were in majority among the population of the Punjab. In 1941 Muslims were 57%, Hindus 24% and Sikhs were 14%.<sup>55</sup>**

**Muslims were not only in majority in numbers but economically they were also strong. They controlled over 95 percent of the land in their districts i.e Gujrat, Jhang, Jhelum and Attock. Even in the eastern districts where the Hindu and Sikh land owning position was much stronger. Generally the Muslim society was based on a tribal and kinship basis. Economically the Hindus were better off. In U.P. they were in the minority, they also dominated the economic life in urban areas. They held sway over the realms of industry trade and commerce.**

**In Lahore, for instance, the Hindus owned 60 percent of the registered factories and paid eight times as sales tax as compared to the Muslim traders. The majority of the banks, shops and commercial institutions, belonged to them throughout Punjab. The Hindus owned substantial amount of land in the eastern Punjab.<sup>56</sup>**

**The Punjab was a home of three important religions but the Hindus and Sikhs resented Muslim rule over India, the orthodox Muslim rulers, such as the emperor Aurangzeb were the subject of criticism. The non-Muslims were happy when Muslim rule ended. When the Sikhs established their religious freedom, the Muslim in turn were jubilant when Sikh rule over the Punjab came to an end.<sup>57</sup> The Muslims had considered the establishment of British rule in the Punjab in 1849, as an act of providence designed to liberate them from the Sikhs under whose rule they suffered some inconveniences that may be one of the reasons why they absented from the rising of 1857. They sympathized with the attempt to**

revive a Mughal supremacy, yet they dreaded the power of Sikhs should the controlling hand of the British be withdrawn.

Although the British did not pursue a policy of religious interference. Their education policy, introduction of English, teaching of western ideas and missionary activities were not enthusiastically responded by the Muslims, as the Hindus did to the new educational system introduced by the British. The Muslim indifference to western education not only kept them out of offices of state but cramped their outlook and impeded their progress.<sup>58</sup> Under the impact of modernization, the Hindus of the Punjab organized themselves effectively.<sup>59</sup> In 1828, the Brahmo Samaj opened its branch in Lahore which was already working in Bengal. The Brahmo Samaj itself was not a threat to the Muslims because it stood to maintain Anglo Vernacular institutions in the Punjab. The Brahmo Samaj movement too soon became a supporter of the Hindi language. The movement also started a campaign of hatred against some former Muslim rulers of India. In 1875, a more militant revivalist Hindu movement under the name of Arya Samaj was founded in the Punjab. The result was that the less militant Brahmo Samaj lost its membership to Arya Samaj. Arya Samaj was aggressive and insistent on the defence and superiority of orthodox Hinduism. It freely attacked both Islam and Christianity and preached against Hindu alliance with either of these religions.

Before discussing the Muslim response to the Hindu anti-Islam movement, it is necessary to look into the factors while instigating those movements i.e. the most in the Punjab's backwardness in the field of education and its lack of interest in the national politics. The Punjab was the most neglected province in the field of education. The Punjab census of 1911 shows that there were not even

4% literate in the sense of being able to read or write a simple letter. Till 1870 not a single graduate passed out from the Lahore College. The education report for the years 1902-07 shows that Bengal was well ahead of the Punjab in every respect. The educationally backwardness was the main hindrance to participate in national politics. The first important political organization, the Lahore Indian Association, which provided a common platform to all communities was founded in 1877. In the year 1885 the Indian National Congress was established and unfortunately by that time the Muslims and non-Muslims were divided into two rival camps.

Muslims kept themselves aloof from Congress. The qualified Muslims were without higher jobs, Muslims representation in the field of local self government was nominal. The province was predominately Muslims but on the front of economics they were losers in the hands of Hindu money lending class. To protect their interest the Punjab Muslims had founded various Muslim Associations in the province. The first was founded in 1869 under the name of Anjumane Islamia.<sup>60</sup> It was originally established to take over and maintain the Badshahi Mosque which had been converted, during the Sikh rule, into a magazine for storage of gun powder etc, but was being restored to the Muslims by the British. Gradually the Anjuman extended the field of its activities which came to include all efforts to improve the social and intellectual conditions of the Muslim of the Punjab and to further Muslim interests generally.

In 1860 the first institute of higher learning was setup in Lahore, it was a Medical College, where instruction was given in English as well as in Urdu. The Government College Lahore, was established in 1864. The most picturesque and dynamic personality among the academicians of the day was Dr. G. W. Leitner,

the first principal of Government College. He had founded the Anjuman-i-Matalib-i-Mufidah-i-Punjab (Society for the Propagation of Useful Knowledge). This was to be called Anjuman-i-Punjab in latter years. The Anjuman-i-Punjab became a model for similar organizations at Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Rawalpindi and Qasur.

The Punjab was populated by three communities Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs. The relations between the Sikhs and the Muslims sharply deteriorated during the last days of the Mughal rule. But steadied during the nineteenth century and these communities basically agricultural communities found much in common in the economic sphere.

In these circumstances the British planned to establish an organized political party in the Punjab which could struggle for the protection of their interests. They easily used their rural elite friends of the province. This cleared the way for creation of Unionists Party.<sup>61</sup>

Mian Fazl-i- Husain, was a lawyer who participated in the activities of Punjab Congress and Muslim League. He established the Unionist Party in 1923. The Unionists with the help of the British controlled over the Punjab's politics. This party was an ally of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh elites. The party was commanded by the Muslim landlords but some rural and urban Hindus, Sikhs also played an important role in its development. Chaudhary Chhotu Ram's oratory provided a populist appeal for the party's platform.<sup>62</sup>

In 1920s Sikhs organized themselves to protect their political rights and to accept the challenges of the time. At this time Akali Dal came into being with the Gurdwara Reform Movement. They started this movement to set free the Sikh temples or Gurdwara from Hindu priests.<sup>63</sup>

During the years of 1925-47 Akali politics witnessed distinct changes. The main demand of the Akali Dal Movement was related to communal representation. Congress leaders gave them guarantee that their demands would be fulfilled when India will get political freedom. From this point cooperation between both communities started. In the 1<sup>st</sup> Round Table Conference in 1930 they demanded 30% representation in the Punjab legislature Akali Congress relations become more strong when League demanded for separate homeland for the Muslims.<sup>64</sup>

The Muslim League always faced difficulties in the Punjab. The dominance of the Unionist Party had made the Muslim League irrelevant in the Punjab politics. In this unfavorable situation, the Punjab Muslim League made effort to survive during the early 1930s. Quaid-i-Azam started to take active part in the Punjab politics. He visited Lahore in April 1934 and met with Fazl-i-Husain and tried to bring all political groups under the banner of Muslim League. Fazl-i-Husain rejected the proposal. Fazl-i-Husain introduced some reforms with the purpose of benefiting the Muslims. Hindus who dominated the civil services, education and local government institutions felt a major threat for themselves. They considered these reforms as an attack on their traditional hold. The net result was that the first reformed Council soon divided itself on communal lines.<sup>65</sup>

The Hindu members of the Council started a movement to expel the Muslim Chief Minister of the Punjab. The pro-Hindu press also vindicated Hindu grievances. The Punjab found itself in the grip of severe communal struggle for power. Disturbance in the Punjab Council, strong objection in the local bodies and the communal attitude of the press opened a saddest chapter of Hindu Muslim relations in the Punjab.<sup>66</sup> Akali Dal contested elections in cooperation

with the Congress. The unity was short lived and both the parties started drifting each other.<sup>67</sup>

Muslim League got very little support in the Muslim majority provinces during the elections of 1937. Jinnah asked desired Fazl-i-Husain to support him in the formation of all India Muslim organization but he declined because he was confident of his support throughout the Punjab. He also considered Jinnah's efforts to reorganize the Muslim League as an attack on the provincial interests of the Unionist party.<sup>68</sup>

He died on 9 July, 1936 and did not live to see its success in the election. His death left the way clear for the Punjab's most popular man, Sikandar Hayat for the leadership of Unionist Party.<sup>69</sup>

The Muslim League and Congress were active in the election campaigns but the Unionists were not active because they were sure that the officials of the government were helping them.<sup>70</sup> The Unionist leadership asked Pirs for their support.<sup>71</sup> Sikandar Hayat formed a ministry comprising three Muslims two Hindus and one Sikh on April 1, 1937. The ministry remained in power till all the provincial assemblies were dissolved in 1945 for new general elections.<sup>72</sup> Jinnah tried to establish the Muslim League in the Punjab because he knew the importance of the province for the Muslims. On the other side Sikandar Hayat was trying to stop the increasing influence of Congress in the province. This main point became the reason of the Sikandar Jinnah pact of 13 October 1937. According to this agreement Sikandar Hayat advised all the Muslim members of the Unionist Party to join the Muslim League.<sup>73</sup>

Some Unionist leaders criticized Sikandar Hayat for this pact because it increased the popularity of Muslim League in the Punjab. Mian Fazl-i-Husain

and Sikandar Hayat had succeeded in winning the support of Sikh landowners but after the Pakistan Resolution(1940), and with the declaration of the Cripps Mission 1942 increased their annoyance and on 7 June, 1943 they demanded the establishment of Azad Punjab.<sup>74</sup> Muslim League's popularity went on increasing during Sikandar Hayat's tenure. Jinnah also invited Muslim women in the Pakistan Movement.Prominent Muslim women from the Punjab such as Begum Shahnawaz, Begum Hafeez uddin, Lady Fazl-i-Husain, Fatima Begum responded to Jinnah's call.<sup>75</sup>

The Punjab Muslim Student Federation was also established in 1937 by Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi, Hameed Nizami and Ibrahim Ali. Muslim students played important role and strongly supported the demand of Pakistan.<sup>76</sup>

After the death of Sikandar Hayat in 1942, Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana was appointed as the new premier. Tiwana inherited a weak government, the greatest challenge to his ministry was faced from the Muslim League and its campaign for Pakistan. In May 1943 Sikandar Hayat's son, Shaukat Hayat joined the Muslim League and left him, The families of the Nawab of Mambat and the Daultanas of Multan also joined the Muslim League.<sup>77</sup> They tried to get members from the Tiwana's camp. In September 1943 Jinnah wanted to nominate all Muslims to the new Council of the Punjab Muslim League. He did not feel that the Unionists could truly represent the Muslim interest.<sup>78</sup> He also proposed to nominate them with Tiwana's consent, but Tiwana did not agree. Tiwana was ousted from the Muslim League within six months. The Muslim League had 27 members in the Assembly. Tiwana and his colleagues renewed their effort to activate the Zimindara League. Every body who had sympathies with poor agriculturists could join this League.<sup>79</sup>

All parties Hindu Conference was held at Lahore on 13 August 1944 in which Hindus and Sikhs strongly opposed the acceptance of Pakistan.<sup>80</sup> The strongest opposition came from the Sikhs, for the reasons that its creation would place them under Muslim rule.<sup>81</sup> Kartar Singh criticized the Gandhi Jinnah Talks.<sup>82</sup> A plan was chalked out to register 1000,000 Sikhs to fight against the Pakistan demand under the leadership of Kartar Singh.<sup>83</sup> The Sikh leaders also made it clear that they would not talk with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan.<sup>84</sup> By this time Chottu Ram the most experienced Unionist minister and a staunch opponent of the Pakistan scheme had passed away on 9 January, 1945. His death came as terrible blow to the Unionist Party.<sup>85</sup>

The Punjab Muslim League made religious appeal to the Muslims. It held its meeting in mosque and requested to support the Pakistan struggle. The speeches of the League leaders were based on Quranic Verses. The Muslim League was of the opinion that they could not form ministry in the Punjab without the support of Hindus and Sikhs. They wanted to seek their support to forge a united front against the Unionist ministry.<sup>86</sup>

The election results on 23 February, 1946 proved to be a great shock for Unionist Party. The Punjab press reported the Unionist defeat with headlines. Unionist Party could win only 13 Muslim seats, a total of 57 Unionist Assembly members were unseated. The Muslim League won 75 Muslim seats of the 86 winning all 11 of the Urban and 64 of the rural constituencies. The Congress secured 9 out of 11 rural Hindu seats and it was also able to win 8 Sikhs seats. The Akalis dominated Panthic Pratiwadi Board also managed to win 23 seats.<sup>87</sup> Thus the Muslim League emerged as single party in the Assembly but just votes were not enough to allow the Muslim League to form a ministry without the

support of Sikhs and Congress.<sup>88</sup> Muslim League fixed 1 March to celebrate the Day of Deliverance from the Unionist ministry.<sup>89</sup> Inspite of the fact Tiwana with only 7 or 8 Muslims was accepted by the Congress and the Sikhs as their leader and with the government support he formed a coalition ministry on march 11. Tiwana's government was not popular and people were not satisfied with his administration. The Muslim League members felt cheated and resorted to agitation and rallies. Frequently demonstrators shouted slogans against Tiwana and Governor Glancy for imposing a non Muslim ministry over a Muslim majority province.<sup>90</sup> Tiwana opposed the idea which Muslim League demanded inclusion of undivided Punjab into Pakistan. Sikhs also showed their concerns against Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 in case of any division an independent Sikh state.<sup>91</sup>

The Congress was also against the partition and tried to take advantage of the anti Pakistan feelings of the Sikh community. The Punjab League started a movement to throw out Tiwana from power and the agitation started. Some top ranking Leaguers were arrested. Clashes between the Police and demonstrators became increasingly violent. Tiwana announced his resignation publically on March 2, 1947. The Muslim League celebrated Victory Day. Muslims were asked to remain firm in their demand for Pakistan and make all necessary preparations to resist any further attempts to deprive them of their rights.<sup>92</sup>

In brief it can be said that the communal harmony which was created by the Unionist Party in the Punjab politics was for a brief duration. It was only landed aristocracy who just achieved its interests and tried to give an impression that there was no difference among all the communities of the province. The history of the communal violence in India, specially in the Punjab showed beyond

**any shadow of doubt how easily broken the so called communal harmony turned out to be eventfully.**

### **Punjab Riots:**

**The Muslims of the Punjab also started forming Muslim organization for the development of their own interests. The first important Muslim organization, the Anjuman Islamia, was established at Lahore in 1869, to safeguard the Muslim rights and to encourage Muslim loyalty to British rule.<sup>93</sup> A broadly based organization, Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, with the aim to support the Muslims, was established in 1884. Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam defended Muslim interests publically by publishing tracts to defend Islam against attacks from Punjab's other religious communities. It also formed schools to instill in Muslim youth an awareness of their Islamic ideology and to prepare them for success within the British system.<sup>94</sup> With the establishment of communal organizations among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab communal tensions and riots started in the province.**

**In the Punjab, history of riots during the British rule, is as old as its beginning. In 1849, a clash was turned away in Lahore, on Muharram due to timely intercede by British officials.<sup>95</sup>**

**The First major communal riot broke out at Multan in September 1881. The relations between the Hindus and the Muslims remained extremely tense in the city for a long time over the question of increase in the height of the praladhpurei temple spire. The clash was due to the issue of cow slaughter and sale of beef. The Hindu through a forceful campaign and demanded a total ban on cow slaughter. They formed panchayats and severed all ties with the Muslims.**

They beat a butcher, carrying beef in the main street on September 20, 1881. They also attacked two important mosques and burned its furniture. Riots started in the city and resulted in one casualty and injuries to several persons and significantly damaged the private property and religious places.<sup>96</sup>

Several riots happened during the years 1884-1890, the main cause being the incidence of Muharram and Dussehra festivals on the same dates. In 1884 the festivals passed peacefully in Lahore, due to effective control by Police and the cooperation of local leaders.<sup>97</sup> In 1886, riots occurred at Ambala, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur and Dehli on the occasions of Eid-ul-Azha and Muharram. The major reason behind the riots in Delhi and Ludhiana was the sacrifice of cows by the Muslims on the Eid day.<sup>98</sup>

In Hoshiarpur, a Hindu, Hamir Chand annexed a part of municipal land a public well into the premises of a temple. The Hindu members of the municipal committee supported him and turned the issue into a communal one.

In 1885, a clash occurred on the event of Muharram and Ram Lila festivals, during which a few persons were injured.<sup>99</sup> A severe clash occurred in Isa Khel on October 20, 1893 the last day of Dussehra festival. Muslims rioters 100 in number looted the shops and put on the fire. The casualties in these riots were few but the loss of property was massive. The Rohtak riot took place on the Muharram i.e. 7 September, 1889.<sup>100</sup> In the same year riots broke out in Punjab at a large scale when Lekh Ram, had written 32 articles or Pamphlets on religious issues and most of them were anti Islam. He was assassinated by the Muslims.<sup>101</sup>

By the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century the Punjab was divided into a number of aggressive organizations, each having its own ideology and promoting a unique

**sense of identity. This state of mind developed the distance between religious communities and led a bitter competition.<sup>102</sup>**

**Communalism once started became a regular feature in the Punjab and the attack on religious individuals continued in the twentieth century. These riots made the Muslims to feel insecure. Many Muslims felt that the Hindu's aim was to establish their domination over India. In the end this communalism led to the partition of India. In 1905, at the time of the partition of Bengal the Hindus started a large scale agitation that the Bengali nation had been divided. Hindus struggled against the Muslims as well as the British. They boycotted British made goods. The effects were also visible in the Punjab, where the relations between the Muslims and non-Muslims deteriorated.**

**In 1907, however the worst effected areas were Lahore and Rawalpindi. When Sir Denzil Ibbetson, the Governor ordered to arrest Lala Lajpat Rai, it took a communal turn.<sup>103</sup> In the surrounding influence of communalism of the Punjab, the Sikh and the Muslims developed differences over the issues of Gurdwaras and the Mosques. The institutions were attacked and destroyed. One such dispute arose in Lahore in 1907 where Muslims wanted to take control of a Mosque occupied by the Sikhs. Sikhs resisted the more insisting that this was the place where Taran Singh laid down his life against the Muslims. So the Mosque belonged to the Sikh community firstly as a memorial of Taran Singh and secondly it was no longer a Mosque, but a Gurdwara consequently, serious Sikh Muslim riots broke out in the city.<sup>104</sup>**

**After the proclamation of the Rowlatt Acts of 1919, British Government got the power to arrest anyone without any court warrants. There was violence at some places.<sup>105</sup> In Amritsar, murder and rioting broke out on April 12, and**

General Dyer was called on to restore law and order. He announced publicly a ban on all public meetings. When an unarmed crowd of 5,000 gathered in the garden of Jallianwala he ordered to open fire on the crowd without warning. He continued to fire until the people disappeared. Approximately 2 to 5000 people were killed and thousands wounded.<sup>106</sup> The Jallianwala Bagh, the scene of the tragedy, was treated a place of pilgrimage and a memorial was built to pay homage to the victims. The Britishers claimed that what so ever had happened at Jallianwala Bagh was due to the fault of the local people, while the locals blamed the British administration for the tragedy.<sup>107</sup>

The Urdu press started emerging as a political force among Lahore's Muslims with the launching of the Urdu daily, *Paisa Akhbar* in 1880s. But the Urdu press got a boost when Maulana Zaffar Ali Khan, who got prominence in the years after 1911, moved his father's newspapers *Zimindar*. Zafar Ali Khan introduced a new urban politics in the Punjab. According to the British officials, the editorials, cartoons and news items of his news paper created communal hostility in the province. The Hindu press did not lag behind. The result was a new type of communalism in which the commitment to symbols of religious community transcended the political bonds of association and patronage. It became the main cause of series of riots in the 1920s, effecting several of Punjab's most important cities.<sup>108</sup> There was a serious riot at Multan in 1922, second riot in the same city in April 1923 and another in 1927. Amritsar witnessed two riots in April and May 1923, Panipat two riots in July 1923 and August 1925. At Rawalpindi a major communal out break in June 1926 and Lahore mammoth conflagration happened in May 1927. Outside these areas, no serious riot took

place, however only two other riots, in Ludhiana and Gurgaon, received any official mention, all were caused by the communal hatred spread by the press.<sup>109</sup>

Rajpal a Hindu from Lahore published a scurrilous attack upon the Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) in his book *Rangeela Rasul* in 1924. He was first acquitted and then convicted by the Lahore High Court. However the culprit was not punished in the next three years. Serious riots took place at Lahore between May 4 and 7, 1927 on this issue. A Muslim, Ilam Din, killed Rajpal in September 1927. Subsequently he was hanged on 31 October on the Court orders. To pay homage to him as hero his funeral was attended by Muslims in huge numbers. The riots again started in Lahore.<sup>110</sup>

In 1927, riots broke out in Multan on the Muharram celebrations, resulting in the death of 13 and injury of 24 people. During the same year. Hindus attacked the Muslims in the Gurgaon district on the issue of cow sacrifice on Eid day. This resulted in the death of a number of Muslims. Riot continued for several days.<sup>111</sup>

The Sikh Muslim tension was became tense with the announcement of Communal Award in 1932. According to the Award, the Punjab Muslims got only 49% seats in the Provincial Assembly although they were between 55 and 56% of the population of the province. The Sikhs felt most hurt due to the Communal Award. Despite the facts that they were having much more importance than their numbers. They believed that 20% seats for them inspite of their 13% representation was less than what should have been given to them. The Sikhs also demanded Azad Punjab in the Round Table Conferences of 1930-31.<sup>112</sup> The Sikhs swore at the tomb of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore to sacrifice their all to discard the Award. The Congress adopted a policy of neutrality

**towards the Award and Jinnah's resolution approving the Award was passed without any opposition in the Central Legislative Assembly. When Gandhi and his Congress did not oppose the Communal Award, the Sikhs were disappointed with this.**<sup>113</sup>

**The Sikh-Muslim relations in the Punjab suffered a lot during the agitation over the Shahidganj Mosque which started in 1935. The Shahidganj Mosque, located in the Landa Bazar, outside the Railway station Lahore, was considered as the Holy place for both the Muslims and the Sikhs. It was occupied by the Sikhs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and was used as Sikh Gurdawara for almost 170 years. The Muslims were not allowed to offer prayers, however the building was physically intact, Inspite of the opposition of the Muslims, the officials, recognizing the longtime Sikh occupation of the site was placed under the control of a local Sikh Gurdawara Committee in early 1930's. The Situation got out of control when, on June 29, 1935, the Sikhs announced to demolish the Mosque. On the same night, a Muslim crowd consisting of three or four thousand men came out to protect the mosque. A direct clash between this Muslim crowd started with the Sikhs. Later the British took an undertaking from the Sikhs that they would not again demolish the Mosque, but the Sikh leaders again set about demolishing the Mosque.**<sup>114</sup>

**In the beginning the Muslim leaders protested in a mild way. Anjuman-i-Tahaffuz-i-Masjid Shahidganj (a committee for protection of the Shahidganj Mosque) was founded by a wide spectrum of Muslim, lawyers, journalists to find legal means to protect the Mosque and peaceful settlement of the issue.<sup>115</sup> However leaders like Zafar Ali Khan warned that if the matter was not settled, the Muslims would not hesitate to give any sacrifice to save the Mosque.<sup>116</sup> On the**

**night of 8 July the Sikhs demolished the Mosque. The news spread like wild fire throughout Lahore. Before any serious clash curfew was enforced in the city and the situation was controlled. As and when the curfew was lifted, the Muslims under Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, formed the Majlis Ittehad-i-Millat on July 14 with an object to fight for the Mosque.<sup>117</sup> Quaid-i-Azam also visited Lahore to calm down and pacify the enraged Muslims and to control the Law and Order situation.**

**Agitation started and when Police failed to get control of situation, they opened fire on the crowd on 20th July. Some people died due to heavy firing by the Police on the evening of 21<sup>st</sup> July. The situation in Lahore continued deteriorated till the end of year.<sup>118</sup> The Punjab remained peaceful during Second World War and there was no major communal riot after Shahidganj incident.**

**The Hindu Muslim relations remained tense till the partition. Glancy, the Governor of the Punjab, was one of the very few persons who realized the danger of massive violence on communal basis. He foresighted that on Pakistan's emergence, the country would plunge into communal riots of the worst type.<sup>119</sup>**

**The trouble in the Punjab was that non of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were ready to live under each other dominance. The Muslims had not forgotten the Sikh rule in the province, when the Mosque were converted to tombs of Sikh saints. On the other hand, Sikhs were of the view that the Mughal rulers were responsible for the sufferings of their Gurus. Hindus of the province exploited the hatred between the Muslims and Sikhs.<sup>120</sup>**

**The situation took a communal turn with the resignation of Tiwana as the Chief Minister of the province due to Muslim League hostile movement on March 2, 1947. Both Hindus and Sikhs believed that the situation may lead to the**

formation of Muslim League Ministry in the province. As these communities were not willing to accept the League's government in the Punjab, so they created unrest in the province by flaring up the communal passions and hatred. The communal riots were started in the Punjab by the Sikhs at the resignation of Tiwana's ministry. The Sikh leaders were very well aware of the fact that they were not more than 1/6<sup>th</sup> of the total population of the Punjab and they were divided between the eastern and western districts. But Punjab was still more important for them than any other community as 5 of India's 6 million Sikhs lived in this province. That is why they started talking about the partition of the Punjab much before other communities.<sup>121</sup> The Sikh leaders decided that they did not want Pakistan or a Congress dominated India. Sikhs were aware that there was no chance of an independent Sikh state, therefore Tara Singh set the communal fire in the Punjab.

On the morning of March 3, 1947 Lal Bhimsen Sachar, the Congress Finance Minister and Master Tara Singh, the leader of the Akali Dal, stood on the steps of the Punjab Assembly building, looking on a small crowd of Muslims who had gathered before the building after learning of the resignation of Tiwana. The crowd shouted *Pakistan Zinda abad*. Master Tara Singh pulled his sword from its sheath and swinging it in the air declared, "The sword will decide who will rule the Punjab". This slogan was the forerunner of violent demonstrations and riots in the cities of the Punjab. Riots broke out in Lahore, Amritsar, Multan and Rawalpindi and later spread all over the rural areas of the province.<sup>122</sup> He asked the Sikhs to re-activate their army as the community was in great danger. He assured his followers that they could settle the issue of Pakistan by force. He also asked his fellow men to attack the Muslim League. He asked his community

to get ready for suicidal destruction like the Japanese and Nazis. To provoke the religious feelings of the Sikh community, Tara Singh raised the slogan of the 10<sup>th</sup> Sikh guru, Guru Govind Singh, *Raj Karega Khalsa Baki rahe na koi*.<sup>123</sup>

The rioting in Lahore soon spread to neighbouring Sikh religious center of Amritsar during which four thousand Muslim shops and business centres were burnt down in the city on the morning of 6<sup>th</sup> March.<sup>124</sup> The most furious out break of violence came just before the wheat harvest in March when several Sikhs were murdered by armed Muslim gangs in villages of Taxila, Thamali, Doberan and Choha Khalsa parts of Rawalpindi. Trains, bus services and the post and telegraph systems completely broke down in Rawalpindi Districts. Many non-Muslims in villages of Jhelum, Attock and Rawalpindi Districts were put to death. Muslim raids on centers of Hindu and Sikh population, were well organized and over 3,000 people died in these riots. Majority of them were Sikhs.<sup>125</sup>

The rioters even used crude bombs. According to official estimates, about 3,500 people were killed in a month. In the April, Mountbatten convinced Jinnah and Gandhi to sign a joint appeal in which they would ask their own communities to stop the acts of lawlessness and violence. They also condemned the use of force to get political goals. Government enforced martial law at Lahore in late March 1947, but still different religious groups of the Punjab kept on increasing their private armies in rural as well as urban areas. A large part of Lahore was turned into ruins. It was estimated that half a million Congress "Red Shirts", Muslim League "Green Shirts", the Hindu Mahasabha's Army of Shiva and Soldiers of Khalistan were raising the religious slogan such as *Jai Ram Key, Allah-o-Akbar*

and *Wah Guru Key Jai*. Each one of these organizations considered a “Religious” duty to kill the followers of other religions.<sup>126</sup>

Quaid-i-Azam was awfully upset with the killings and riots. He wanted to stop rioting at any cost. He declared that he would not care if the culprit was a Muslim. He would be punished as any body else involved in communal attacks and bloodsheds.<sup>127</sup> Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan tried their best to bring the Sikh leaders to terms with the Muslim League. They guaranteed all the freedom that they wanted and assured them a life free from the fear of overlordship, a life of peace and prosperity. But the Sikhs refused the hand of friendship. With the approach of independence, Liaqat Ali Khan had several talks with his cabinet colleague, Baldev Singh. Mr. Jinnah met Sikh leaders and assured them that, “if they joined us, they would receive a very fair deal”.<sup>128</sup> However, the Sikh leaders refused to accept the offer made to them. The main reason for this was the interference of the Congress.

Hindus exploited the Sikh sentiments by promising them that if they joined hands with them, the Congress would demand and enforce partition of the Punjab. At the beginning of August 1947, complete disorder continued all over the Punjab, and kept on intensifying as the date of partition drew nearer. Lahore, Amritsar, Sheikhupura and most of the big cities of the Punjab were in flames. Armed bands were busy in burning killing and rapes. Thousands of women were kidnaped and many of them never saw their homes or relatives again.<sup>129</sup>

The condition in the province deteriorated further by August 14, 1947. The Sikh Jathas attacked the Muslim villages and killed the Muslim inhabitants. They raped and even kidnaped the Muslim girls. The condition of Lahore became increasing uncertain with every passing day. Inspector General of the Police told

**Governor Jenkins that the Muslim League National Guards were appearing in uniform and that Police was most indifferent. The condition of Amritsar was not different. The city was literally burning. The new Hindu superintendent of Police had disarmed the Muslim members of the Police force, the situation in turn, provided opportunity to the Hindu and Sikh militants to let the hell loose upon the Muslims of the city.**

**One of the major reasons for the government's failure to stop the riots, the bloodshed and killings was the lack of Police force. The Muslim Policemen in eastern Punjab refused to continue to serve any more. Similarly, the non-Muslim Police official in western part did not want to stay there. Seventy to eighty percent of the Punjab Police consisted of Muslims and majority of them were disarmed before 15 August by their non-Muslim officers.<sup>130</sup>**

**The Punjab massacres were different from all the previous killings and bloodshed in India. There was a definite political aim and to gain it, worst type of violence was employed. The Sikhs organized a military campaign to achieve its objective of getting the Punjab for the Sikhs while the Hindus with the aim of destabilizing Pakistan, encouraged the Sikhs to create unrest in the biggest Muslim majority province.<sup>131</sup>**

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## CHAPTER - 3

### COMMUNAL RIOTS IN RAWALPINDI DISTRICT AND POLICE PERFORMANCE

**The City of Rawalpindi had its importance due to many reasons. During British rule there has always been a lot of military and civil activities in Rawalpindi. Many British administrative and intelligence offices were located in the aforesaid city.**

**The district takes its name from that of the headquarters, which means "the village of the Rawals". Six districts were included in Rawalpindi Division, Rawalpindi, Jehlum, Gujrat, Attock, Mianwali and Shahpur.**

**Rawalpindi district is divided into four tehsils; Muree Tehsil, triangular in shape and mountainous in character, lies to the north east. South of it along the western bank of the Jehlum river lies Kahuta Tehsil, and below Kahuta and Rawalpindi Tehsils stretches from west to east the comparatively narrow strip known as Gujar Khan Tehsil.**

**The district headquarters are situated at the town of Rawalpindi where there is a large civil station, the largest cantonment during the British period in the Punjab, the quarters of the Civil and Judicial Divisions, and an important Railway Station on the North Western Railway.**

**A rough description of the district according its most prominent physical characteristics would divide it into three portions. The first or mountainous portion would consist of the Muree tehsil and the northern portion of the Kahuta Tehsil, country of high mountain ridges divided by deep, narrow valleys and here and there connected by short cross spurs.**

The second portion would include almost the whole of the Rawalpindi Tehsil, and would sweep round east through Kahuta and down the west bank of the Jhelum into Gujar Khan Tehsil till it reached the northern border of Jhelum district. This tract is hilly and submontane. The third portion would be called the plain or pothohar portion. It includes, the whole of the Gujar Khan Tehsil, except the small corner on the east traversed by the hills on the bank of the Jhelum the south east portion of the Rawalpindi Tehsil and the south west portion of the Kahuta Tehsil.<sup>1</sup>

### **Early History:**

The history of the district is more social than political. The quiet routine of ordinary administration has never been interrupted. The only change of consequence was the separation of Attock, Fateh Jang and Pindighebtehsils, which were included in the Attock district on its formation on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1904.<sup>2</sup>

Rawalpindi also known as Gajipur, Gajnipur, Ghazni, Fatah Pur Badri and Amanda was important town of the Pothohar plateau. In Mughal times, this area was included in Jhelum and Pind Dadan Khan. Sardar Kanday Khan Rawal and Ghakhar Chief made it their headquarter and named it Rawalpindi.

A Sikh Sardar, Malik Singh made it his centre of activities after defeating the Ghakhars. He invited the businessmen and traders from Jhelum, Pind Dadan Khan and Chakwal to come and invest in Rawalpindi. Thus it became a cultural and trade centre.<sup>3</sup>

In 1849, Rawalpindi came under the British Raj. The imperialists gave it importance because it was located on the Highway leading to Kashmir and historic Khyber Pass. They started construction of huge buildings and

gardenshere. In this connection, the Gordon College, Islamia High School and the Company Bagh were established in Rawalpindi. According to the Census of 1856, the population of the city was sixteen thousands and in 1868 it grew to 28586. This figure was increased to 52972 in 1881.<sup>4</sup>

Percentage composition of selected Punjab Districts populations by religion in 1941.

Districts	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs
Rawalpindi	80.0	10.5	8.2
Gujrat	85.6	7.7	6.4
Shahpur	83.7	10.1	4.8
Jhelum	89.4	6.5	3.9
Attock	90.4	6.4	3.0
Mianwali	78.4	20.3	1.2

Source: *Census Report of India. 1941.*

### Political History of Rawalpindi:

The organized opposition during the Hindi-Urdu controversy (1860's) and agitation against the Partition of Bengal (1905) was an eye-opener for the Muslims of India. Indian National Congress which was established in 1885 and was working for the interests of Hindus exclusively. In order to protect their political rights, they decided to form a political organization of their own because now they became aware that the Hindus would not pay any attention to their political demands. On 30 December, 1906, All India Muslim League was formed at Dacca. Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk and Mohsin-ul-Mulk became its Secretaries.<sup>5</sup>

At the first annual session of AIML, held at Karachi, in December 1907, it was decided that the AIML would establish its provincial branches throughout India. In this regard the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was established in November 1907 and under its supervision many branches at district level were

started. A local branch was also established at district Rawalpindi. As early as 1907, Qazi Gohar Ali<sup>6</sup> established the Rawalpindi Muslim League at his residence. Some of the prominent Muslim Leaguers from Rawalpindi were Mian Fazal Din, Qazi Siraj-ud-Din, Khan Abdul Majeed Khan Bar-at-law, and Adam Jee Mamu jee.<sup>7</sup>

During the Khilafat movement, Rawalpindi district played important role. The Khilafat Committee was founded here in 1922.<sup>8</sup> Sheikh Muhammad Din was elected as the president and Mirza Qutab-ud-Din, owner and chief editor of weekly *Rahnuma* as the General Secretary of Rawalpindi Khilafat Committee.<sup>9</sup> Like many other parts of India district Rawalpindi also contributed in Hijrat movement. The first man who migrated from Rawalpindi to Kabul as part of Hijrat movement was Sheikh Mohammad Umar, a local contractor. About five thousand Muslims from Rawalpindi also migrated to Afghanistan.<sup>10</sup>

After the Khilafat Movement, the Unionist Party emerged as an influential political party in 1920's. In Rawalpindi a branch of Unionist Party under Qutab-ud-Din was established. It got a positive response from the landlords, government servants and other wealthy and influential Muslims of the district. Village Mator, of Tehsil Kahuta, was the centre of activities of the Unionist Party in Rawalpindi. Sardar Noor Khan and his son Sardar Fateh Khan both were the important personalities of the Unionist Party in Rawalpindi.<sup>11</sup> A rival, nationalist pro-congress Muslim party, the Majlis-i-Ahrar, branch was also founded in Rawalpindi district. Maulana Mohammad Ishaq Mansehervi, Maulana Khuda Bakhsh Azhar, Sufi Inayat Mohammad Pussuri,

**Moluvi Mohammad etc. were the founding members of the party in Rawalpindi.<sup>12</sup>**

**The Khaksars Movement was another major political movement in Rawalpindi during mid thirties. Allama Inayat Ullah Mushraqi formed this organization on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1931. They gave emphasis on the reformation of the society. The Rawalpindi branch was led by Master Sher Zaman, a local social worker.<sup>13</sup>**

**During mid 1930s the politics of India was taking a new shape. On 14<sup>th</sup> August 1935 the Government Act of 1935 was enforced. Government announced to hold elections to the provincial assemblies in 1936-37.<sup>14</sup> In order to fully participate in the elections the Muslim League formed an all India Muslim League Parliamentary Board under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Subsequently Jinnah decided to visit the Punjab. He reached at Lahore on 29<sup>th</sup> April 1936 and stayed here for a week, then he left for Rawalpindi on 4<sup>th</sup> May, 1936.<sup>15</sup> Allama Muhammad Ishaq Mansehervi<sup>16</sup> from Rawalpindi was among the fifty six members of the Parliamentary Board.<sup>17</sup>**

**Although Jinnah spent only a couple of days in Rawalpindi, but it was great significance for the political scenario of the area. In Rawalpindi the Muslim League could not win a single seat.<sup>18</sup> Though the result of the elections was quite disappointing for the Muslim League in the Punjab but it was a positive milestone in struggle.**

**Elections for district boards were announced in May, 1938. Unlike the previous occasions now the local Muslims were taking keen interest in the forthcoming Board's elections. The results showed that about 30 Muslim members were elected for the district board election in Rawalpindi district. The**

presidential address at Allahabad in December 1930, Allama Iqbal proposed the partition of India. After this many leaders presented the proposal for partition like Dr. Syed Abdul Lateef an educationist from Hyderabad Deccan and Ch. Rehmat Ali.<sup>19</sup>

The Muslim League also setup a Committee to discuss various partition proposals. The Committee was led by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as the chairman. Working Committee of the Muslim League decided to hold the session in March 1940 at Lahore and fixed the dates 22-24 March 1940. The Punjab being host province and provincial Muslim League started preparations for the session. Rawalpindi was given due importance and two delegations were nominated for the session.<sup>20</sup> Out of a total 270 delegates from the Punjab, 19 belonged to Rawalpindi. The Pakistan resolution is a landmark in the history of the Muslims of India as it made the Muslims of India to decide to demand a separate homeland, Pakistan. The Rawalpindi MSF and the local League organization tried their best to celebrate 23 March, 1941 as Pakistan Day. The Muslim press in Rawalpindi was also very active in propagating the political party's programme. In this regard two weekly newspapers the *Rahnuma* of Mirza Qutab-ud-Din and *Iqbal* of Mohammad Din Chishti were doing a good job for giving information to the people of Rawalpindi regarding the political affairs of India.

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited Rawalpindi second time in July 1944. He was greeted at the bridge of Kohala. The Muslim Leaguers of Murree were at the forefront. At this occasion people raised the slogan's "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad, Pakistan Zindabad and Muslim League Zindabad".<sup>21</sup> Quaid-i-Azam in his address to the gathering at Ambassador Hall, Murree, paid tribute to

**Muslim youth and women. He further showed his pleasure to see the Muslim women becoming politically active and conscious. He also remarked about the dubious politics of Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana. He said that he is committing a big mistake. His speech was in Urdu and he seemed quite optimistic that he was successful in conveying his message to the new generation. Visit of Quaid-i-Azam to Rawalpindi really boosted the spirits of the Muslims of the district. The people came to know the political and strategic importance of their city.**

**The failure of Simla Conference of 1945 paved the way for the elections in 1945-46. On 21 August, 1945 the official announcement regarding the general elections was announced.<sup>22</sup> All political parties started their activities and preparations for the elections. The student community, which included students from Aligarh and Islamia College Lahore were busy in election campaign at Rawalpindi.<sup>23</sup> Due to these services of students at least 20,000 people from Rawalpindi enlisted themselves as the League voters.<sup>24</sup>**

**Rawalpindi had 3 Muslim rural constituencies, out of total 75, namely, Rawalpindi Sadar (tehsil Rawalpindi), Gujar Khan (tehsil Gujar Khan), East Rawalpindi (tehsil Murree and Kahuta).<sup>25</sup>**

**In the Punjab Provincial Assembly, there were 86 Muslim seats, including 2 women's seats.<sup>26</sup> The Muslim League won 79 out of 86 Muslim seats. Muslim League had won almost all the Muslim seats in Rawalpindi Division. Its candidates Ch. Zafar-ul-Haq, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Raja Kala Khan succeeded by an overwhelming majority.<sup>27</sup> Muslim League's success was celebrated throughout Rawalpindi district.<sup>28</sup> But the victorious League was not invited to make cabinet. The British Government invited Unionist leader, Tiwana to form Government: subsequently the Punjab Muslim League decided to launch a civil**

disobedience movement against the Khizar Ministry which played a very important role in political history of Pakistan movement. The Rawalpindi Muslim League also participated in civil disobedience Direct Action Day resort on 16 August 1946 through out India. To observe the Direct Action Day in Rawalpindi a public meeting was held in the Company Bagh presided by Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din.<sup>29</sup>

Another public meeting to observe the Direct Action Day was also held on 23<sup>rd</sup> August at Jamia Masjid Rawalpindi, presided by Syed Mustafa Gillani. The students of Gujar Khan published a one page newspaper *Awaz-e-Haq* to keep the people of Rawalpindi aware about the political situation of the district. It was published from the Islamia High School Gujar Khan under the supervision of Mohammad Younas.<sup>30</sup> All the branches of Muslim League, Rawalpindi city Gujar Khan, Murree, Kahuta, cooperated with Rawalpindi MSF in civil disobedience movement against the Khizar Ministry in the Punjab.

Both the city and district Muslim League were busy in the arrangements for the civil disobedience movement. The Murree and Kahuta tehsils were taking active part in this movement. The important Muslim Leaguers of Murree Muslim League, Khawaja Mahmood Ahmad Manto, Mirza Abdul Rauf and Sheikh Manzur-ul-Hassan, volunteered themselves for arrests.<sup>31</sup> To stop the movement section 144 PPC was imposed in Murree but it did not help the authorities to stop the campaign. When volunteers of Murree and Kahuta reached at Rawalpindi to participate in the movement, Police used tear gas, lathi charge and even firing which resulted many injuries.<sup>32</sup>

Thus new phase of violence started between the major communities living in India. Sir Evan Jenkins the Governor of Punjab took charge of the

administration and Governor Rule was imposed in the Punjab after the resignation of Khizar Ministry on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1947. The Governor invited Muslim League to form its government in the Punjab because it was party of majority but Hindus and Sikhs did not like this. Hindu and Sikhs called an urgent meeting and announced to observe Anti-Pakistan Day on 11 March. After this announcement Master Tara Singh the Sikh leader hailing from Heryal, Gujarat Khan in the Rawalpindi District on his way on 4<sup>th</sup> march shouted *Pakistan Murdabad and Sat Sri Akal*. The incidents at Lahore raised the communal riots in different part of the province.

At Rawalpindi the situation was also tense. The celebration of the Muharram produced a great deal of uneasiness and tension. This was particularly noticeable in the Hissar, Jhang, Amritsar, Rohtak and Rawalpindi districts.

Rawalpindi District Magistrate found it necessary to issue an order under section 144 criminal procedure code, on the 16 February 1940, preventing members of the Shia, and Sunni communities from entering the Inayat Shahi mosque at Taxila for a period of two months. The order was necessitated by a dispute between the Shias and Sunnis over this mosque. In 1934 the Deputy Commissioner issued an order forbidding the Shias to hold congregational prayers in the mosque. The order was unfortunately ambiguously worded and both parties to the dispute had tried to turn its terms to their own benefit. The Deputy Commissioner was endeavoring to effect a settlement. There was no immediate danger of a breach of the peace but the situation was being closely watched.<sup>33</sup>

Some communal tension was reported in Rawalpindi as a result of the some communal incidents at Sargodha and Gujranwala. This communal situation worsened arising from the death of S. Autar Singh a Sikh leader on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1940.<sup>34</sup>

Different militant volunteer organization of the non-Muslims including the Rashtariya Sewan Sevak Singh, the Aakali Fauj, Mahabir, Shakti Dal and Bajrang Sewak Akhara were approached and urged upon to work collectively against the Muslims. The R.S.S.S workers started fund raising from the Hindus and the Sikhs. Training for volunteers was also started in Rawalpindi. The riots started in Rawalpindi on 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1947. It was the occasion of *Holi* festival. The Hindus and Sikhs held a meeting in Gurdwara at Raja Bazar on 5<sup>th</sup> March. It was announced in the meeting that tomorrow the Holi would be celebrated with the blood of the Muslims. After meeting they passed in front of Jamia Masjid scolding and abusing the Muslims. The Muslims complained it to the Police but nothing happened as the S.P. was a Sikh and the city Inspector was a Hindu. Next day riots broke up at 1:30pm when a Sikh army driver was killed by the Muslims in Committee Mohallah chok on the Murree Road.<sup>35</sup> This added fuel to the fire. The area was burnt and the non-Muslims besieged and killed. Curfew was enforced and the military was sent to all strategic points in district. The total number of causalities in two days of communal disturbances to the official are estimated, 50 killed and about 200 injured.<sup>36</sup> Riots were also reported from Taxila, Murree and Ghora Gali. Although the situation in the district came under control by deploying army at sensitive parts of the city but the riots, expanded to the rural areas.<sup>37</sup>

**The position in the rural areas, inspite of widespread deployment of military and Police, showed further deterioration in the Rawalpindi Division. Looting, arson and murders of minority communities began to spread from the villages in the Rawalpindi District. On March 8<sup>th</sup> 1947, the situation appears to have been finally been brought under effective control with the help of military reinforcement.<sup>38</sup>**

**The situation has shows some improvement in all areas where disorder took place and no incident took place during the week upto 22, March 1947. Reportedly causalities 5-6 dead in cities town, 945 seriously injured in cities, towns, 547 dead and 161 seriously injured in rural areas. It was feared that the final figures will be much grater.<sup>39</sup> In Rawalpindi the intense dislike of the Muslim for Hindus and Sikhs fond open expression.<sup>40</sup> The general communal situation improved in April. Muslim activity, however, had been peaceful through out the District.<sup>41</sup> The communal situation had deteriorated during the 2<sup>nd</sup> week of July 1947. Unnecessary panic caused by the spreading of false rumours had been noticed in Rawalpindi District.<sup>42</sup>**

**The Governor of the Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins, visited the disturbed areas of Rawalpindi. Sardar Baldev Singh, the Central Defense Minister visited the riot affected areas from the airoplane. According to him "I saw 14 villages ablaze from fire set by the raiders". He further said that more armed cars, tanks and troops were moving into Rawalpindi. He also visited refugee camps. On this occasion he was informed by six Sikhs that they had been forcefully converted to Islam their hair cut and their beards trimmed by the aggressive Muslims.<sup>43</sup>**

**Muslims also became victim of these communal riots. They were killed and forced to move from their ancestral villages. Rawalpindi remained quiet for**

many days and riots were confined to the Kahuta tehsil.“The army made the situation under control and Kahuta/Rawalpindi post offices were reopened on 18 March, 1947.<sup>45</sup>

After the arrival of Lord Mountbattan in India on 22 March 1947 a Partition Plan was prepared and announced on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1947. It explained the procedure for the transfer of power. With the announcement of 3<sup>rd</sup> June Plan, specially partition of India, communal tension increased. Despite the curfew restrictions the authorities were unable to control situation and 82 persons were arrested in Rawalpindi within two days.<sup>46</sup> After the sad story of communal riots people celebrated the day of independence on 14 August at Rawalpindi. Refugees were migrated from both parts of the Punjab. Heaps of dead bodies were seen in the streets and several trains full of dead bodies of the refugees arrived in both countries, India and Pakistan. The Deputy Commissioner Anwar-ul-Haq, tried his best to maintain peace in Rawalpindi. In September, the law and order situation of Rawalpindi improved. After the creation of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam appreciated the service and sacrifices of the Muslims which they gave to achieve their goal, Pakistan. Many criminal cases were registered against the rioters in relevant Police Stations in Rawalpindi district and Police action is summarized as under. The following is the list of the Police Stations in the district.

Name of Tehsil	Serial No. of Police Station	Police Station
Rawalpindi	1	City
	2	Cantonment
	3	Rawat
	4	Bharakao
	5	Sangjani
Gujar Khan	6	Gujar Khan
	7	Jatli
	8	Mandra
Murree	9	Murree

	10	Kotli
Kahuta	11	Kahuta
	12	Kallar Syadan

Source: *Gazetteer of Rawalpindi District. 1907.*

### **Police Station Mandra, Tehsil Gujjar Khan**

**The criminal cases registered and Police action is summarized as under:**

**On the night between 8/9 March 1947 Sub Inspector Mazhar along with Army officers while patrolling in Mandra village saw that houses have been set on fire and the people of adjoining villages were looting. The Police/Army Jawans were helping the people (women & children) to bring them out of burnt houses, as a result some persons died. Police apprehended Amir and others 21 accused and recovered from their possession not only the looted property but also weapons of offence. All the 21 accused persons were brought to Police Station Mandra, and were locked up accordingly. After registration of above said case they were challaned to Court but were acquitted, as none appeared against the accused as persecution witness.<sup>47</sup>**

**Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported that on the night falling between 8-9 March 1947 he was on patrol duty when Muslims of adjoining villages duly armed, attacked village Dalai and Gurdwara and residential houses of the Sikhs were set on fire and property was looted. The local residents ran away and saved their lives. A case was registered but no arrest was made. Hence the case was treated as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1948.<sup>48</sup>**

**Autar Singh complainant reported to the Police that on 09 March 1947 at 03:00pm he alongwith other Sikhs was present in his village Ghungrella when the Muslim men of adjoining villages armed with lathis, hatchets, spears and guns came there. They not only injured the people of village but also opened fired as a result of which Saban Singh Namburdar died and so many people were injured. They also not only looted property valuing in lacs but 178 houses were also set on fire. A case was registered against 281 persons out of which 74 accused were arrested and challaned to court. Later-on all the accused were got discharged and the case was treated as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1948.<sup>49</sup> A Muslim Sub Inspector of Police, Nazar Muhammad honestly reported about a dozen of riots cases taken up by the Muslims.**

**Such as, on 09 March 1947 Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported that he saw that people had gathered in a village Harpal who had set the houses on fire and were looting the houses. A case was registered against 37 Muslim accused who were arrested and challaned. All accused were released on bails, got discharged and the case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1947.<sup>50</sup>**

**Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported that on 09 March 1947 the houses of village Dalai were set on fire by the Muslims. Next day 10 March 1947 they again came there and forcibly abducted Atma Singh and his son who were murdered later on. A case was registered against 48 accused who were arrested and later on released on bail. All the accused were**

**discharged by the court and the case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1948.<sup>51</sup>**

**Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported that on 10 March 1947 in village Jhalyari Bai Khan Muslim of adjoining villages had attacked a house of Sikh family and set it on fire. Sikh family took shelter in the refugee camp. The said case was registered but no accused was identified and arrested. Hence the case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1947.<sup>52</sup>**

**Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported that on 10 March 1947 in the area of village Chohri the Muslims of adjoining villages attacked and murdered a Sikh family residing therein. Only a child of 8/9 years escaped who took shelter in refugee camp. A case was registered but no accused was arrested and the case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1948.<sup>53</sup>**

**Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported that on 10 March 1947 during day time, the Muslim population of adjoining villages attacked the Sikh and Hindu families in village Sukho. They set the houses on fire and looted them. The Sikh and Hindu escaped their lives by running away. A case was registered against Mir Ali and 6 other. They were arrested and released on bail. They were got discharged, being innocent, and the case was consigned to record as untraced.<sup>54</sup>**

A written application of Raghbir Singh was received at Police Station Mandra containing therein that on 10 March 1947 the Muslims from Sukho came and looted the properties of the Sikhs of village Mangote. Next day the Muslims again came and Muhammad Inayat and Fazal Hussain delivered exciting/provocating speechs against Sikhs. They said that English government had gone away, now convert all Hindus and Sikhs to Islam or murder them. They were armed with hatchets, guns, pistol and spears. Inayat, Fazal, Fazal Karim, Saghar Khan and Khan Zaman were named to be ring leaders. While names of 17 persons were also mentioned whereas others were not identified. The accused set the houses on fire and looted the house holds. A case was registered against 22/23 persons but no one was arrested or challaned. The case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1948.<sup>55</sup>

On the night falling between 10-11 March 1947 Harnam Singh from Kurnali reported that he was away at Rawalpindi when armed men attacked on his house. His family member left the house due to fear. The accused looted his house hold and took away his books and documents. Raja Daroon Khan, Sharif, Mehnga, Iqbal and Namberdar of his village were amongst the accused. A case was registered but no arrest was made and the case was consigned record as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1948.<sup>56</sup>

**On 11 March 1947 Madan Lal Numberdar, Chak Brehmanan reported to Police that on 11 March 1947 about 2000 people of the adjoining villages i.e Mahra Kanial, Parian, Jandani, Mohra Kanial, Mohra Choudhrian, Mohri etc attacked the houses of Hindus. Leaders of these attackers were Fazaldad, Wali Dad, Sadagar, Bostan Sumandar, Nadu, Pehlwan, Sarwar, Ahmad, Yaqoob, Adalat, Abdul Hameed etc. A case was registered but no arrest was made and the case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 20 December 1947.<sup>57</sup>**

**Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported that on 15 March 1947 the Muslims of adjoining villages attacked the houses of Hindu families in village and set them on fire. A case was registered against 6 accused Rahim Ali etc. The accused were arrested but were discharged by the court and the case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 04 February 1948.<sup>58</sup>**

**On 18 March 1947 Dodkey Tandon, a complainant, reported to Police that at 01:30am he went to his village Sandoi from Mandra to take his house hold from his house and saw that about 60 people of adjoining villages of Nangial and Kalyal armed with hatchet and *Dongs* were looting and plundering. Out of these accused he identified Karam Elahi of village Naja and Raja Gujjar of Dhoke Kumhar. The case was registered and 18 accused including Lal Khan etc were arrested but only 9 accused were challaned. During investigation all the accused were declared to be**

innocent and the case was consigned to record as untraced under the orders of Illaqa Magistrate vide his order dated 04 February1948.<sup>59</sup>

On 20 March 1947 during night patrolling Sub Inspector Nazar Muhammad saw that in 19 villages including Manget etc robberies, dacoities were being committed and houses were set on fire by the miscreants. A case was registered against 30 accused while 9 accused were arrested. Finally untraced report of the case was sent to thecourt and the arrested accused were got discharged from the competent court and the case was treated as untraced vide court order dated 04 February1948. <sup>60</sup>

On 23 March 1947 Harnam Singh a villager reportedto Police that on 09 March 1947 some persons of Tara Garh Dhok Roda, Pari Parhal were going in the street of village Parhal. Out of them Mustafa Numberdar raised slogan that first finish Kafirs of this village then of village Ghongrilla. His mother requested to pitty on them but he asked them to leave the village. Thus we left the village. The mob set the houses on fire and looted their properties.A case was registered against 15 accused who were arrested but later discharged by the court and case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated22 December 1947.<sup>61</sup>

Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported on 27 March 1947 that as per source report the Muslim population of adjoining villages had attacked Hindu & Sikh families of village Bhangali. They looted their house hold and set the houses on fire. A murder had also been committed.A case was

registered against two person but no arrest was made. Hence case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 20 April 1947. <sup>62</sup>

Nazar Muhammad Sub Inspector reported on 29 March 1947 to Police that as per source report in village Banth only one Sikh family was residing. The villagers had forcibly looted the house hold of that family. A case was registered against unknown persons. The case was consigned to record as untraced by the competent court. <sup>63</sup>

By Mahtab Bibi resident of Ghangrila to Police Station Mandra that on 16 June 1947 she after locking her house went outside at about 12:00 Noon. She saw that Tara Singh, Gogal Singh, Mangta Singh and Thaker Singh armed with hatchets forcibly entered her house and set it on fire. By chance the Police Party came over there and the accused ran away. A case was registered on 17 July 1947 accused named in FIR were declared innocent and the case was consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 12 July 1948. <sup>64</sup>

#### **Police Station Kallar Syadan, Tehsil Kallar Syadan**

As per report of Head Constable Mahboob Iftikhar Moharrir Police Station Kallar Syadan, He was present at Police Station on 08 March 1947, when he heard a noise and people came out of their houses and saw flames of fire in the village. He along with armed Constables went to Bazar where 200/300 person were standing after setting the houses on fire. The resident of Bazar were firing on the miscreants. 2

**dead bodies were found lying in Bazaar while one dead body was found lying in the western end of Bazaar. On the firing by Police the mob dispersed. Hence this case was registered. During investigation no arrest was made. The case was treated as untraced vide court order dated 09 December 1947.**<sup>65</sup>

**On the night falling between 9-10 March 1947 Malamkand SP(Rtd) reported that the Muslims of the villages of Bhakhar, Latwal, Chakian, Dheri Telian, Jabba, Chak Sithwani attacked village Dhamali. The people of the village retaliated and the firing was exchanged between the local residents and rioter. Resultantly some persons were injured. The Police was requested to reach the spot failing which residents would be done to death and property would be destroyed. The houses of Dheenot and his brother and Dial Singh were put on fire, During investigation four persons namely Sawar, Dost Mohammad, Draz Khan and Mohammad Arif were challaned but later-on the accused were declared innocent and were got discharged. The case was treated as untraced vide court order dated 09 December 1947.**<sup>66</sup>

**Sub Inspector Muhammad Hussain reported that it came to his notice that on 09 March 1947 the Muslims of various villages duly armed with deadly weapon attacked the residents of village Kanoha and murdered some of the Hindus and Sikh while other took shelter in the Gurdwara. The rioters also set the houses on fire. During investigation no person was**

arrested hence the case was treated as untraced vide court order dated 12 December 1947.<sup>67</sup>

Sub Inspector Muhammad Hussain reported to Police that on 09 March 1947 the Muslims of area duly armed with deadly weapons attacked village Kanoha. They looted the residents and murdered some of the Hindus. During investigation no accused was arrested and the case was consigned to record, as untraced, vide court order dated 22 December 1947.<sup>68</sup>

Sub Inspector Muhammad Hussain registered this case that on 09 March 1947 the Muslim of the area duly armed with deadly weapon attacked the Sikh residents of Choa Khalsa and set the houses on fire but the army reached there and rescued the residents. During investigation no person was arrested, the case consigned to record as untraced vide court order dated 09 December 1947.<sup>69</sup>

Sub Inspector Muhammad Hussian reported that on 10 March 1947 at Noon it came to his notice that thousands of Muslims of the area duly armed with guns and deadly weapons attacked on Hindu and Sikh residents of village Doparal who took shelter in Temple (Gurdwara) and gave huge amount to the rioters to get rid of them. As the Sikhs and Hindus came out of gurdwara the rioters again attacked them. They looted their properties and also murdered some of them and ran away.

**During investigation no person was arrested/ challaned and case was sent up as untraced vide court order dated 22 December 1947.<sup>70</sup>**

**In this district total 24 cases were registered under this head. 18 cases were registered at Police Station Mandra. No accused was nominated in 10 cases while 172 accused were arrested in remaining 8 cases. Looted property and weapons were also recovered from some of these accused. All were challaned but were discharged by the Courts for want of evidence. At Police Station Kallar Sydan 6 cases were registered which were sent up as untraced except 1 in which 6 accused were challaned but were discharged for want of evidence.**

**These were thecases which were reported in divisional headquarter. In the next chapter cases which were reported in other districts of Rawalpindi Division will be discussed.**

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *District and States Gazetteers of the Undivided Punjab*. Delhi: 1993. P.333
2. Ibid. P.34.
3. Ibid. P.35.
4. Abbass Aslam, "Rawalpindi Sheher Kaisay Basa" *Daily Jang*. August 30, 2002. Rawalpindi.
5. Other members of the committee included Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Raja Sahib of Mahmoodabad, Justice Shah Din etc.
6. Qazi Gohar Ali was born in village Qazian in Gujar Khan in 1838. He remained Superintendent D.C. office Rawalpindi.
7. These were all prominent political personality form all four tahsils of district Rawalpindi.
8. Syed Ghulam Mustafa Gilani. *Ajkar-e-Rawalpindi Directory*. Rawalpindi, 1962. P-113.
9. Muhammad, Saqib. *Rawalpindi ka Jang-i-Azadi main Hisa* (Urdu) published in Ibid. P-113 & 114.
10. Raja Arif Minhas. *Tarikh-e-Rawalpindi* (Urdu) Rawalpindi, 1982. P.256.
11. Ibid. P.195-96.
12. Ibid. P.197.
13. Other important members of the Khaksar party in Rawalpindi were Mohammad Zafar, M. Rafique, Alhaj M. Ashraf Sandhu, Raja Gul Muhammad & Haji Bahadur Ali etc.
14. Shah, Waqar Ali. *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-47*. Oxford University Press. Karachi: 1999. P.67.
15. Manzur-ul-Haq Siddiqui *Quaid-i-Azam aur Rawalpindi*. (Urdu) Islamabad: 1983 P.33.
16. Naulana Muhammad Ishaq Mansehervi (1856 – 1963) was the president of the Majlis-i-Ahrar before joining the AIML.
17. Siddiqui Manzur-ul-Haq *Quaid-i-Azam aur Rawalpindi*. P 13.
18. In these elections for the Gujar Khan seat there was a contest between four Muslim contestants. They included Subedar Major Raja Farman Ali Khan, Ch. Nawab Ali Khan, Mohammad Fazal and Atta Mohammad Khan. Subedar Major Raja Farman Ali Khan of the Unionist Party was elected as the Member Legislative Assembly from Gujar Khan. From the Rawalpindi Saddar Constituency, Muhammad Yousaf Khan of the Unionist Party, won the elections. For the Rawalpindi east or the Murree/Kahuta constituency, Khan Bahadur Raja Fateh Khan of the Unionist Party emerged victorious in the elections of 1936 – 37. For more details see Kripal C. Yadev *Elections in the Punjab: 1920 – 1947*, New Delhi: 1948.
19. S.M Burke, Salim Al-Din Quraishi. *The British Raj In India: A Historical View*. Karachi: 1997. P.325.
20. Malik, Ikram Ali, *Muslim League Session 1940 & the Lahore Resolution*, NIHCR, Islamabad 1990. P. 61-64. The list of the two delegations that took part in the historic session of March 1940 is as under: Rawalpindi City Muslim League: Qureshi M. Usman, Financial Secretary. Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani, Propaganda Secretary, Sheikh Muhammad Umar, President. Maulvi Khuda Bakhsh, Sheikh M. Aslam, Sardar Boota Singh, Mian Hayat Bukhsh, Mian Iltaf-ur-Rehman. Rawalpindi District Muslim League:- K.S. Sheikh Fazal Ellahi, K. B. Abdullah Khan, Raja Jahandad, Raja Gulab Khan Malik Fateh Muhammad K.S Mirza Qutabuddin.
21. Siddiqui Manzur-ul-Haq, *Quaid-i-Azam aur Rawalpindi*. P.57
22. M. Raza Khan *What Price Freedom* Karachi: 1977. P.133
23. *Rahnuma*, Rawalpindi 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1945.
24. Ibid , 21 October, 1945.
25. Kirpal, C. Yadev. *Elections in Punjab*. P. 109-114.
26. *Rahnuma*, 7<sup>th</sup> September 1945.
27. Kirpal, C. Yadev. *Elections in Punjab*. P.126

28. The Muslims of Gujar Khan were very happy for their success. Sir Feroz Khan Noon visited Gujar Khan and congratulated the people for victory. Celebrations were also going on at Murree and Kahuta. A huge procession was gathered at the shrine of Pir Malik Suraj of Potha Sharif, many public meetings were held throughout Murree and Kahuta. Important leaders made the speeches and thanked the people for their support, In Tahsil Rawalpindi the Rawalpindi Muslim Students Federation organized public meeting, for more details see *Tarikh-e-Murree*. P.151-158 and *Tarikh-e-Gujar Khan*. P. 286

29. *Rahnuma* 21 September 1946

30. Ikram-ul-Haq, Raja *Tarikh-e-Gujar Khan* (Urdu) P. 295-297

31. Abbassi, Noor Ellahi. *Tarikh-e-Murree*. (Urdu). Wiser Printers. Murree: 1985. P. 158-59

32. Ibid. P. 161

33. Police Abstract of Intelligence Punjab. 24<sup>th</sup> February 1940. Para 82-93.

34. Ibid. 20<sup>th</sup> July 1940 Para 336-249.

35. Siddiqi, Manzar-ul-Haq. *Quaid-i-Azam aur Rawalpindi*. P.16.

36. *The Civil and Military Gazette*, 9 March 1947.

37. Ibid, 10 March 1947.

38. Punjab Police abstract of Intelligence. 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1947. Para 164.

39. Ibid. 29<sup>th</sup> March 1947. Para 180.

40. Ibid. 5<sup>th</sup> April 1947. Para 198.

41. Ibid. 29<sup>th</sup> April 1947. Para 285.

42. Ibid. 10<sup>th</sup> May 1947. Para 327.

43. Civil and Military Gazette. 13 March 1947.

44. Ibid, 19 March 1947.

45. Ibid, 19 March 1947.

46. Ibid, 3 June 1947.

47. FIR No. 9/9 March, 1947 under section 436/395,397/302,148/149 IPC, FIR Register 1947 Police Station Mandra.

48. FIR No. 10, 09 March 1947 under section 395/397,302/148,149/136 IPC. FIR Register 1947 Police Station Mandra.

49. FIR No. 15, 09 March, 1947, Police Station Mandra.

50. FIR No. 17. 09 March, 1947.

51. FIR No. 23. 09 March, 1947.

52. FIR No. 19. 09 March, 1947.

53. FIR No. 18. 10 March, 1947.

54. FIR No. 22. 10 March, 1947.

55. FIR No. 28. 10-11 March, 1947.

56. FIR No. 32. 11 March, 1947.

57. FIR No. 21. 11 March, 1947.

58. FIR No. 47. 15 March, 1947.

59. FIR No. 12, 18 March, 1947.

60. FIR No. 47. 20 March, 1947.

61. FIR No. 47. 23 March, 1947.

62. FIR No. 27. 27 March, 1947.

63. FIR No. 26. 29 March, 1947.

64. FIR No. 14, 16 June, 1947.

65. FIR No. 08. 08 March, 1947, P.S Kallar Syaden.

66. FIR No. 09. 09 March, 1947.

67. FIR No. 13. 09 March, 1947.

68. FIR No. 14. 09 March, 1947.

69. FIR No. 16. 09 March, 1947.

70. FIR No. 12. 10 March, 1947.

## CHAPTER – 4

### COMMUNAL SITUATION IN OTHER DISTRICTS OF RAWALPINDI DIVISION

#### **District Jhelum:**

The district takes its name from that of the headquarters town. The derivation of the name is not known. The administrative headquarters were at the town of Jhelum. There was an Assistant Commissioner stationed at Pind Dadan Khan, incharge of the Pind Dadan Khan Sub-Division which comprises the Pind Dadan Khan and Tallagang tehsils.

Jhelum stood 15<sup>th</sup> in order of area and 21<sup>st</sup> in order of population among the districts of the Punjab Province. This district was divided into four Tahsils. Tahsils Jhelum, Chakwal, Pind Dadan Khan and Tallagang. It has historical importance because of two main reason, 1<sup>st</sup> is great fort of Rohtas which is about ten miles north west from Jhelum. After expelling Humayun in 1542 A.D, Sher Shah Suri constructed it and 2<sup>nd</sup> is the earliest historical event specially connected with the district is the battle of Alexander the Great with porus, which was fought on the bank of the Jhelum river in 326 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The following is a list of the Police Stations in the district:

Name of Tehsils	Serial No. of Police Station	Police Stations
Jhelum	1	Jhelum Saddar
	2	Jhelum Police lines
	3	Jhelum City
	4	Dina
	5	Sohawa
	6	Domeli
Pind Dadan Khan	7	Saddar
	8	City
	9	Choa Saidan Shah
	10	Lilla

	11	Jalalpur
Chakwal	12	Chakwal
	13	Duhman
	14	Kallar Kahar
	15	Nila
Tallagang	16	Tallagang
	17	Lawa
	18	Tamman

Source: *Gazzeteer of Jhelum district. 1904*

### **Police Station Saddar Jhelum:**

**On 01 September 1947 SI Mohammad Nazir reported that he alongwith Constable Mohammad Afzal No. 65, and Bahawal was present in village Sangoi. Five to six thousands people armed with hatehts, *lathis* and *churris* entered the village from all sides of the village. He and other elites of villager forbade them but the rioters set the houses on fire and looted the house hold of Hindus. As result of this attack some Hindus were murdered. No accused was arrested or challanned. The case was sentup as untraced and consigned to record vide magistrate's order dated 03 February 1948.<sup>2</sup>**

**On 02 September 1947 Sodagar Singh resident of Khurd reported to the Police that on the night between 31 August and 01 September 1947 he was present in his house. So many people of the village came over there and started firing on my house and also the houses of Marri Raj, Raghoo Nath, Diwan, Karpar Raj, Hakam Chand, Harbans Lal, Beli Raj, Nank Chand, Durga Das, Raj Lal and others. The rioters not only took away our house holds but also broke the doors and windows of our houses. He and his family took shelter in the house of our neighbour Fateh**

**Mohammad and witnessed the occurrence. Eight suspected accused were challaned to Court but later on they were got discharged and the case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate 1<sup>st</sup> Class order dated 13 February 1948.**<sup>3</sup>

**Police Station City Jhelum:**

**ASI Mohammad reported that on 11 March 1947 at 08:30 pm he alongwith Fazal Karim Numberdar was going towards D.A.V School Hostel. As they reached there they saw that the doors of Hostel had been burnt and fire was spreading inside. They tried to trace the culprit but of no avail. In this Hostel Hindu student were residing but they were rescued due to timely intervention. No person was arrested and challaned. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Illaqa Magistrate order dated 10 May 1947.**<sup>4</sup>

**On 14 August 1947 SI Juman reported that he was informed that house of Sardar Jamil Singh situated at Katchery Road, Jhelum has been set on fire by some persons. No arrest was made. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate order dated 02 January 1948.**<sup>5</sup>

**On 27 August 1947 ASI Mohammad Aslam reported that he was present near District Court Jhelum when Ram Singh told him that he was going to his house on his bicycle. He was stopped by five to six boys armed with knives. They injured him with their knives. The injured later on scumbed to his injuries hence offence was amended to 302 I.P.C. six persons were**

**suspected but were declared innocent and case was sent up as untraced and was consigned to record vide Magistrate's order dated 14 December 1947.<sup>6</sup>**

**On 04 July 1947 ASI Mohammad Aslam reported that he was informed through telephone by Secretary City Jhelum that a Hindu has murdered in Kangi Gran bazaar, which was later on identified as Dr. Hira Singh. No arrest was made. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate order dated 13 November 1947.<sup>7</sup>**

**On 04 September 1947 Mohammad Afzal Chowkidar Railway Station Jhelum reported that he was on duty at Gate No. 4. At about 01:30 pm an old Hindu was carrying his bedding when two Muslim students caught hold of him and one of them stabbed him in his abdomen who died on the spot both the accused ran away. No arrest was made. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate order dated 06 December 1947.<sup>8</sup> Even the elderly non-Muslims were not spared by emotional Muslim Youth.**

**On 06 September 1947 Baghat Singh reported that due to fear of Hindu/Sikh Muslim rioting he locked his house and went to the house of his brother in law. Today he came to see his house alongwith his brother and found Wazir Khan present to his house by opening the outer gate of his house. I requested him to vacate but he refused. No arrest was made; Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide**

**Magistrate order dated 16 November 1947.<sup>9</sup> The case is an evidence of forceful occupation of a non-Muslim house by a Muslim.**

**On 17 September 1947 Khuda Bukhsh Guard Incharge reported that at 06:30 pm he was on patrol duty on the back side of factory. He found a woman, later on identified as Maoom Kausar, lying injured. She told that she has been stabbed by a Muslim boy. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate order dated 07 February 1948.<sup>10</sup> The case showed that even non-Muslim women were exposed to violence.**

**On 18 September 1947 Ram Parkash, Asstt Supervisor Dairy Form reported that he alongwith his family was sleeping in his Quarter. At about 01:30 am he arose on the cry of mother of Dashder and some person armed with spears entered his house from the side of my neighbor, we rescued our depended and accused ran away later on he saw the mother of Dashder dead and was lying on the ground. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned record on 09 February 1947.<sup>11</sup>**

**On 21 September 1947 Mehr Chand reported that he was going to his home. As he reached in Bazar Boharianwala, a man was seen coming behind him who attacked him with Chura which hit him on his arm. He repeated below on his chest and neck. He tried to over power him (accused) but he ran away. No arrest was made. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 13 November 1947 under the orders of Illaqa Magistrate.<sup>12</sup>**

On 23 September 1947 Mehr-ud-Din reported that he alongwith other sentry slept in his quarter while Fazal Hussain was standing on his duty at Bridge. At about 05:20 am he heard voice of Fazal Hussain and of a fire. He went there Fazal Hussain told him that three or four Hindu armed with swords were coming from Timber Market side. They were attacked by two men coming from opposite side. On the fire of Fazal Hussain, the attackers ran away. One of Hindu died on the spot. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 28 December 1947 under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>13</sup>

On 23 September 1947 Ram Das reported that at about 03:30 pm he was present at the Bangla of Lakshami Devi widow of Sardar Kartar Singh. All of a Sudden six Muslims armed with pistol and knives enterd the Banglow and attacked on him and also on Mst. Skantula Bibi. They inflicted knife below to Skantula Bibi as a result of which she died on the spot. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 06 December 1947 under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>14</sup>

On 24 September 1947 SI Ahmad Khan reported that at 03:30 am he was on patrol duty in the area of Civil Lines when he was told by people that Sardar Amar Singh Advocate has been injured with the knife by unknown Muslim. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 08 November 1947.<sup>15</sup>

**On 24 September 1947 SI Rab Nawaz reported that a dead body has been found lying in front of Railway crossing Banglow. The dead body was indentified of Ram Dat who was murdered due to religious persecution. The case was sent up untraced and consigned to record under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>16</sup>**

**On 25 September 1947 SI Ahmad Khan reported that he was on patrol duty near Adda. He heard voice of firing by Muslim fanatics who were setting the shops on fire and also injuring the Hindus/Sikh. SSO cantt informed on telephone. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>17</sup>**

**On 28 September 1947 SI Fazal Haq reported that he was on patrol duty in Bazar. He was told that two Muslims attacked a Hindu near Kashmir Bank. As a result he was seriously injured. The case was sent up untraced and consigned to record under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>18</sup>**

**On 27 September 1947 SI Ahmad Khan reported that he was on patrol duty near chowk pull Chungi where dead body of Hindu and a Sikh were found lying. No arrest was made. The case was sent up untraced and consigned to record on 08 November 1947 under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>19</sup>**

**On 02 October 1947 Constable Jahan Khan of Special Police reported that he was on duty at Gate Devi Darwaza. A Muslim namely Muzaffar Hussain entered the Gali. He was forbidden to enter the gate because**

Hindus were residing there and Government had banned the entry of Muslims in the Mohalla of Hindus. On this Mazaffar Hussain infuriated and inflicted knife blow on his wrist. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record.<sup>20</sup>

#### **Police Station Dina:**

**On 31 August 1947 Mohammad Sarwar Numberdar reported that at 9/10:00 pm seven to eight hundred people of area set on fire the house of Harnam Singh and Kartar Singh situated in village Brala. The case was sent up as untraced.**<sup>21</sup>

**On 03 September 1947 Sarwar Khan Numberdar reported that people of village Rohtas set the houses of Hindus on fire. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record under the orders of Magistrate.**<sup>22</sup>

**In district Jehlum 22 cases of communal rioting were registered out of those 4 were registered in rural Police Station of Saddar Jehlum and Dina. While 18 cases were registered in Police Station City Jehlum. This state depicts that rioting took place in city having Hindus and Sikhs in minority. It is note worthy that all the investigation officers of these cases were though Muslims yet no favouritism or lethargic attitude was not noted on their part. On the other hand in most of the cases no accused, suspect was nominated except in 1 case of Police Station Saddar Jehlum, in which 8 persons were nominated who were arrested and challaned. Unfortunatly none of the case could be proved in courts due to no evidence against the accused because witnesses had migrated to India.**

## **District Gujrat:**

**The district of Gujrat take its name from the town of its headquarters. This town grew up round a fort established by the Emperor Akbar in (1580 A.D) with the help of the Gujar inhabitants of the neighbouring country to the west. It is lying between the Jhelum and Chenab Rivers. The administrative headquarters were situated in Gujrat, located on the Grand Trunk Road. In 1911, Gujrat stood 19<sup>th</sup> in order of area, and 12<sup>th</sup> in order of population among the 28 districts of the province. District divided into three Tehsils. Gujrat, Kharian and Phalia Tehsils.<sup>23</sup>**

**The following is a list of the Police Stations in the districts:**

Name of Tehsils	Serial No. of Police Station	Police Stations
Gujrat	1	Gujrat Saddar
	2	Gujrat City
	3	Kunjah
	4	Jalal Pur
Kharian	5	Kharian
	6	Pahrian Wali
	7	Sarai Alamgir
	8	Dinga
	9	Lala Musa
Phalia	10	Phalia
	11	Kothiala Shei Khan
	12	Miana Gondal
	13	Qadirabad
	14	Mandi Baha-ud-Din

**Source: *Gazetteer of Gujrat district. 1921.***

## **Police Station Phalia:**

**On 28 May 1947 Bhagat Singh reported that last night at about 09:30 pm he came to his home from Gurdawara. He went to the roof of his house and called Mohammad Hayat his neighbor but he was away from his**

house. He saw that a room of his house has been set on fire. He at once came down and extinguished the fire by throwing water on it. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 21 June 1947 under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>24</sup>

On 06 September 1947 Mohammad Akram ASI reported that it had been learnt that in village Ghenan, Muslims had murdered Hindus and also set their houses on fire. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 09 December 1947 under the orders of Illaqa Magistrate.<sup>25</sup>

#### **Police Station Mandi Baha-ud-Din:**

On 30 August 1947 Sanat Singh reported that Jai Singh was carrying his house hold on two dunkeys to Mandi Baha-ud-Din in the way about one mile away from Mandi, Ghulam Mohammad, Lalu, Hayat, Piroo, looted his house hold and gave beating to Jai Singh. The Muslim of the area were looting people and did not allow the non-Muslims to come out of house. The case was sent up untraced and consigned to record vide order dated 26 November 1947 passed by Magistrate.<sup>26</sup>

On 01 September 1947 SI Mohammad Sahib Dad Khan reported that Muslim Community had attacked Mohallah Rampur Mandi Baha-ud-Din. They were looting the property and murdering Hindus. Military and Police was doing efforts to control the situation. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record and recovered property was ordered to

be deposit with Tehsilar vide order dated 08 January 1948 of Illaqa Magistrate.<sup>27</sup>

**28 September 1947 Mohammad Ismail Magistrate 1<sup>st</sup> Class reported that at about 04:30 pm he alongwith Major Mohammad Shafiq Incharge Military Camp went to Munshi Mohalla Mandi Baha-ud-Din where house if Sardar Joginder Singh and Harbans Singh was set on fire. The fire was extinguished after hectic effort at about 05:30 pm. The case was sent up untraced and consigned to record vide order dated 20 November 1947 passed by Illaqa Magistrate.**<sup>28</sup>

**On 28 September 1947 SI Mohammad Sahib Dad reported that shooting was going on in village Khewa where upon Military was called to evacuate non-Muslims from the village. Infact, about 100 Muslims armed with hatchets, spears and lathies attacked village Khewa. Thus the Military soldiers opened fire to disperse the mob. Injured were got admitted in the hospitals. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate order dated 04 December 1947.**<sup>29</sup>

**On 05 October 1947 SI Mohammad Sahib Dad reported that it was reported to him that in Munshi Mohalla of Mindi Baha-ud-Din the houses of Jai Singh & Hari Chand had been set on fire. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate order dated 20 November 1947.**<sup>30</sup>

### **Police Station Lala Musa:**

**On 18 August 1947 Ahmad Khan reported that a mob of twenty five to thirty person attacked village Qasim Khan during which Satar Singh and Ganda Singh were wounded. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide order dated 11 November 1947 passed by Illaqa Magistrate.**<sup>31</sup>

**On 19 August 1947 Railway Station Master Lala Musa reported that a boy of 10 years told him that his brother in law namely Boota Singh had been wounded and his mother had been killed during last night. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Illaqa Magistrate order dated on 06 March 1948.**<sup>32</sup>

**On 27 August 1947 SI Abdul Kareem reported that he was on patrol duty near village Qasim Khan. At about 11:30 am it was intimated that Sikhs of the village had arranged a Bus for Doordarshan. All of sudden the Muslims of the surrounding villages attacked them. Sikhs took shelter in their houses. SI went to the village where Sikhs were being murdered, therefore, he opened fire. Resultantly a Muslim was died. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Illaqa Magistrate order dated 17 March 1948.**<sup>33</sup>

**On 06 September 1947 ASI Said Rasool reported that at mid day in the area of village Hardowal the people of surrounding village attacked Sikhs residing in the village, resultantly two Sikhs were murdered. Attackers**

also set the houses on fire. Case was sent up as untraded and consigned to record under the orders of Illaqa Magistrate.<sup>34</sup>

On 12 September 1947 SI Abdul Kareem reported that he was on patrol duty in gate Lala Johr Lal. He saw that house if Gian Singh had been set on fire. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate's order dated 31 October 1947.<sup>35</sup>

On 18 September 1947 SI Manowar Lal reported that Ch. Ghulam Ahmad, informed him that Gurdawar Sanatpuru, Lala Musa had been set on fire. Hence he went there and tried to disperse the mob. A man was injured during firing. Case was consigned to record because the accused arrested was got discharged on 24 January 1947 under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>36</sup>

On 22 September 1947 Muhammad Zaman Superintendent Municipal Committee reported that his chowkidar namely Allah Ditta went in the field to case himself early in the morning. He saw that two dead bodies of Hindu women were lying in the millet crop which were littered with blood. Necks of both were cut. Some one had murdered them due to religious persecution. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record under the order dated 20 November 1947 of Illaqa Magistrate.<sup>37</sup>

**On 27 September 1947 Officer Incharge R.I.A Squad reported that two non-Muslims were stabbed yesterday at about 17:30 near the refugee train. The case was sent up as untraced.**<sup>38</sup>

**On 28 September 1947 SI Abdul Kareem reported that at about 11:00 am. Hindus and Sikhs were loading their luggage in a truck. A box of Tarlochan Singh fell from the truck. He alighted from the truck to collect his box. All of sudden twenty five to thirty Muslims attacked and stabbed him as a result which he died on the spot. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate's order dated 20 November 1947.**<sup>39</sup>

**On 01 October 1947 SI Abdul Kareem reported that he was informed that a Hindu was injured near the house of Mohammad Alam Sheikh. He went there and saw a Hindu namely Shodas Caste Arora lying injured who died later on. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate's order dated 20 November 1948.**<sup>40</sup>

**On 7 October 1947 Ch. Ghulam Rabbani Naib Tehsildar reported that some one had taken away a box and other articles from the house of Gogal Chand. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 09 April 1948 under the orders of Magistrate.**<sup>41</sup>

**In this district total 18 cases of communal rioting were registered out of those 11 were registered in Lala Musa, 2 in Phalia and 5 in Mandi Baha-ud-Din cities. No suspects was nominated in these cases resultantly all were sent up as**

untraced. Although the investigating offices were Muslims but no prejudice was noticed on their part. Infact all witnesses being Hindus and Sikhs migraterd to India hence cases could not proved due to no evidence.

### **District Mianwali:**

On the formation of the new North-West Frontier Province in 1901 the two Tahsils of Mianwali and Isa Khel of the old Bannu District and two Tahsils of Bhakkar and Leiah of the old Dera Ismail Khan District were excluded from that province and formed into a new district called Mianwali (by Government notification No. 995, dated 17<sup>th</sup> October 1901). The district was divided into three tehsils, Mianwali, Bhakkar and Isa Khel. <sup>42</sup>

The following is a list of the Police Stations in the district.

Name of Tehsils	Serial No. of Police Station	Police Stations
Mianwali	1 2 3 4	Mianwali Mochh Chakrala Piplan
Isa Khel	5 6 7	Isa Khel Kala Bagh Kamar Mishani
Bhakkar	8 9 10 11	Bhakkar Miabal Jandanwala Man Kera

Source: *Gazetteer of Mianwali district. 1915.*

On 23November 1946 Utam Singh reported that on 22 November 1946 residents of Maible village went on hunting in Katch and hunted some pigs. Amir Chand, Lal Ram and Jamiat Singh brought a dead Pig from Katcha. On this Muslim community flared up and threatened for dire consequences. In the afternoon he alongwith Sher Singh was present at

his Dera in Katcha. Qasim, Mohammad Ali, Malia, Khuda Bukhsh, Channa, Ghulam Siddique, Ghulam Hussain, Nasar, Allah Yar, Mohammada, Hakim, Gulsher, Akbar, Charagh, Ranjha, Umer, Ghulam Mohammad, Siddique, Rasoola and others all residents of Maible armed with Dangs came there and forcibly took away his Two oxen with them. Sher Singh resisted whereupon he was beaten mercilessly. No arrest was made. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record.<sup>43</sup>

District Mianwali is situated in the border of Punjab and Sarhad Provinces and was a rural one. Only 1 cases was reported at Police Station Miabal in which 19 accused were nominated while other could not be identified. No evidence came on record due to migration of complainant and witnesses to India hence was sent up as untraced.

### **District Shahpur:**

The Shahpur district was the sourthern most of the four districs of the Rawalpindi division. It was divided into three tahsils. Shahpur, Bhera and Khushab Tehsils.<sup>44</sup>

The following is a list of the Police Stations in the district.

Name of Tehsils	Serial No. of Police Station	Police Stations
Shahpur	1	City
	2	Saddar
	3	Sahiwal
	4	Jhawarian
Bhera	5	Bhera
	6	Miani
	7	Chak Ramdas
	8	Miana Gondal
	9	Kot Moman
	10	Midh
Khushab	11	Khushab

	12	Mitha Tiwana
	13	Uttera
	14	Kund
	15	Nurpur
	16	Naushahra

Source: *Gazetteer of Shahpur district. 1883-84.*

### **Police Station City Sargodha:**

**On 16 September 1947 Krishan Lal reported that he was working with Dr. Ram Lal as compounder Mohammad Shafi resident of Block No. 15 Sargodha city used to come there. We became friend. Yesterday evening Mohammad Shafi came and asked him to accompany on his Tanga. He took him on the back side of Mission School and we both alighted from Tanga. As they crossed Canal Peridge he pulled out his chhurra and inflicted blows on the left side of his (applicants) abdomen, head and neck. Resultantly he fell down and Mohammad Shafti run away His brother and other witnessed the occurrence. The accused was challaned to court for trial. However the accused was discharged on 01 December 1947 due to no evidence/proof against the accused.**<sup>45</sup>

**On 18 September 1947 Mehtab Singh reported that he and Bahadur Singh alongwith their children had come in block No. 9 to leave for India about nine to ten days ago. Today he and Pandat Amar Nath were turning from Shahpur Adda to his home. As we reached near petrol pump an unknown person injured me and ran away. Case was sent up as untraced and was consigned to record vide Illaqa Magistrate order dated 10 October 1947.**<sup>46</sup>

On 20 September 1947 Garoot Singh reported that yesterday in the evening he alongwith his brother in law namely Mehtab Singh resident of Sahiwal were going on oxen cart towards refugee camp. In the way their cart turn turtle and they had to stay in the compound of civil Hospital, it was raining four persons entered the compound, one of them was armed with spear. He asked to keep silent and inflicted spear in the abdomen of Mehtab Singh. Roshan Lal and Hospital employee rescued him and snatched spear from the accused but all the accused ran away. The case was sent up as untraced and later on consigned to record under the orders of Illaqa Magistrate passed on 11 December 1947.<sup>47</sup>

On 23 September 1947 Captain Regt 4<sup>th</sup> Btn Sikh Regiment submitted a written report to the SHO narrating therein that one Hindu stabled and killed at 200 yards west of postmortem room near refugee camp Sargodha. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 19 November 1947 under the orders of Illaqa Magistrate.<sup>48</sup>

On 24 September 1947 Harnam Singh reported that yesterday at about 02:00 afternoon he alongwith Gobind Ram compounder Dr. Ram Lal and some Hindus including a clerk of Punjab Kashmir Bank were travelling in a Tonga from Airport toward city. In the way four Muslims armed with Dangs and Churries came out of bushes. The Tonga was stopped and the culprit's forcibly took away his box containing male and female cloths and cash of Rs: 500/- and ran away in the adjoining bushes. On

**10 January 1948 the accused were discharged by the Illaqa Magistrate and case was consigned to record.<sup>49</sup>**

**On 02 October 1947 Fazal Karim officer incharge refugee camp Sargodha submitted a written complaint narrating therin that Beli Ram presently residing in non-Muslim campswas being sent. He was struck twoperson with side parmentry below. Accused was challand for trial. Session Judge, Sargodha acquitted the accused vide his order dated 15 November 1947.<sup>50</sup>**

**On 26 October 1947 ASI Habib Ullah Shah reported that at about 12:30 afternoon he was present at the shop of Dr. Dewan Chand and Dr. went out for lunch. All of sudden fifteen to sixteen Muslims entered the shop and asked as to why the shop on Eid day had been opened. He replied that he is patient and the Dr. is not here. They all gave beating to him and went away. The case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 04 December 1947 under the orders of Illaqa Magistrate.<sup>51</sup>**

#### **Police Station Jhawarian:**

**On 28 May 1947 at about 08:30 Ram Sarn reported that last night some person set his house on fire by spraing oil but no property was burnt. This seemed an act of religious persecution. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record under the order of Illaqa Magistrate vide order 23 July 1947.<sup>52</sup>**

**On 05 September 1947 at 12:30 pm Ram Lal alongwith Gauger Ram, Shaman Lal and Deraj went to river Jhelum for Jalparwar. As they returned in the way Ahmad Khan, Noor Din, Rehman and other person came over there and attacked on Ganga Ram and Deraj and murdered them with their weapon. He ran away and saved his life. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record under the orders of Magistrate.<sup>53</sup>**

**Police Station Shahpur Saddar:**

**On 25 March 1947 Ram Lal reported that Bakhsha and Wali Dad are joint owners of a land. Bakhsha has let his share on contract to him. His share was being cultivated by Allah Jawaya. Wali Dad was avoiding to give the share to him. Today he was cutting the grass from the land of his share Wali Dad raised Lalkara as to why his grass is being cut. He was accompanied by Mohammad Hayat, Mohammad Nawaz, Sardara, Ramzan and Allah Jawaya who were armed with dangs. They gave beating to him with their dangs. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record vide Magistrate order dated 25 September 1947.<sup>54</sup>**

**On 04 April 1947 Lakhdas Telegraph Clerk Shahpur Saddar reported that on the night between 2/3 April 1947 some person not only injured Inayat chowkidar but also stole away iron pieces of Railway line valuing Rs: 400/-. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record on 02 June 1947 under the orders of Illaqa Magistrate.<sup>55</sup>**

**On 01 June 1947 Mukhi Nand of Bakhasbar reported that early in the morning he went out to ease himself. He was returning to his home, Lala and Ali armed with dangs way laid him. Lala asked as to why he came to his well. He replied that in future he would not come there. Lala snatched his turban while Rehma inflicted dang below on his head. On his noise Rab Nawaz and others witnessed the occurrence. Case was sent up as untraced and consigned to record by Magistrate vide his order dated 25 July 1947.<sup>56</sup>**

**In this district total 12 cases were registered. Out of those 7 were registered in Sargodha city, 2 in Jhawarian and 3 at Shahpur Saddar. No accused was nominated in these cases except 1 of Police Satation city Sargodha, in which 1 accused was nominated and challaned but was discharged by the court due to no evidence.**

#### **District Attock:**

**Attock distirct which takes its name from the famous fort at the north-west corner of the district. Fort was built in the period of Emperor Akbar. It consists of the western portion of the rough plain country lying between the Indus and Jhelum rivers and under mountains of Hazara. The distirct forms part of the Rawalpindi Division. The district was divided into four tahsils. tehsil Attock, Tallagang, Pindigheb and Fatehjang. Tallagang Tehsil was part of district Jehlum before 1904.<sup>57</sup>**

**The following is a list of the Police Stations in the district.**

Name of Tehsils	Serial No. of Police Station	Police Stations
Attock	1	Saddar
	2	City
	3	Hassan Abdal
Fatehjang	4	Fatehjang
	5	Chauntra
	6	Hazro
Tallagang	7	Tallagang
	8	Lawa
	9	Tamman
Pindigheb	10	Pindigheb
	11	Pindi Sultani
	12	Makhad

*Source: Gazetteer of Attock district. 1930.*

**In this district some cases of communal rioting might have been registered but no case was traced because FIR registers of this period were not available in any of Police Stations, therefore no comments.**

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3. FIR No. 36 under section 376/436/148 I.P.C, P.S. Saddar Jhelum.
4. FIR No. 23 dated 11-03-1947 under section 436 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
5. FIR No. 92 dated 14-08-1947 under section 436 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
6. FIR No. 104/47 under section 307 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
7. FIR No. 110/47 P.S. City Jhelum.
8. FIR No. 16/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
9. FIR No. 113/47 under section 448/457 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
10. FIR No. 122/47 under section 307 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
11. FIR No. 123/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
12. FIR No. 124/47 under section 307 I.P.C. P.S. City Jhelum.
13. FIR No. 125/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
14. FIR No. 128/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
15. FIR No. 129/47 I.P.C under section 307 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
16. FIR No. 130/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
17. FIR No. 131/47 under section 396/436/149 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
18. FIR No. 135/47 under section 307 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
19. FIR No. 134 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
20. FIR No. 147/47 under section 307/332 I.P.C, P.S. City Jhelum.
21. FIR No. 47/47 under section 436 I.P.C, P.S. Dina Distt Jhelum.
22. FIR No. 49 dated 03-09-1947 under section 436 I.P.C, P.S. Dina.
23. *Gazetteer of Gujrat District 1921.* P.203.
24. FIR No. 35/47 under section 436 I.P.C, P.S. Phalia.
25. FIR No. 58/47 under section 302/436 I.P.C, P.S. Phalia.
26. FIR No. 84 under section 394 I.P.C, P.S. Mandi Baha-ud-Din.
27. FIR No. 88/47 under section 436/396/302/148/149 I.P.C, P.S. Mandi Baha-ud-Din.
28. FIR No. 102/47 under section 436 I.P.C, P.S. Mandi Baha-ud-Din.
29. FIR No. 113/47 P.S. Mandi Baha-ud-Din.
30. FIR No. 106/47 under section 436 I.P.C, P.S. Mandi Baha-ud-Din.
31. FIR No. 82/47 under setion 436/307/148/149 I.P.C, P.S. Lal Musa.
32. FIR No. 83/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. Lala Musa.
33. FIR No. 89/47 under section 148/149/307 I.P.C, P.S Lala Musa.
34. FIR No. 87/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S Lala Musa.
35. FIR No. 95/47 under section 436/302 I.P.C, P.S. Lala Musa.
36. FIR No. 96/47 under section 436 I.P.C , P.S. Lala Musa.
37. FIR No. 100/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S Lala Musa.
38. FIR No. 102/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. Lala Musa.
39. FIR No. 103/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. Lala Musa.
40. FIR No. 105/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. Lala Musa.
41. FIR No. 109/47 under section 380/457 I.P.C, P.S. Lala Musa.
42. *Gazetteer of Mainwali District 1915.* P.416.
43. FIR No. 57/46 under section 395/325/147/34 I.P.C, P.S Maible Distt Mianwali.
44. *Gazetteer of Shahpur District 1883-84.* P.305.
45. FIR No. 180/47 under section 307 I.P.C, P.S city Sargodha.
46. FIR No. 182/47 under section 307 I.P.C, P.S. city Sargodha.
47. FIR No. 188/47 under section 307 I.P.C, P.S. city Sargodha.
48. FIR No. 194/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S. city Sargodha.
49. FIR No. 195/47 under section 395 I.P.C, P.S. city Sargodha.
50. FIR No. 206/47 under section 302 I.P.C, P.S city Sargodha.

51. **FIR No. 220/47 under section 147 I.P.C, P.S. city Sargodha.**
52. **FIR No. 18/47 under section 436 I.P.C, P.S. Jhawarian.**
53. **FIR No. 33/47 under section 302/149 I.P.C, P.S. Jhawarian.**
54. **FIR No. 39/47 under section 392 I.P.C, P.S. Shahpur Saddar.**
55. **FIR No. 22/47 under section 382 I.P.C, P.S. Shahpur Sadar.**
56. **FIR No. 19/47 under section 147 I.P.C, P.S. Shahpur Saddar.**
57. ***Gazetteer of Attock District 1930. P.34.***

## CONCLUSION

**Punjab Police has had an extremely proud history and the legend of keeping duty before the partition of India. Punjab Police had a name in the country for effective policing and this has been continuously improving through the personal examples of its leadership supported by great traditions, discipline and highly professional attitude. The emergence of Punjab Police as a Separate Organization is a post 1861, development which took place after the British annexation of Punjab in 1849.**

**British preferred Muslim recruitment in the Army and Police in Punjab because, first the majority population was Muslim and secondly, people of Punjab were physically strong, brave, courageous, loyal, service minded and dutiful. Rawalpindi Division was an important area of the Punjab because military activities and many British administrative and intelligence offices were located in the aforesaid city. This division was peaceful and the situation was different from the other parts of the Punjab. In this area the riots started in March, 1947. The Hindus and Sikhs suffered a lot in this division. The retaliation by the Muslims of this area and the neighbouring districts of Hazara and Cambellpur overshadowed all communal riots that were going on in the eastern Punjab.**

**These were the main causes of these riots in Rawalpindi, first, the Muslims were under heavy debt of the Hindu moneylenders. They never liked Hindus and Sikhs as their masters, secondly, the Muslims of this area were getting the news of the murder of Muslims in eastern Punjab, aroused the communal frenzy against the Hindus and Sikhs. In order to take revenge of their**

**brethren, who were massacred in the eastern Punjab by the non-Muslims, Muslim of this area started riots against the non-Muslims living in this area.**

**These riots resulted in the migration from both parts of the Punjab. There were refugee camps for people in Rawalpindi under the protection of the Police to save their lives from the angry mobs. The Punjab Police played a significant part in handling refugee crisis of 1947-48 in this area. The population of Muslims was more as compared to non-Muslims therefore, most of the Police employees were also Muslims. The communal virus had struck the Urban classes but the majority of the people living in the villages were immune to this disease. It is noteworthy that most of these riots happened in the urban area as compared to rural where populations of Muslim lived peacefully, that is why the above figures disclose the incidents in the urban area. However as per available crime statistic during the year 1947 total 47359 cases were reported in the Punjab while 880 cases of rioting were registered including that of religious persecution as a result of partition.**

**As regards action by Police in handling these riots, the Punjab Police not only provided shelter to the non-Muslims in refugee camps established for the protection, presently registered criminal cases against the violators/rioter/criminals but all these cases were sent up as untraced being not proved during investigation/trial because the victims left Pakistan and there left no one to such substantiate or prove these cases.**

## APPENDIX-I

### **Early Superintendents of Police in the Punjab Police.**

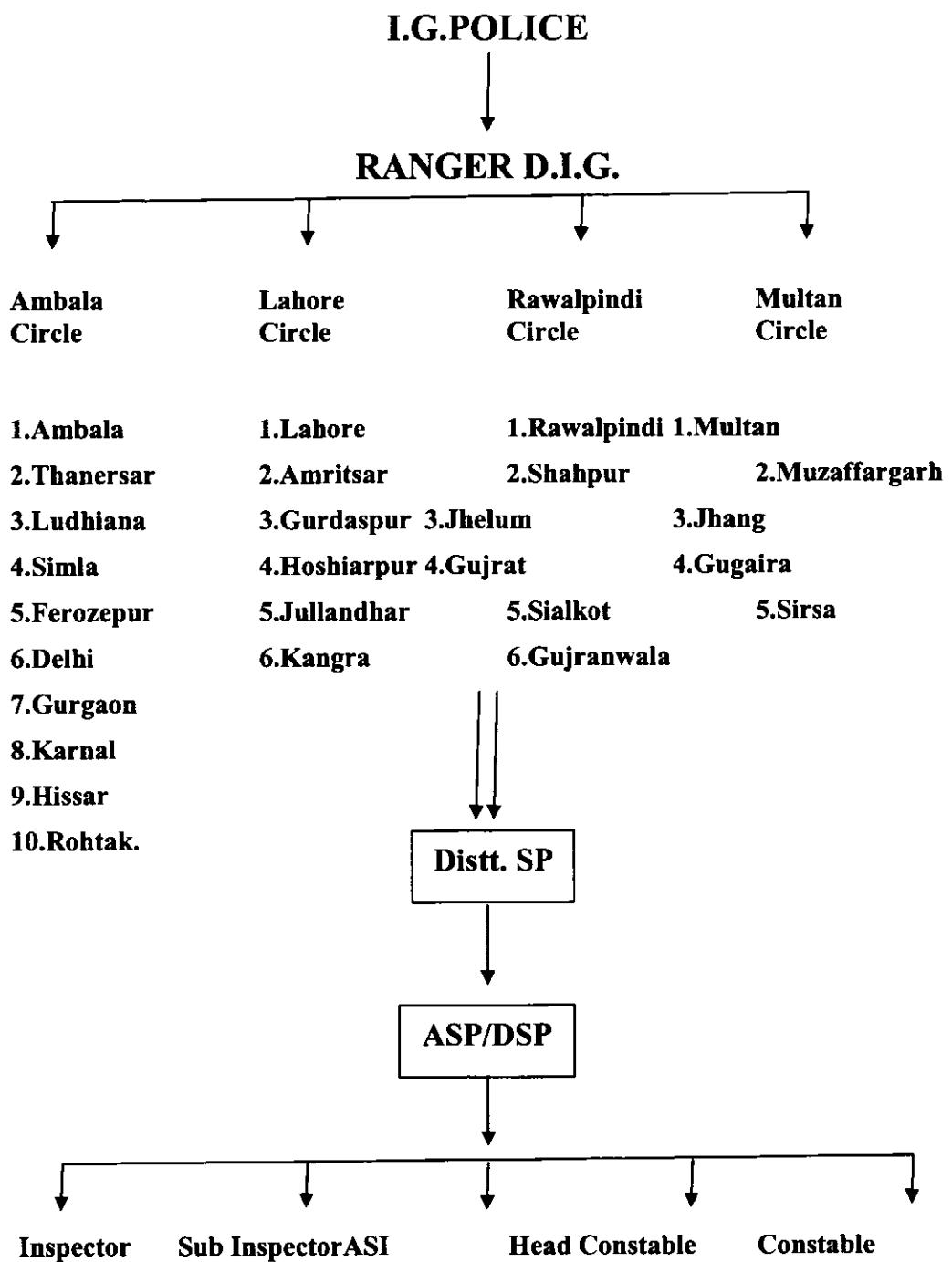
1. **Captain W. Wyld**
2. **Brevit Major A. S. Smith**
3. **Captain C. F. Smith**
4. **Captain T. Staples**
5. **Lt. W. W. Boddam**
6. **Lt. C. H. Ewart**
7. **Lt. O. Menzies**
8. **Lt. A. Goldney**
9. **Lt. A. Collect**
10. **Lt. C. Mc Meille**
11. **Lt. R. M. Sewell**
12. **Lt. W. Hanailton**

### **Early Assistant District Superintendents.**

1. **Mr. C. Aldridge**
2. **Mr. C.M.A. Kelly**
3. **Mr. J. Allsopp**
4. **Mr. J. Barlow**
5. **Mr. J. Mcandrew**
6. **Mr. T.A.O. Cornor**
7. **Mr. W.W. Green**
8. **Mr. G. Jamieson**
9. **Mr. J. Ross**
10. **Mr. J.C. Ryley**
11. **Mr, F.L. Edwards**

Source: Rizvi, N. A. *Our Police Heritage*. Wapda Printing Press. Lahore: 1961. P.206.

## **APPENDIX-II**



**Source: Fraser Report. Report of the Indian Police Commission 1902-03.P.108.**

## APPENDIX-III

### RANK WISE PAY OF POLICE OFFICERS

Sr. No.	Rank	Basic Pay
1	IGP	2250/-
2	DIG	1500/-
3	SP-I	1000/-
4	SP-II	800/-
5	SP-III	750/-
6	ASP-I	450/-
7	ASP-II	350/-
8	ASP-III	300/-
9	Inspector-I	200/-
10	Inspector-II	175/-
11	Inspector-III	150/-
12	Inspector-IV	125/-
13	Seargent	125/-
14	Probationer ASI	20/-
15	Mortal Constable	22/-
16	Foot Constable	7/-

Source: Fraser Report. Report of the Indian Police Commission 1902-03.P.119.

## APPENDIX-IV

### RAWALPINDI DISTRICT

**Statement of analyses and ammunition recovered by the Police during march-1947.**

Date	P.S	FIR No.	Weapons recovered	Hindus	Sikh	Muslim	Christen
27.03.47	P.S Cant	290	78 Cartridges	Hindu	-	-	-
19.03.47	P.S Mandra	19	01 Pistol	Hindu	-	-	-
19.03.47	P.S City	185	01 Gun & 3 swards	Hindu	-	-	-
19.03.47	P.S City	185	01 Revolver	Hindu	-	-	-
31.03.47	P.S Murree	33	01 Gun, 12 Cartridges	-	Sikh	-	-
13.04.47	P.S Murree	41	01 Pistol, 01 Bullets 02 Cartridges	Hindu	-	-	-
29.04.47	P.S Saddar	69	01 Revolver 16 Cartridges	-	Sikh	-	-
08.05.47	P.S Sangjani	52	01 Sterr Gun 17 Cartridge	<b>Not Known</b>			
13.05.47	P.S City	347	02 Revolver	<b>Not Known</b>			
01.06.47	P.S Cantt	30	01 Revolver	<b>Not Known</b>			
30.05.47	P.S Cantt	63	02 Rifles	<b>Not Known</b>			
15.06.47	P.S City	694	05 Cartridges	Hindu	-	-	-
08.03.47	P.S Rawalpur	199	01 Bare 478 Cartridge		-	Muslim	-

Source: Mountbatten Papers File 128NDC MFU ACC No. 2794.

## APPENDIX-V

### STATEMENT OF BOMB EXPLOSION OCCURRED IN RAWALPINDI BETWEEN MARCH & DECEMBER-1947

Spl. Report No.	Date	Place/District	Community of Offender Involved	Loss of life & property	Facts
76-Part- III	27-08- 47	Rawalpindi	Hindu	-	Two grenades were exploded by Hindus.
248- Part-III	03-09- 47	Rawalpindi	-	-	An explosion took place in the house of president of Rawalpindi Municipality. He was arrested.
233- Part-I	13-06- 47	Rawalpindi	2 Sikhs	3 male Sikh, 1 female Sikh died door of house basement pieces	A bomb exploded in H.No.T/226 Bara Darri P.S City resulting in the death of Gurbux and Harnam Singh who were preparing bombs Karan Singh and Rajinder Kousar were injured and died in Hospital.

Source: Mountbatten Papers File 128NDC MFU ACC. No. 2794.

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