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Nexus and the city: Battle for Lahore during Partition of India**

Abstract:

The city of Lahore held esteem importance in the north India during British Raj. This value had converted the city of Lahore into a battleground between the communities fighting for maintenance of their supremacy in times of partition of the country. The main aim behind the communal war of succession was to get hold over this historical city. Muslims were majority community in British Lahore. However, their persisted poor financial condition had not allowed them to elevate into a strong middle class. Hindus, on the other hand held strong marks of middle class and had the edge of showing supremacy. Sikhs were, despite being poor, in the same camp with Hindus. This kind of positioning of communities had ensued a battle to emulate with the city in any hostile situation. We see the emergence of same sense of emulation when it comes to adopting the violence as a tool to get hold over the city.

KEYWORDS: Lahore, Partition, Violence, Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, Communalism, Politics

Introduction:

In the initial phase of the eruption of violence, we hardly come across any evidence showing the active relationship between the local notables and the street criminals in Lahore. In the earlier phase, goondas (Criminals) of Lahore were not sufficiently prepared to plan any kind of large-scale violence. Due to their strength in numbers, however, they were exhibiting much criminal activities in terms of arson, street stabbing and looting. However, with the transformation in the premise of affairs, we certainly come across many such evidence, which shows the close-active relations between the notable and active culprits with the pretext in the changing circumstances as well. The local contestation about the position of Lahore had germinated into a conspiracy theory that non-Muslims had clandestine plan to emulate Lahore on their side. That “conspiracy-theory” was going on in the popular circles of Lahore. There were, though, certain efforts on the side of non-Muslims to bring Lahore on their side. Nevertheless, the actual authenticity of that conspiracy was not of that feasible level. The Sikhs had not a majority in any one district. They wanted on religious grounds like the Muslims, to take over and dominate areas in which they were in a minority. The Bari Doab—the area between the Ravi and the Beas comprising Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore and Montgomery—would become a battle-ground, and Baldev

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Singh evidently wants to go well west of the Ravi.¹ Rana Nazar Rahman has written in his memoirs that ‘one Hindu of my office, Hans Raj had told me that Sikhs and Hindu extremists had accumulated big quantity of weaponry to eliminate Muslims of Lahore.’² Ambiguity about the fate of Lahore had also overstated a lot in that conspiracy theory to get popular. As it was being perceived by both sides that Lahore has to be on their side. Though it was yet to be decided, thus both communal groups were stiff with their position in that city. Despite evacuating the city in largest numbers ever, the non-Muslims were still there in considerable numbers. RSSS was responsible for their stay in the city. That communal group was trying to convince their brethren not to leave the city, as it could still be possible for them to retain the city.³ A circular letter from the branch office of the Lahore RSSS had been issued and reads as follows:

The problem therefore is to arrange things that the districts of Lahore, Shekhupura, Lyallpur, Montgomery and part of Multan have to fall in with India. The proposition is to remove a certain number of Muslims from certain areas and to replace them by non-Muslims. The post-war settlements of demobilized personnel, colonization of that and Haveli areas and establishment of industrial centers are the means which can be used in pursuance of the object.”⁴

That conspiracy, apart from its real existence, was circulated in the popular circles in Lahore that many of the notables were adopting their policies according to that conspiracy. Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, a distinguished personality from Lahore has also written about that conspiracy to bring Lahore into Indian Territory in case of partition. This speculation was in the air that a “conspiracy” was being hatched to bring Lahore under east Punjab side. One Sikh officer of INA Mohan Singh was assigned himself to provide training to Sikh forces for any upcoming situation to annihilate Muslims of those areas. Holy places of Sikhs in Lahore such as Ranjit Singh Murhi, Darbar Sahib were converted into ammunition stores.⁵ Sikhs were provided with surety that Lahore would be handed over to them in case of partition if they acted upon certain policies. They were also assured that sooner they will occupy all of their holy places in western Punjab. That was the rationale spitefully infused in them that they unleashed all the brutalities wherever they got chance to annihilate Muslims.⁶

¹ TOP, Vol, X, 470.

² Rana Nazar Rahman wrote in his autobiography that at the time of partition I was working in Lahore railway station. one day my senior officer Narender Nath Wadhawan had ordered me to send a big quantity of electricity goods from Lahore to Jallundhar despite having received no such orders from Jallundhar. I had informed my two Muslim colleagues, and with their consent I have decided not to obey the orders. One Hindu of my office, Hans Raj had told me that Sikhs and Hindu extremists had accumulated big quantity of weaponry to eliminate Muslims of Lahore. Rana Nazar Rahman, *Subah karna sham ka* (Lahore: Al Hamd Publications, 2013), 36-38.

³ RSSS Saga: *Fiery Days of Partition*, 163.

⁴ Shahid Hamid, *Disastrous Twilight: A Personal Record of the Partition of India* (London: Leo Cooper in association with Secker & Warburg, 1986), 206-207.

⁵ Sardar Shaukat Hayat, *Gum Gashta Qaum* (Lahore: Jang Publications, 1995), 208.

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A month before partition some military personnel from Nabha state had visited Lahore rounding the city on their jeep loaded with heavy arms.⁷ At another occasion some military personal from Faridkot state were also stationed in the Faridkot house in Lahore. It was speculated that they were about to attack on some particular targets. That conspiracy was further extended that princely states of Faridkot and Patiala were deploying certain military groups to take their positions around Lahore. Mian Merajdin had informed Quaide Azam that soldiers of Maharaja Patiala had collected a big numbers of military trucks. That was with the purpose of attacking Lahore at any time, if Lahore were to give to Pakistan.⁸ That conspiracy speculation got strength when a Hindu from Mochi Gate was caught by inspector Dildar Husain Shah and on investigation he admitted that this plan exist in reality and planners had decided to annihilate every Muslims of the Lahore to make it part of East Punjab.

After getting confirmation of that plan, we found ourselves with hardly any proper arrangement to deal with that forthcoming realization of that threat. Somehow, we manage to prepare a good numbers of petrol bombs and circulate them to different parts of the city with proper training to use them successfully. Accounts officer of Indian railway Muhammad Mushtaq had arranged petrol from a railway petrol tank. We got petrol easily and bottles were made available easily. After fitting bomb fuses in bottles, a brave boy from Lahore, Mumtaz Shahnawaz was assigned with heavy task to supply them to every important place. In the meanwhile, we were informed about some secret safe house where Sikh were hiding and waiting for Sikh forces to attack on Lahore. We attacked on them with these bottle bombs. That attack made their news in limelight. Soon after that Sikh forces had run away from the city.⁹

The conspiracy theory had many issues with verification. Nevertheless, that so-called “conspiracy” had paved developing nexus between the notables and street criminals to wage violence in more ordered way, if not absolutely, than at least in major incidental affairs. Thus we see a ‘silent-nexus’ emerging and executing its purpose, catering both the street criminals and notable with big local-political purposes. local-notables providing the ‘Patron-ship’ to the streets criminals in many ways and local assailants and streets criminals were paying them back as their ‘Clientage’ with mutual benefits. The relationship between the local criminals and notables would establish another dimension towards the understanding of the actual dynamics of the local

⁷21st May 1947 1 officer and 10 men of Nabha State Force appeared in Lahore yesterday armed with 7 service rifles 1 Stan gun and 1.38 revolver. Party had over 900 rounds of ammunition. They claimed to have come to purchase vehicles from a local firm and from disposals. They were rounded up In 3 lots 1 going about in city with Stan gun and 3 loaded magazines the second In Cantonment and third in a private house. Since they were infringing order against carrying weapons, they were disarmed and police held their arms. Police consider their story genuine and man have not been detained. I consider immediate action necessary to prevent armed personnel of Indian States entering Punjab. This party might easily have got into very serious trouble i their arrival caused great concern among Moslems. (IOR)R/3/1/90, *Jenkins to Mountbatten*. Governor House, Lahore, May 21,1947.

⁸“I have told Quaid-e-Azam that soldiers of Maharaja Patiala had collected a big numbers of military trucks. That was with the purpose of attacking Lahore at any time if Lahore were to give to Pakistan.” see his book, *Amirudin, Yaad-e-Ayyam*, 91

⁹ Shaukat Hayat, *Gum Gashta Qoum*, 245.

happenings. In this perspective, the role of local 'notable' was quite important in terms of local control on chaotic affairs. Especially the walled city area was such kind of locality where the social bondage and patron-client relationship were active in their own traditional forms. Those traditional bondages also acted upon the whims of the local notables to divert or mold the wave of violence with certain political end. Such as in the case of Shah Almi fire e.t.c. apart from that incident, we can see a massive presence of notables while patronizing many of the culprits in the city to wage violence against the rival community. However, silently, but that support was very influential while setting some actions with ultimate protections. That particular dimension needs to be negotiated that whether local leaders had the sufficient potential to arrest the violent tendencies or not. They had, no doubt significant role in their relevance with the locality-based horrendous affairs. However, the extent of that described significant role is a subject dealt with attention of their socio-political strength and crowd motives. It is important to understand one particular dimension of the violence in city that, though its genesis was localized, but its stimulations were regionally controlled.

Thus, we find the involvement of many of the notables in the violence. Their involvement had extended clandestine assistance to those who were perpetrating acts of violence against non-Muslims. One such example was of Mian Amirudin who was mayor of Lahore in those days. He had provided protection to many young Muslims who were involved in waging violence in Lahore. However, here it is to be noted that mayor was a formal kind of executive authority. As bureaucracy and other state machinery was not supposed to obey his orders. Thus, his intentions and involvement could not be considered as clandestine state-sponsorship. His Haveli "Barood Khana" was the stronghold for the Muslims activist in those days. That area became the rendezvous of all the Muslim activist of the city. There was a free kitchen where fresh foods was prepared for those who involved in various kinds of activities. According to one account Amir-ud-Din had also arranged Cash rewards for those who done some remarkable job.¹⁰

Mian Amriudin was very helpful for us in so many matters. He also had opened a dispensary in his Haveli for the treatment of the poor Muslims. In that dispensary, those Muslims were also being treated who were injured while doing any kind of arson or any relevant act in those crucial times. That dispensary was situated in his Haveli of Barood Khana. He also use to give free ration to the poor and effected families. When the Second World War came to end, he bought big numbers of used helmets for the Muslim boys. The purpose of those helmets was to get protection during any processional incident when Hindus or Sikhs could through bricks on Muslims.¹¹

The influence of Mian Amir-ud-Din was of such level that police could not enter into his Haveli. Thus, many of the criminals and culprits would often took refuge in his Haveli after committing an act. He had hired different retired police SHO,s during those days for the protection measures and getting of secret reports. In his autobiography, he has written that he used to hold all secret meetings at his home. Whenever an act of violence happened, those SHOs were proved very

¹⁰At first the amount per head was Rs. 100/. Later on it was reduced to Rs. 50/-, while for incendiarism the amount was said to be only Rs. 25/- per building, Bali, *Now It Can Be Told*, 32.

¹¹ Interview with Sharif Bhatti, Barood Khana Neeven Gali,Lahore. 6 January 2015.

beneficial and when a case was opened against any Muslim arrested, his appointed lawyers were in forefront to defend them. The result was that very low numbers of Muslims culprits were arrested and judicial process was not much against them in court. He confessed in his book that he had appointed two-sub inspector, one inspector, and one lawyer with any police station in Lahore with the salary of 800 rupees per month. It was that secret nexus between Mian Amir-Din and those civil functionaries. The main purpose of that arranged network was to get maximums information and maximum assistance for the workers of Muslim league and other Muslims who were doing activities during those times.¹²

We had arranged a secret fund for the buying of weapon for that crucial time 25 thousands rupees were given to Sardar Shaukat Hayat khan for this purpose. However, Sardar Shaukat Hayat got failed to buy weapons as the provided list got leaked to CID. After that, we had devised another scheme. According to that scheme, I assigned duty to Hakkem Jan, who was agent of Scooda at that time for all India. He went to Kabul for the purpose and met with the Prime Minister, Mahmood Shah. However, due to the British government pressure, he could not succeed to get anything. Finally, we had arranged a local blacksmith for the manufacturing of some guns.¹³

In addition to the contemporary official histories, there were a number of personal accounts by the local leadership of Lahore of those days. All of them were predominantly focused on the role they had played while assisting many groups who were involved in violence in Lahore against non-Muslims. Begum Salma Tassaduq Husain was also very active in those days. Many of the activists used to take shelter in her Kothi at the Lawrence road. According to one of the account, her kothi had stored a lot of ammunition for the boys who were active in the arson and violence activities. Some boys from Amritsar were arrested in cases of murders in Amritsar riots. Those boys were handed over to the Lahore jail authorities and waiting for sentence after prosecuting. Begum Salma had played an important role to escape those boys from the jail as those boys were being shifted to the other place for their hanging. According to her own description in her autobiography,

“ One day I got an information that those boys were being shifted again to east Punjab for their final execution. Hearing this I have informed all the concerned Muslim league leaders in the city of Lahore. We had devised a plan to make those boys free. Those were 9 Muslim boys. We had arranged 200 Muslim league volunteers for that purpose to set them free. We had curfew passes for those volunteers. One Muslim police inspector had told us that those nine Muslims were being sent to Delhi for hanging. With the assistance and advice of that police inspector, we had devised a plan to free them. One day we had arranged a wooden stair on the backside of the ‘Central Jail Lahore’ during curfew hours and evacuated all the nine Muslim prisoners. Then we had took them into the nearby camp at Walton. Next morning they were sent to my residence at empress road. Meanwhile police had started heavy search for

¹² Amir-ud-Din, *Yaad-e-Ayyam*, 89.

¹³ Ibid, 88.

them. I have contacted one assembly member, who took all those nine boys to swat safely.”¹⁴

In this escape plan many of the Muslim League National Guard members had played their role to execute the plan with success. In that phase Muslim League National Guard, which had seldom in scenario in the previous phase, had started to make its presence in that second phases. The Muslim League National Guards and many other Muslim League workers were now noticeable in Lahore City.¹⁵ Hakeem Ghulam Husain and Mian Sarfaraz Ahmad, both were the counselor from Bazar-e-Hakeman and Koocha-e-Balian respectively, inside Bhatti Gate, at that time. Aijaz-ud-Din Rajput told that,

They had arranged a house in Hakeeman wale bazar in which they stored and arranged that kerosene oil in big quantity with that particular propose. That house belonged to Mian Sarfaraz Ahmad.¹⁶ Some person were used to be there with their assigned duty to hand us over the kerosene and match boxes. As matchboxes were rare those days. In Bhabrian Wali Thari, we set houses and shops of Hindus on fire. He and several of his friends were engaged in that activity. They were given the kerosene oil and then in small planning we use that oil on houses mentioned already in general. Thus, we see the taking part of the lower ranks of the Muslim league in those affairs. It could be assessed that those counselor were not doing at their own, rather they could have been a part of some clandestine hierarchy running all this with well-thought planning.

In Yakki(Zakki) Gate, there was a party of streets goons controlled by Dadu Khan. Dadu Khan was a prominent Pehalwan of his area in Yakki gate had a big patronization for the young Muslim wrestlers of that area and around the walled city. One day a Dsp Police, who was a Muslim, called on him and said that had he not seen what was happening around the city. ‘What the havoc wreaked by non-Muslims on the Muslims of the Lahore. There is fire all across the city. Why you are not taking interests in all these affairs. You must play some role in favor of Muslims.’ At that, Dadu Khan replied to that DSP that, ‘you do not need to worry about all that. Now it is our turn to do something. We will do Inshallah.’¹⁷ After that, he ordered all of his wrestler-boys from his locality and assigned them with different duties regarding arson and stabbing in different localities of the walled. According to Shaikh Rehmat Ali, an eyewitness close to that Pehelwan, after that the Shereanwala and Yakki Gate would became the no go areas for the non-Muslims for the rest of time.

All the political personalities who had played their above-discussed role were national politicians. They were not supposed to take part in such kind of affairs, which seems apparently personal and quite locality relevant. However, a close look at the connected framework around those incidents would reveal the compelling circumstances that led them to acquire space, both for the local requirement and the larger political interest. It is not to justifying those acts on the behalf of these political personalities. The argument here would tried to investigate that the role of the local notables-politicians had, rather their own political gains in the future course of time.

¹⁴Begum Salma Tassaduq Husain, *Aazadi ka safar* (Lahore: Pakistan Study Center, Punjab University, 1987),108.

¹⁵ Muslim National Guards in Lahore yesterday interfering where they should not do so. *TOP*, Vol. XII, 700-704.

¹⁶Interview with Aijaz-ud-din Rajput from Bazar Hakeeman, Koocha-e-Balian, Bhatti Gate, Lahore.

¹⁷Interview with Shaikh Rehmet Ali from Misri Shah, Lahore. 6 January 2015.

Many of those politicians had played, indeed very crucial role in the freedom movement. Their characters in the providing of the shelter and other facilities to the young boys from the majoritarian community would suggest it being quite supplementary. As their original role in the larger frame of freedom-movement had given them their primary identity.¹⁸ Many of the local criminals and activist from the various Mohallas of the walled city had and other adjacent areas had consented with the connivances of the different notables. With one major exception of Lal Jhandi, which was a dangerous and notorious gang of street criminals, thugs (Crooks) of walled city of Lahore. They were from the area between Bhatti Gate and Heera Mandi. That group formed of street criminals engaged in various types of social crimes including killings for the sake of loot and plunder. That group had independent functioning and not accepted the patron of any political party.¹⁹ However, during partition days they had changed their posture by becoming communal only in term of attacking their target. As at that time, they had looted only non-Muslims and had not affiliated themselves with any of the Muslim party. Those bandits used to hide in the trees in circular garden.

That exercise to exorcise non-Muslim was such massive that it had engulfed the whole of the city in short span of time in the days followed by the Shah Almi incident. Many of the Muslims, Parsees and Christian had started to mention at the doorstep that they were not Hindus or Sikhs. Specially in some sections of the Model Town, Muzang and Cantonment where those well of Christian and Parsee were living those days. Many Muslim residents of Lahore had also begun to paint green Islamic crescents on their gateposts to protect their houses from angry Muslim mobs. 'On Lawrence Road, a Parsee businessperson, member of a small religious sect unaffected by the communal frenzy, painted a message on his gatepost. Its words were an epitaph for Lahore has lost dream of goodwill. Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus are all brothers,' it read, 'but, O my Brothers, this house belongs to a Parsee.'²⁰ It shows the level of panic leading towards the complete purgation. Two staff reporters of the Hindustan Times were in the Lahore on 15 and 16 August. Describing the situation in Lahore on 15 and 16 August, the report said that the administration had disappeared and fully armed gangs had taken over the streets.²¹ The special correspondent of The Hindustan Times Punjab Newsletter reported that in the preceding ten days over 3,000 people had been killed in Lahore alone.²²

¹⁸A critical analysis of the autobiographies of those personalities would reveal that the parts where they have mentioned the role in the Lahore affairs were trivial and contain the marginal representing, not as an achievement but as a part of larger scenario.

¹⁹Ustad Bodi was leader of Lal Jhandi. Lal Jhandi was a dangerous and notorious gang of street criminals of walled city of Lahore. Rascals, smugglers, murderers, pickpockets, professional's goondas all were its members with their full activities. Their circle of activity held from Peshawar to Bombay and from Bombay to Kolkata. They also committed their crimes in trains. According to ustad Bodi, once British parliament was also paying attention to the activities of Lal Jhandi. See his book for detail, Agah Ashraf, *Aik Dil Hazar Dastan*.(Lahore: Aatish Fishan Publications Lahore, 1989),482.

²⁰Collins, Larry &Dominique Lapierre. *Freedom at Midnight; The Epic Drama Of India's Struggle For Independence* (London: Harper Collins, 1997),

²¹ Two staff reporters of the HT were in the Lahore on 15 and 16 August. Describing the situation in Lahore on 15 and 16 August, the report said that the administration had disappeared and fully armed gangs had taken over the streets. More than 100 people were killed on 15 August 20. The HT Punjab Newsletter reported that in the preceding ten days over 3,000 people had been killed in Lahore alone. Raghuvendra Tanwar, *Reporting the Partition of Punjab 1947* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2006), 342.

²² Ibid.

Search Operation in ‘Misri Shah’

Despite all the odds and gravity of the situation, authorities were still serious in many of the matters while doing their duties. Not only rigorous and merciless curfew was being imposed on Muslim Mohallas and Abadis without any warning and any previous provision for their food, sanitation, and drinking water, but large-scale arrests continue to be made of Muslims all over the city. Misri Shah Search operation was one such example in which a thorough operation was conducted to capture many of the criminals taking hides in that locality. Misri Shah was the biggest Muslim majority locality in Lahore around those times. On such an account, mention that it had the least numbers of non-Muslims in it. That Abadi comprised of lower-middle-class Muslims in the majority.²³ Misri Shah Abadi was a haven for those criminals who were involved in various violent acts. Usually, after committing any crime, they escaped into any pre-fix part of that Abadi. It was pre-arranged that where to hide after doing some acts. Along with many of the Misri Shah, youngsters were also doing such acts with the connivance of many of the local notables. There were certain secret cells where they used to collect relevant material, especially for the arson acts. The value, in respect of violence, the locality gained had started from the very beginning of the third sub-phase of the violence (studied in the previous chapter) but it had gained a far larger proportion during the post-Shah Almi Phase. In addition, in many cases the culprits were confirmed to be from Misri Shah.²⁴

On that strong pretext, produced by special police, authorities had decided to launch a comprehensive search operation in the locality. However, they were searching a reasonable immediate pretext to carry out their operation in Misri Shah. On 23 June a large gang had attacked a flour mill (of a Hindu owner) situated on the outskirts of the Misri Shah and tried to burn it after looting. Due to the timely arrival of the police, some of the looters were got killed and the arson act could not be able to burn the whole of the factory. Some persons were arrested when they were removing the looted foodstuffs in ox carts. However, the enormity of the act had revealed the dare extent, the criminals had gone. It was a first daylight assault by the crowd in Lahore during partition days since the end of the first phase (4-21 March). Authorities had imposed a 63-hour curfew on Misri Shah. The police and military cordoned off the locality and took into custody about 150 persons.²⁵ It was the first of several elaborate operations planned by the Police and the Army.²⁶

²³ As well off Muslims were used to live in certain quarters of walled city or some other places like Cantonment, Model Town, though in small numbers.

²⁴ The Misri Shah Search was the first of several elaborate operations planned by the Police and the Army. Misri Shah was a largely Muslim quarter, and its inhabitants had been responsible for many outrages in the adjacent localities. Special police had reported to the high authorities about the alleged individuals taking shelter in the Misri Shah. In many case the many of the culprits were confirmed to be from Misri Shah. On that strong pretext, produced by special police, authorities had decided to launch a comprehensive search operation in the locality. The method of search was to seal that area with troops and barbed wire and to put the Police in to make thorough search of every house. A long curfew was also imposed. Misri Shah Search in fact yielded most disappointing results. As for arrests, total for Greater Lahore from 25 June to 1400 hours 2nd July was 419 including 285 Muslims, 88 Hindus and 46 Sikhs.(IOR) R/3/1/90,*Punjab Situation-Jenkins to Mountbatten*. Governor House Lahore, July 3, 1947.

²⁵ CMG(Lahore) 24 June 1947.

²⁶(IOR) R/3/1/176, *Jenkins to Mountbatten*. Governor House Lahore, July 3, 1947.

All this is happening when it is well known that it is not the Muslims who are the aggressors. I do not doubt that it is not a secret for you that very high people among the Hindus and Sikhs are seriously involved in the conspiracy which had led to the orgy of bomb-throwing and bloodshed in Lahore. According to my information, there is proof that the recent raids on Rajgarh, and Sabzi Mandi in Lahore City were the result of premeditated and well-organized plans.²⁷

However, that search operation yielded the most disappointing results. Mamdot resigned from the Security Committee on the pretext of the search operation carried out in the locality of Misri Shah, which he considered as a peaceful and law-abiding Muslim locality. This search operation and counter condemnation by Muslim leaders shows the seriousness not in terms of its outcome, but in its being skeptical of possible involvement.

Conclusion:

When British India was passing through its final fate as a united country, minority communities in respected majority areas became victim of hostile and belligerent circumstances. Same situation was with the communal scene in the city of Lahore. Despite knowing the ultimate turn of the course, non-Muslims however showed resistance to sustain their existence in the city. They also tried to put together efforts for the Lahore to be a part of Indian Punjab. Muslims in Lahore had a clear edge in almost every matter of life except financial affairs. This kind of supremacy had lent them the superiority while retribution. In the article it was substantiated that the majority community could outnumbered the rivals when it comes to random street violence or organized acts of planned violence. We have not come across any strong evidence, which shows the planned nature of violence from the side of Muslims. On the other hand, we come across many such planned and organized acts, which were perpetrated by non-Muslims. However, despite all this differentiated, we see the clear-cut edge on the side of Muslims. Ultimately, non-Muslims had to evacuate the city sooner than later.

²⁷ 3rd July 1947, Mamdot resigned from Security Committee on the pretext of the search operation carried out in the locality of Misri Shah, which he considered as a peaceful and law-abiding Muslim locality. Not only rigorous and merciless curfew was being imposed on Muslim Mohallas and Abadis without any warning and without any previous provision for their food, sanitation, and drinking water, but large-scale arrests continue to be made of Muslims all over the city. All this is happening when it is well known that it is not the Muslims who are the aggressors. I have no doubt that it is not a secret for you that very high people among the Hindus and Sikhs are seriously involved in the conspiracy which had led to the orgy of bomb-throwing and bloodshed in Lahore. According to my information, there is proof that the recent raids on Rajgarh, and Sabzi Mandi in Lahore City were the result of premeditated and well-organized plans. (IOR) R/3/1/176, *Jenkins to Mountbatten*. Governor House Lahore, July 3, 1947.