KASHMIR SPEAKS

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Professor of English

All India Jat Heroes Memorial College Rohtak

with a

FOREWORD

by

SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH

Chief Minister

Jammu & Kashmir State

S CHAND & CO

Fountain — DELHI

LUZAC & CO

Russell Street — LONDON

1950

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KASHMIR SPEAKS

Part I

KASHMIR STORY

Part II

KASHMIR TRAGEDY

Part III

KASHMIR GLORY

TO THOSE WHO HAVE
SACRIFICED
IN
KASHMIR'S STRUGGLE
FOR
FREEDOM



Gandhiji

It was right on the part of the Union Government to rush troops, even a handful, to Srinagar The result was in the hands of God I would not shed a tear if the little Union Force is wiped out like Spartans, bravely defending Kashmir, nor will I mind Sheikh Abdullah and his Muslim Hindu and Sikh comrades, men and women dying at their post in the defence of Kashmir'



Panditji

The accession of the State to India is unconditional and complete

(May 1947)

Kashmir is part of India and no power on earth can separate it from India

(May 1947)

SAWAI MAN SINGH MEDICAL COLLEGE
LIBRARY.
JAIPUR

Beacon Light

"It is on the Kashmir Soil, that Islam and Hinduism are being weighed If both pull their weight correctly and in the same direction, the chief actors will cover themselves with glory

My sole hope and prayer is that Kashmir should become a Beacon Light to this benighted sub-continent"

29-12-1947 GANDHIJI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to express their thanks to—

Sher e Kashmir Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah Chief Minister Jammu and Kashmir State for his kind Foreword

Maulana Mohammad Saeed M P General Secretary All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference for his valuable suggestions

Shri Kashi Nath Bam ai for lending ome blocks

Shri Janki Nath Bakshi Ram Roop Vidya Mandir Delhi for reading the proofs and preparing the Index

Messrs S Chand and Co Delhi for undertaking the publication of the book

The Oxford and Cambridge Press Delhi for the obliging way in which the printing was carried out

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INTRODUCTION

We, the people of Kashmir are passing through a critical stage of our national existence Death and destruction is staring us in the face But progressive forces, of which Shiekh Abdullah is a living symbol are combating and fighting these forces of darkness Truth must prevail We have linked our fate with India India is Kashmir and Kashmir is India India has given her word and *pledge* of friendship to us But mere pledge is not enough Unless the people both of India and of Kashmir feel what this pledge means it is useless It must colour and transform our lives It must touch the inner most recesses of our hearts It must revitalize and invigorate us with a new and throbbing life Has it done so ? No not yet Why ?

People are not fully alive to the importance of the Kashmir issue—what it means and what it involves The war of liberation in Kashmir is India s war Danger to Kashmir is danger to India Kashmir's security is India s security It is not mere wrangle for possession of some territory It is an ideological war It is a war for fundamental principles fought against the two nation theory and over the principle of democracy Hence the need for educating the people on the importance of the Kashmir issue Facts are being distorted and mis interpreted either because of ignorance or to serve some selfish ends Mischief mongers are afoot arousing communal passions inflaming religious fanaticism among the illiterate masses Hence the necessity of creating a secular democratic atmosphere in the country so that Kashmir Muslims can move out freely without fear and do their business fearlessly The mobilisation of public opinion on the Kashmir-India issue is essential Diffusion of up to date information about various phases of Kashmir s past history its social economic political life becomes necessary All this will go towards the creation of that right psychological atmosphere in which the Indian and the Kashmir Muslim will feel as one

It is towards the creation of such an atmosphere secular and democratic that the authors have ventured forth to write the present book on Kashmir It is an itimate and a succinct study of Kashmir and its people in

their different aspects Efforts have been made to throw light on Kashmir s geographical social economic and poli tical situation and it has been shown that Kashmir is geographically an *Earthly Paradise* socially a land of *One Nation* economically a *Homeland of the Poor* and politi cally a vibrating spirit of true *Nationalism*

Kashmir s continued struggle for freedom under the veteran and dynamic leadership of Sheikh Abdullah the conditions obtaining previous to Kashmir s accession to the Indian Republic Pakistan s brutal and aggressive invasion on Kashmir the obj cts behind it and the destruction wro ught by it have been elaborately described

Kashmir is sitting on the brim of a volcano It has been pawned in power politics and its case before the U N O is still in the wrangle Cease fire was ordered in Kashmir to take effect from one minute before midnight of January 1 1949 Another year has passed by Cease fire and after is yet another record of failures to solve the Kashmir tangle What will follow nobody can foresee What next ? is mere speculation and conjecture The authors have nevertheless endeavoured to bring to light the difficulties and prospects of a would be plebiscite Will there be a lasting peace? We are just and we are sure to win So far justice has been delayed but has it been denied also?

Notwithstanding the impact of the Pakistan invasion the old worn out autocratic governmental machinery collapsed and was forced to make way for a new popular administration under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah He was appointed as the Head of the Administration in October 1947 Following an Interim Government was set up in March 1948 with Sheikh Abdullah as its Prime Minister

The world today wonders at the amazing fortitude of the Kashmiris in fighting the Pakistani marauders and cut throats The secret behind it has been explored to be *New Kashmir* Sheikh Abdullah s deadly fight against the invaders as well as the unmitigated helplessness and immemorial poverty of the people of Kashmir through the introduction of the economic programme and other ameliorative measures envisaged in the *New Kashmir* a socialistic blue print of the constitution for Kashmir by the National Conference has been dealt with at great length The achievements of the Abdullah

Ministry are therefore a stepping stone 'Towards New Kashmir" But paper constitutions mean little unless there are dynamic men to implement them Kashmir can boast of a number of such outstanding personalities who are out to implement 'New Kashmir They infact are the Architects of New Kashmir' Their life and political activities have been recorded at the end

The authors had to work under trying circusmstances where they could get no access to references and helping books *Tasvir-e-Kashmir* is the only book which has been referred to at every place The authors would be thankful for any suggestions for improvement

Delhi,
May 16 1950

AUTHORS


JAMMU & KASHMIR
STATE
INDIAN ARMY'S FORWARD LINE
TERRITORY ADMINISTERED BY J & K GOVERNMENT
PAKISTAN HELD TERRITORY
ROUTES OF ENEMY PENETRATION
FORWARD MOST POINTS OF ENEMYS PENETRATION
BATTLE FIELDS
CEASE-FIRE LINE
U S S R
AFGHANISTAN
ISHKUMAN
YASIN
HUNZA
GUPIS
NAGIR
GILGIT AGENCY
GILGIT
BUNJI
RONDU
CHILAS
ASTOR
SKARDU
KHAPALU
RATTU
BURZILPASS
MURGO
KARGIL
KOALSAR
MANSHERA
ABBOTABAD
KOHALA
CHAKOTI
MURREE
CAMPBELLPORE
R WALKOT
RAWALPINDI
PALANDRI
KOTLI
BARAMULA
SRINAGAR
PAMPUR
PAHLGAM
AVANTIPURA
ANANTNAG
SURU
LADAKH
LEH
MARTSELANG
ZANGLA
GYA
PADUM
RAJAURI
BANIHAL
KISHTWAR
BHIMBAR
MANGLA
JHELUM
PIASI
RACHOGRA
BHADARWAH
UDHAMPUR
RAMNAGAR
PAKISTAN
JAMMU
INDIA
SAMBA
CHAMBA
GUJRAT
SIALKOT
WAZIRABAD
KATHUA
KYELANG
MADHOPUR
BRAHMAUR
GUJRANWALA
PATHANKOT
DHARMSALA
PALAMPUR
KANGRA
NAGAR
GURDASPUR

PART I

KASHMIR STORY

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

The Jammu and Kashmir State which is generally known as the Kashmir State has been rightly described as the *brightest jewel in the Indian ring* because of its snow capped hills sweet and meandering streams reposeful lakes gorgeous gardens and luscious fruits It is one of the most beautiful pieces of land that the world can boast of It is the Switzerland of Asia Earthly Paradise Eden of the East the Sub Alpine region of Asia s Italy nay it is more It is a land in simplicity sublime' It is a land of Mystery The origin and the early history of Kashmir is shrouded up in mystery Tradition has it that once the fair valley of Kashmir was a big lake called the Satisar i e the lake of Sati (Durga) It was inhabited by many aborigines such as Pishachas Yakhshas and Nagas All these *different tribes of aborigines were headed by a demon* whose name was Jaldeo Kashyapa a great and pious ascetic had to invoke the pity and help of goddess Sharika by practising penance for a long time At last the goddess appeared in the form of a sparrow carrying a pebble in her beak which she threw upon the demon Jaldeo causing its death Thereafter the whole water was drained off The reclaimed land took its name from Kashyapa It was at first called Kashyap mar (Kashyapa s abode) and latterly Kashmir

The State commands the northern most frontiers of India It is of the utmost strategic importance This is why ever since the 15th of August it has been a big question mark on the Indian horizon The whole land is very nearly surrounded by the Himalayan range of mountains It has only one outlet in the north through Gilgit On the southern side it is connected with the rest of the world by two roads which lead to Pakistan A new road now connects it with the Indian Republic But for these three roads it would be completely isolated

11 Frontiers

The state is a connecting link for many great empires On the southern side of it is the East Punjab (Indian

Republic) and the West Punjab (Pakistan) on the western side of it is the North West Frontier Province (Pakistan) and Afghanistan on the Northern side of it i the high tablelands of Pamir including the Russian Turkistan and the Chinese Turki tan and on the eastern side of it stands the tableland of Tibet Thus the state is encircled on all sides by the mighty territories of Russia China India and Pakis tan and the Kingdoms of Tibet and Afghanistan

12 Area and Population

The Kashmir State is the biggest state in India with res pect to its area The area of the state is 84 471 sq miles which extends between 32 11 and 36 58 North Latitud and 73 26 and 80 3 East Longitude The length of the whole state from east to west is 350 miles and the breadth from north to south is about 275 miles But as the whole state i mountainous so it is thinly populated In the mountai nous barren forest tracts there is no inhabitation The total population of the tate in such a vast area is 40 21 616 Still with respect to population it is the fourth biggest state in India

13 Physical Features

From the point of view of physical features the state is divided into four regions

(1) The Southern Plains
(2) The Mountainous Region
(3) The Middle Tract of Himalayas
(4) The Far off Himalayan Region

The Southern Plains

This region is situated between the Punjab and the mountainous part of the State It has an altitude of 1 000 feet above the sea level River Ujha Tawi and Manawar Tawi flow through this patt The area of this region is 2 609 s j miles and includes th city of Jammu and the towns of Kuthua Jasmergarh Akhnoor and Bhimber The popula tion is 8 14 028 This is obviously the most thickly popula ted area of the State One fifth of the entire population of Kashmir lies in this portion which is 1/30th of the total area of the State

The Mountainous Region

This region is situated between the Plains and the southern ranges of the Himalayas known as the Pir Panchal This region extends from east to west along the high peaks of the mountains where nothing except rocks and forests are seen On the southern side of this region are the towns of Samba Ramnagar Udhampur Rajauri Naushehra and on the northern side there are the towns of Kishtwar Bhadarwah Kud, Batote Banihal Riasi Poonch Kotli and Mirpur The area of this region is 9 769 sq miles with a total population of 11 67,405

The Intermediary Region of the Himalayas

In this region the Himalayan ranges are distinctly scattered Some of the ranges are 15 000 feet high After crossing the southern ranges of Himalayas the beautiful valley of Kashmir comes into view This valley is the most fertile and thickly populated part of the State It extends to 84 miles in lengh and about 30 miles in breadth This part is real Kashmir The river Jhelum, the Kishan Ganga and the Sindh flow through this part The altitude of this place s 5 000 feet above the sea level The total area of this region is 8 539 sq miles with a population of 17 28 705

The Far off Himalayan Region

This region is situated between the Himalayan ranges of Karakoram and Hindukush It is roughly a Tibetan land This region is divided into two parts—Ladakh and Gilgit Ladakh is on the eastern side whose altitude above the sea level is between 10 000 ft and 20 000 ft Some parts are even higher than this level This whole region is very thinly populated It is generally barren and covered with snow The river Indus flows through this region The altitude of Gilgit is not higher than Ladakh This territory was leased to the Indian Government in 1935 because of its strategic importance It has a route which connects Kashmir rather India with Turkistan E F Knight remarks This is the place where the borders of three empires of Russia China and Tibet meet [1] It was returned to the Kashmir Government by the British on August 1 1947 when they left India and their supremecy over States was over The high peaks of Nanga Perbat and Kanchanchanga are in this part

1 Knight (E F) Where three empires meet

The area of this region is 63 354 sq miles with a population of 3 11 478 i e an average of 50 persons per sq mile

14 Divisions

For administrative purposes the state is divid d into three provinces —

The Jammu Province

It includes the Southern Plains and the Mountainous Region and has a total area of 12 378 sq miles with a population of 19 81 433

The Kashmir Province

It includes the Int rmediary Region and has an area of 8 539 sq miles with a population of 17 28 705

Gilgit and the Frontier Illaqas

This division includes the Far off Himalayan Region

15 Districts

The Jammu Province consists of the Districts of Jammu Kathua Udhampur Reasi and Mirpur and the Jagirs of Poonch and Chenani The Kashmir Province consists of the Districts of Anantnag Baramulla and Muzaffarabad The Frontier Illaqas consist of the districts of Ladakh Astore Gilgit and Gilgit Agency

16 Mountains

Kashmir is almost surrounded by high mountain ranges of the Himalayas These mountains have very lofty peaks Mount Godwin Austin is 28 250 feet Nanga Perbat is nearly 27 000 feet Haramosh is 24 270 feet Nunkun is 24 000 feet and Nubra (twin of Nunkun) is about the same height Mount Harmukh and Tattakutti are 16 000 feet and Mahadev is 15 000 feet and Apherwat is 14 500 feet

17 Passes

Zoji la pass is the lowest pass in the Himalayas and this pass leads over Sonamerg into Central Asia via Ladakh and Baltistan Umba la is another pass in Kashmir Bothot Margan Sinthan and Tragbal are other well known passes The famous Banihal pass (9 000 ft) joins the Kashmir Province with the rest of India

18 Mergs

'The Alps of Kashmir are as charming in their way as the well known Alps of Switzerland [1] The prettiest grassy meadow lands are numerous in Kashmir Nagmerg at the head of the Vular Lake Sonamerg (the golden meadow) at the mouth of Zoji-la pass Gulmerg (the rosy meadow) Khilanmerg and Toshamaidan are famous upland meadows

191 Climate

The climate of the whole State is invigorating Bernier, the French traveller visiting Kashmir in 1665 has remarked that he was reminded of his own mountains of Auvergue as he gradually mounted from the heat of the plains finding temperature and vegetation changing as he went The Jammu Province is very hot in summer but the Kashmir Valley has a temperate climate throughout this period The season remains pleasant and this is the reason why thousands of visitors long to visit Kashmir in summer every year But in spite of having a temperate climate in summer it witnesses a severe winter The Frontier Illaqas are very cold throughout the year The mountainous parts of Pir Panchal range also have very cold climate in winter

192 Rainfall

The Southern Plains and the Kashmir Valley have some rains but the Frontier Illaqas have very little The southern mountainous parts have very good rains In winter Kashmir Valley and the Mountainous Region witness snowfall The Frontier Illaqas have heavy snowfall and some parts of this region remain snow clad nearly throughout the year The average rainfall in Jammu Province is 45" and in the Kashmir Province is 32" Poonch and Reasi areas have an average annual rainfall of more than 60"

193 Valleys

The Pir Panchal mountain range divides the State into two provinces the Kashmir Province and the Jammu Province The Kashmir Province is better known as the

1 Bruce (C G) Peps into many lands—Kashmir

Vale of Kashmir This is the most beautiful part of the earth This valley is named by some as the Switzerland of the East But Sir Francis Younghusband remarks The valleys of Switzerland are like the side valleys of Kashmir

There are many side valleys in Kashmir The principal valleys among these are the Sindh the Lidar the Lolab and the Wardwan Of these valleys the Sindh Valley gives the most attractive scenery of Kashmir [1] Sir Francis Younghusband also admits it by saying The most striking of side valleys is undoubtedly the Sindh Valley

194 Hill Stations

The vale of Kashmir is surrounded on all sides by the lofty mountains and so there are certain hill stations mostly health resorts Among them Gulmerg Khilanmerg Toshamaidan Pahalgam Kokarnag Ganderbal and Sonamerg deserve special mention On the Jammu side Kishtwar Bhadarwah Batote Kud and Sansar are well known health resorts and hill stations All these hill stations attract thousands of people from plains every year

195 Rivers

The river Indus flows through the Frontier Illaqas and Gilgit having the tributaries the Gilgit the Astoreth Shayok and the Zanskar The river Jhelum the main artery of the great water system of Kashmir flows through the Kashmir Valley like a serpent with tributaries the Sindh and the Kishen Ganga The Lidar and the Wardwan also empty themselves into the Jhelum The river Chenab flows through the Mountainous region and the rivers—Ujha Tawi and Manawar Tawi flow through the Southern Plains

196 Lakes

There are a number of lakes in the State The Vular the Dal the Anchar the Manasbal and some of the high altitude lakes like Gangabal, the Shishnag the Tar Sar the Mar Sar the Konsarnag ar the biggest and the best known lakes In Ladakh there are a few lakes on the mountain tops of them the lake Pangog is a bottle necked

---

1 Sight (SF) With the empire met

big lake Some of these lakes including the Pangog lake have saltish water

197 Springs

There are numberless springs in the State All of them display very sweet cool and clear water Chashma Shahi Verinag Achabal and Kokernag are well known springs At the foot of Pir Panchal mountains there are some sulphur springs A few springs also change the colour of their water

198 Spring Waters

The water of the springs of Kashmir is useful for curing certain diseases

The water of Chashma Sahibi is well known for curing digestive diseases *The water of Achabal Spring is useful* for bladder kidney and stomach diseases The water of Konsarnag Spring helps in curing pleurisy and asthama The water of Bihama Spring has proved useful to tuberculosis patients *The water of sulphur springs when* used for a bath is very useful in curing skin diseases

1991 Flowers

Kashmir is a flowerbed Wherever you glance you find flowers Fragrance is here fragrance is there and fragrance is all around Wild rose rock rose honey suckle gasmine lilies narcissus crocus irises wall flowers tulips gentians, anemons pinks potentillas daisies poppies arches mallows marsh marigolds thyme mint brighteye speedwell buttercups deadnettle tom thumbs clover ferns geraniums and primulas are some of the attractive flowers *The beautiful Lotus flower appears just* like a carpet on the lakes when it spreads its rose and white petals

1992 Gardens

The abundance of flowers coupled with the pleasant climate and rich soil has given birth to many gardens Most of these gardens belong to the Mughal times Mrs C G Bruce states that in Kashmir 770 gardens have been built by the Mughals But out of them Chashma Shahi (*King's spring*) Nishat Bagh (pleasure *garden*) Shalimar Bagh (garden of love) Nasim Bagh (garden of bliss) and Achabal (good garden) deserve special mention

Most of these gardens are on the bank of the Dal Lak the greatest attraction to the lovers of Kashmir

1993 Ancient Monuments

Kashmir has be n a centre of learning and culture It wa one of the most civili ed land in the ancient world The land has a net work of historical and architectural monu ments Thus the place is full of archaeological interest Shankracharya Shah i Hamdan P ther Masjid Jama Mas jid Badshah mosque Pari Mahal Hari Perbat Fort Harwan Pandrethan temples at Avantipur Martand temples Man asbal gardens Pattan Parihaspura Wangat and Bumyar are of special historical interest

1994 Srinagar

Srinagar— the city of the Sun is the largest city of Kashmir It has a population of 2 08 000 people This city is the heart of the whole State E. F Knight writes Sri nagar is the Venice of Asia but according to Shooly Rahameem Srinagar is the city of the cities of India which is nearly the Venice and the Swit erland of the East This place is full of natural scenery calm and clear water shikaras dongas and house boats beautiful temples big mosques magnificient palaces large factories floating is lands s nging birds handsome people skilled artisans seven bridges and beautiful Lotuses making it the *queen of the beautiful v ell y* of Kashmir The area of the city proper is 6 sq miles and has at least 40 000 houses

1995 Jammu

Jammu— the city of temples —is the next big city of the State It is the winter capital and is connected with the city of Srinagar by a road leading through the Banihal Pass It was al o connecting the State with the rest of India by a railway line which now leads through Pakistan The new road connecting the State with the Indian Republic is via Jammu to Pathua This city has a hot climate in s mm mer but a tolerable climate in winter The population of the city is 0,379

1997 Kashmir—An Earthly Paradise

Kashmir is thus the most beautiful country on the surface of the earth Bernier the first European traveller

who visited this country in 1665 remarks "In truth the Kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warmest imagination had anticipated E F Knight also endorses this statement by saying This is the most beautiful country we have ever seen

Glorious Past

It was from the earliest times a seat of learning and culture as we find from the writings of the famous Chinese travellers Hieun Tsang and On-Kong who visited Kashmir and engaged themselves in studying Sanskrit The contribution of Kasmiris to the culture and philosophy of India both in Hindu and Mohammadan times has been immense People from many lands flocked to this place for learning and pilgrimage There can be no greater evidence of its greatness and glory than that given by the French traveller Bernier who says that the people are celebrated for wit and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians In poetry and science they are not inferior to the Persians and they are also very active and industrious There is prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture It is the terrestrial Paradise of the Indies The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and a highly cultivated garden Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage Meadows and vineyards fields of rice wheat hemp saffron and many sorts of vegetables among which are mingled trenches filled with water rivulets, canals and several small lakes vary the enchanting scene The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants and covered with our apples pears, plum apricot and walnut trees all bearing fruit in great abundance '

Natural Gifts

Kashmir it undoubtedly the treasure house of natural beauties It has got abundance of everything The high silvery peaks of its lofty mountains are seen holding conversation with the sky as if praising the beauty of Kashmir and keeping a guard over its frontiers Nature has tied the snowy turbans over these peaks as a mark of respect In this beautiful land anybody can find temperate and salubrious climate sparkling streams gorgeous springs calm and steepy lakes murmuring of myraid brooks tall trees

abundance of leaves thick forests sweet fruits fragrant flowers beautiful gardens green grassy velvet health re sorts the prettiest meadows swift gondolas snow clad sum mits singing birds and artistic beauty all craddled amidst the very loftiest range of mountains

Sir Francis Younghusband points out that each spot in Kashmir one is inclined to think is the most beautiful of all—perhaps because each in some particular excels the rest It has too great variety of natural scenery of field and forest of rugged mountain and op n valley [1]

1 Y gh sb nd (F c) K bm

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL SETTING

21 Population Distribution

According to the census of 1941 the total population of the State is 40 21 616 In other words almost every hundredth Indian (Pakistani included) is a Kashmiri The distribution of population according to the Provinces Districts and Tehsils is as under –

TABLE I

Province	*Total Population*
Jammu	19 81 433
Kashmir	17 28 705
Frontier Illaqas	3 11, 478

TABLE II

District	*Total Population*	*Tehsil*	*Population*
Jammu	4 31 362	(*a*) Jammu	1, 56 556
		(*b*) Kathua	96 521
		(*c*) Samba	89 464
		(*d*) Akhnoor	88 821
Kathua	1 77 672	(*a*) Basohli	70 624
		(*b*) Jasmergarh	59 670
		(*c*) Kathua	47 378
Udhampur	2 94 217	(*a*) Ramban	75 793
		(*b*) Kishtwar	60 893
		(*c*) Ramnagar	60 076
		(*d*) Udhampur	52 937
		(*e*) Bhadarwah	44 518
Reasi	2,57 903	(*a*) Rampur Rajauri	1 40 844
		(*b*) Reasi	1 17 059
Mirpur	3 86 655	(*a*) Bhimber	1 62 503
		(*b*) Mirpur	1 13 115
		(*c*) Kotli	1 11 037
Poonch (Jagir)	4, 21 828	(*a*) Haveli	1 10 733
		(*b*) Sudhnoti	1 08 300
		(*c*) Mendhar	1 01 704
		(*d*) Bagh	1 01 091

District	*Total Population*	*Tehsil*	*Population*
Chenani (Jagir)	11 796		
Baramulla	6 12 428	(a) Uttatmachipora (Handwara)	2 74 942
		(b) Paratapsinghpora (Badgam)	1 74 583
		(c) Baramulla	1 62 903
Anantnag	8 51 606	(a) Khas	3 33 881
		(b) Anantnag	2 03 827
		(c) Pulwama	1 56 526
Muzaffarabad	2 64 6 1	(a) Muzaffarabad	1 25 585
		(b) Uri	80 223
		(c) Karnah	58 863
Ladakh	1 95 282	(a) Kargil	52 853
		(b) Skardu	1 06 271
		(c) Ladakh	36 307
Astore	17 026		
Gilgit	2? 495		
Gilgit Agency	76 526	*Illaqa*	
		(a) Chilas	15 364
		(b) Hun a	15 341
		(c) Nagar	14 874
		(d) Yasin	9 989
		(e) Kuli Ghizar	8 512
		(f) Punial	8 164
		(g) Ishkoman	4 282

22 Communities

Out of the total population of 40 21 616 there are 31 01 247 Muslims 8 09 165 Hindus 65 903 Sikhs 40 696 Buddhists 3 079 Indian Christians 910 Jains 430 European and Anglo Indian Christians 29 Parsis 11 Jews and 146 Primitive tribes etc Thus Muslims form 77 11% of the total population Leaving the three districts of the Jammu Province popularly known as Dugar Land Muslims form the majority in both the provinces and the Frontier Illaqas Although the inhabitants of the State represent the main religions of the world yet they form a single block Their civilization culture and tradition has ever remained the same They are united in every sphere of their life

The distribution of communities in Provinces and Districts is as under —

TABLE I

Province	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs	Buadhists	Indian Christians	Muslim Percentage
Jammu	7 22 835 (11 31 22)	12 15 676	3 8 566	522	2 737	61 3%
Kashmir	85 580 (12)	16 15 478	27 034	10	207	93 1%
Frontier Illaqas	730	2 70 093	303	40 164	135	86 7%

TABLE II

District	Hindus	Muslims	Sikh	Buddhists	Indian Christians	Muslim Percentage
Jammu	2 18 173 (51 1.0)	1 70 789	9 151	2	2 262	39%
Kathua	1 31 823 (18849)	15 214 (31)	431		201	26%
Udhampur	1 64 820 (21 615)	1 28 327	415	520	89	43/
Reasi	80 725 (157 20)	1 75 539	1 511		96	67/
Mirpur	63 576 (3008)	3 10 880	12 111		86	80%
Poonch	24 137 (410)	3 82 722	14 887			90%
Chinani	9 581 (2 670)	2 550 (2 205)				19/
Baramulla	12 919 (7)	5 90 936 (39 524)	8 458	1	48	96/
Anantnag	66 815 (27)	7 78 694 (19 757)	5 654	9	119	91/
Muzaffarabad	5 846 (8)	2 15 858 (136)	12 922		40	92%
Ladakh	455	1 54 192 (1 24 975)	182	40 164	127	78%
Astore	113	16 878 (5 138)	30		4	99%
Gilgit	108	22 296 (11 274)	70		2	99/
Gilgit Agency	71	76 127	21		2	99%

NOTE —The figures in brackets in Hindu & Muslim columns represent Schedule Caste and Shias respectively

23 Race and Languages

Kashmiri belong to the pure Aryan race In the beginning the people of Kashmir were Brahmins a quite distinct race from the aboriginal tribes and immigrants As regards their origin it is certain that it was a colony of Aryan immigrants from Central Asia (Rajatarangini I 34) The Kashmiri Brahmins are quite high Aryan in th type of their features very fair and handsome with high chiselled features and no trace of intermixture of the blood of any lower race [1] Pocock is of opinion that the Kashmiri Brahmins were originally Greek or Persian settlers in the valley who were Brahamanised All the Mohammedans are converts from Hinduism There was large scale forcible conversion to Islam made by Zulqadir Khan *alias* Dalchu in 1314 A D Renchan Shah a Tiberan Prince and Sikander the Iconoclast excelled Dulchu in the zeal of converting people to Islam

Kashmiris speak 13 different languages The most well known languages are Dogri Kashmiri Pahari Chabali (Punjabi) Balti Dardi Urdu and Hindi The Dogri speaking people are found mainly along the right bank of the river Ravi upto Akhnoor This is the main language of the Jammu Province The people of Mirpur Poonch Rajauri Muzaffarabad Ramban Bhaderwah and Kishtwar are Paharis Generally all the people in the State except those in Frontier Illaqas speak Kashmiri But the home land of this language is Kashmir Dogri and Chabali are like the Punjabi All the people speaking the Tibetian Languages belong to the Turanian race Their language are Bhotia and Shina These languages are spoken in the Frontier Illaqas of Ladakh and Gilgit Shina is spoken in Gilgit and Astore Out of these languages Kashmiri Dogri Tibeti and Panjabi Languages can be written as well But Chabali Dardi and Pahari languages cannot be put down into writing Urdu is the main language rather the official languag of the State Hindi is known to Hindus only The old indigenous script of Kashmir is called Sharda which enjoyed reputation for over a thousand years

24 Ways of Living

Kashmiris belonging to the rich and the most beautiful land on the surface of the earth are very backward They

1 Campbell (Gazetteer) Ethnology of India

lead a simple life People belonging to mountainous parts are bold courageous and industrious They are totally ignorant and illiterate Most of the Dogras and Chips are employed in military services Gadi and Gujjar people have large flocks of sheep and goats They roam about on hill sides for pastures Dadi and Tibeti-speaking people are also brave and industrious They are labourers Most of the people of other parts are also labourers or wage-earners People belonging to the Vale of Kashmir are agriculturists Mostly they live in small huts

The standard of living is very low They are terribly poor and lead very miserable lives No doubt they are intelligent simple and industrious but acute poverty has ruined their lives and they are still sticking to the past and are quite ignorant about the new changes of life

25 Customs and Traditions

Kashmiris are very superstitious Generally a Kashmiri Hindu is more superstitious than a Muslim This force of superstition has given rise to many bad customs These customs and traditions due to the complete illiteracy and helpless ignorance of the poor Kashmiris have almost attained the force of law They are rigidly followed in performing different rites connected with birth marriage or death A man will go without meals will involve himself in debt make his condition miserable but will not break his customs and traditions

26 Occupations

Like India, Kashmir is mainly a rural country 93% of the people live in villages So cultivation is the chief occupation of the people Nearly 90% of the people are cultivators The other main occupation is cattle-breeding and wage earning People belonging to forest tracts or mountainous regions are also wood cutters Besides these occupations people generally attend to cottage industries In winter many of the peasants flock down to plains in search of labour They migrate in autumn and return in spring There are some people who are boatmen fishermen and traders A small number of the inhabitants are government employees People are intelligent and so they can adopt any profession Sir Francis Younghusband says A Kashmiri is an excellent cultivator and can weave a good woolen cloth, make good baskets

erect walls attend gardening build ropes make his own sandles and good bargain

27 Dress

Ka hmiris use a very simple dres The people of the Kashmir Valley wear a long sleeved gown called *Pheran* Kashmiri women also wear this kind of dre s Mrs Freda Bedi remarks that these Pharans are just devices invent ed by the exploiting and jealou male to disguise the beauty of the Kashmiri women[1] Now young generation of Hindus have begun to use dhotis and saries The women of the Jammu Province wear tight pyjamas and saries Burqua (Pardah) is not commonly used by the Muslims Kashmiri Hindu women wear a headdress called *Taranga* while their sisters—the Kashmiri Muslim women also wear compa ratively a simi ar headdress called *Kasaba* Both Taranga and Kasaba are covered by a cloth mostly muslin pinned at the top Wom n of the poorer classes of both commu nities use a grassy shoe called *Poolahore* People belonging to mountainous paris wear woollen shirts and pyjamas while the people in plains use shirts and dhotis The people of Frontier Illaqas wear long and thick woollen clothe generally a coat called *Choga* All the male folk of the state tie turbans except the poor and labour class people who wear only cap Kashmiris wear different dresses – both cotton and woollen Silk is also often used During winter the people belonging to the Vale of Kashmir and mountainous parts wear good woollen clothes They us blankets But in order to protect themselves from the severe cold of winter when every liquid substance free es they use *Kangri* a wicker covered earthenware shaped lik a small round bask t Into this they put charcoal or hot embers and they place it under their long garments – *Pheran* or blankets Some of them get even burns due to its excessive use

28 Diet

The staple diet of Kashmiris belonging to the Kashmir Province is rice and the common vegetable taken through out the year both in the morning ar d in the evening is *Sag* This kind of diet is taken by the rich and the poor alike People belonging to the Jammu Province take

1 Quot d n Ub (S N)
Ka hm Ede f the E

wheat and *dal* Paharis take maize Other foodstuffs taken as a diet are barley millet and waternuts—ground into flour People are generally non-vegetarian They taste mutton hen and duck Vegetables are very cheap and are obtainable in abundance Milk eggs and fruits are also tasted on special occasions Mrs C G Bruce writes 'No better natural food stores exist than in Kashmir But they are perfectly devoted to the fragrant cup of tea They can forego their meals but cannot remain without a cup of tea A steaming metalled pot with a furnace in the centre, called *Samawar* is always at work Village folk generally take saltish tea two times a day while the tea prepared with sugar is taken on festive occasions only

291 Women

The Kashmiri woman is an eve in the Asiatic Eden [1] She is undoubtedly a very beautiful and charming specimen of the delicate feminity of the world called a primal creature of her Garden of Eden The eyes of a beautiful Kashmiri woman have such an urgency mingled with pathos that you look into them as you would look into spring waters wondering She has an English rosiness of complexion behind the eastern tan [3]

Kashmiri women are cultured ladies They generally remain in their homes They are good wives and true mothers They are great homekeepers and are devoted to their husbands and large families The wife is by no means a drudge or chattel but the equal of her husband [4] Their deplorable ignorance is responsible for making them staunch believers in old customs and traditions They won't care for anything even for their own lives or for their family, in blindly following them A peasant woman is always at work with her husband in the field

Sir Francis Younghusband remarks Kashmir is very generally renowned for the beauty of its women He then points out that a visitor will often see strikingly handsome women with clear cut features large dark eyes with marked eye brows and general Jewish appearance Col

1 Dhar (S N) Kashmir—Eden of the East
2 Milne (James) The roads to Kashmir
3 Ibid
4 Bruce (C G) Kashmir

Dow calls them enchantingly beautiful They in other words are the *fairies* of the Earthly Paradise—Kashmir

292 Character

It is difficult to give a people s character Only general national and racial traits of a people s character can be enumerated Kashmiris l ad a life of ease and comfort Probably the luxuriant atmosphere which surrounds them makes for such a life Physically they are well built Generally they are tall statured and fair complexioned The Kashmiri Brahmins e pecially are quite high Aryan in the type of their features—very fair and handsome with high chisselled features [1] They possess a high nose which is slightly aquiline Kashmiris are known for their spirit of hospitality and friendliness All of them are more or less law abiding and peace loving Patience r signation and rectitude characterise him in his behaviour Contentment is a dominating trait He is religious and moral God plays much part in his every day ordinary life and dealings He is kind and benevolent to his family and his elders Filial affection and pity has somewhat softened his character Intellectual brilliancy keenness of perception clarity of mind quick wit and superb artistic feeling make him what he is

Kashmiris bo h Hindu and Muslims have played an outstanding part in the whole of India though they were small in numbers In public life professions services in the states in cultural activities they have done remarkably well w thout the least help or protection from any body Many of the Muslim Kashmiris are not known as Kashmiris and so people do not appreciate this fact Kashmiri Pandits are more recognised in India as Kashmiris They have don astonishingly well although in numbers they are probably under five thousand outside Kashmir During the 55 years of the life of the Indian National Congress for seven years Kashmiri Pandits has been President—a remarkabl record for a handful of the people who had migrated from Kashmir to the plains below' [2] In physical and moral courage he is inferior to none He is alive to danger He can face danger boldly and courageously even to death We have only to turn ouer eyes and see

1 C mpbell (G ge) Ethn l g f lnd
2 N hru (J w h Lal) A sp ch d l ered f om the Yu ak Sabh Platf m S nag r n 1939

how bravely and fearlessly he has been fighting the Pakistani raiders to defend his holy-land He cares more for his honour and respect than for his dear life None has been able to tame him to obedience In spite of the splendid Moghuls brute Pathans bullying Sikhs and rude Dogras the Kashmiris ever remained the same [1] It is the tenancity the adaptability and elasticity of his character that has enabled a Kashmiri to survive the brutal atrocities and merciless persecutions of the ages gone by He has stood firm like a rock With all he is lethargic and stay-at home To him East or West home is best He sticks to his age worn traditions and customs with a tenacity which is surprising

293 Education

Kashmir—'the sweetheart of the world—has been a centre of learning and culture in the ancient times Even during the Budhist period the whole land was under the sway of learned Brahmins whose fame for Sanskrit learning and literature had even extended beyond India to China Java and Japan Hiuen Tsang who visited Kashmir in 121 A D remarks People are beautiful They are learned and well instructed Albaruni who lived in the eleventh century writes Benaras and Kashmir are the great seats of Hindu Science It is Kashmir which has produced greatest historians poets and philosophers

But during the mediaeval period Kashmir knew no appreciable increase in her literacy owing to internecine wars general unrest and non-stability of the governments There was no security of life and property Hence it became a hotbed of illiteracy and ignorance In spite of some efforts of the Dogra rulers the lot of Kashmiris has remained the same The literacy of the State has been raised to 6 9% only Of this the males are 11 1% and the females 2 2 %

The Literate Community

Throughout the State only the *Kashmiri Pandits* are nearly cent per cent literate In spite of the hardships calamities poverty and acute fanaticism of non Hindu rulers this small community of 76 868 only never gave up their education They learnt even Persian more than

1 Young husband (Francis) Kashmir

the Muslims Kashmiri Pandits are well known over India for their acuteness and subtlety of mind their intelli gence and quickwittedness [1] Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru writes The Hindus of Kashmir proper chiefly Kashmiri Pandits though only about 5% are an essential and integral part of the country and many of their families have played a prominent part in Kashmir s history for a thous and years or more Even to day they play a significant part in the State services and administration Ess ntially these Kashmiri Pandits form the middle class intelligentsia Intellectually they compare very favourably with any similar group in India They do well in examinations and in professions A handful of them who migrated south to other parts of Northern India during the last two hundred years or so have played an important part in public life and in the professions and services in India out of all proportion to their small numbers

This small community alone can lead Kashmir to its past glory Even the great leader of the Kashmiris and the undisputed leader of the Indian States—Sheikh Mohd Abdullah remarked in his historic speech on 30th September 1947

Kashmiri Pandits are a cent per cent literate commu nity It is their duty to impart education to the ignorant and illiterate masses of Kashmir They should become the light house in order to show them the path to prosperity

Educational Position

The educational position of the State (Excluding Gilgit) is as under —

TABLE I (Communities)

Religion	*No of people*	*Literates*	*Illiterates*	*Percentage of literacy*	*Percentag of Illiteracy*
Muslims	26 15 491	1 10 692	25 04 799	4	96
Hindus	7 08 954	1 06 877	6 02 077	15	85
Sikhs	55 815	17 765	38 050	32	68
Buddhists	37 153	1 920	35 233	5	95
Scheduled Castes	1 33 498	2 036	31 462	1.5	98 5

1 You ghu b d (F enc s) Kashm r

TABLE II (Divisions)

	1921		1931		1941	
	Literates	*Illiterates*	*Literates*	*Illiterates*	*Lit*	*Illiterates*
Whole State	26	974	41	959	70	930
Jammu Provice	27	973	49	951	74	926
Kashmir Province	26	974	35	965	70	930
Frontier Illaqas (excluding Gilgit)	19	981	25	975	31	969

TABLE III (General)

Year	*Educational Institutions*	*No of scholars*	*Expenditure*
1925	207	44 601	Rs 10 75 000
1944	1 999	1 40 086	Rs 26 24 500
1945	2 078	1 27 245	Rs 34 22 000
1946	2 158	1 34 457	Rs 36 80 000

295 Kashmir—Land of one Nation

Kashmir is one land inhabited by one people Despite the different and diverse races cut off from each other by high mountain passes Kashmiris have got a common culture Their customs habits and traditions are one They are all the heirs of an ancient civilization They have absorbed the foreign elements together and have faced boldly the cultural onslaughts by the tyrant rulers—Chaks Pathans, Mughals and Sikhs

Kashmir has witnessed many invasions even from very ancient times In spite of some cruel fierce and fanatic rulers no ruler has succeeded in sowing the seeds of communal hatred among the people They are nationalists in the true sense They hate communalism They are simple and God fearing and believe in religious toleration and brother hood They believe in one nation and consider Kashmir as their sacred homeland Sheikh Abdullah addressing a gathering of fifty thousand people on October 9 1947 said As the inhabitants of the State we are one Many of the Muslims trace their descents from Pandits Our generation was born here Our blood is one and Kashmiris form *one nation*

Kashmiris love each other help each other and protect each other There exists no untouchablity between the two religious communities Often they work together and never envy each other In short their lot is moulded together and so they live peacefully [1]

In spite of bitter communal hatred that spread through out the length and breadth of India after the birth of Pakistan on the basis of two nation theory the Kashmiris have remained unmoved They have totally refuted this vague theory by standing united in the most critical hour of their peril—at the time of Pakistan invasion They have challanged the originator and the believers of this theory by declaring their accession to the Indian Union Their beloved leader Sher e Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah has declared once for all before a large gathering of one lakh Kashmiris on September 30 1947 at Ha uri Bagh Srinagar

I never believed in the two nation theory Neither I am a believer at present nor I can ever believe it in future I have always believed that Hindus Muslims and Sikhs are one We are all Hindustanis and Hindustan is the land of us all I have unflinching faith in this truth I have regarded the partition of the country as poisonous for all On November 24 1947 Sheikh Sahib again remarked I regard those Muslims as traitors who want to establi h Islamic rule in this State but those Hindus who want to have Hindu rule are likewise the enemies of the ruler and the State He and all the 40 lakh Kashmiris have given a lead to the rest of India in nationa lism and religious toleration

1 Gw b Lal A short h t ry of K hm

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC POSITION

Kashmir is a rich country inhabited by poor The enormous mineral wealth of the country remains unworked Industries are few Much has not been done to encourage and improve the arts and industries of the country The first and foremost industry throughout the State agriculture needs tremendous improvement—use of up to-date agricultural tools and implements The lot of the ordinary peasant requires speedy betterment Systematic development of country s resources and the organisation of a trained industrial population is the need of the hour Shiekh Abdullah s Government is not oblivious to all this It has already done something towards the amelioration of an ordinary peasant s lot Jagirdari has been abolished and the zamindar's share has been reduced only to one-fourth of the produce from the land All this augurs well for the people

31 Products

As already described the whole State is mountainous and so there is very little cultivable land Only the soils of the Kashmir Valley and the plains are suitable for growing crops This small portion of cultivable land has resulted in the shortage of food stuffs Rice wheat maize barley millet pulses oilseeds opium saffron cotton tobacco mustard hops rape flax amaranth and sesame are well known products of the State Besides these the State possesses a large number of mulberry trees and good pastures So silk and wool (Puttoo) are also the chief products of the State

32 Fruits

Mrs C G Bruce writes 'The fruit of Kashmir is a great boon to Northern India as well as to itself' The State has abundance of fruits and fruit trees but as the people are too poor to buy them even at cheap rates so these fruits are being enjoyed by the outsiders generally the visitors who visit Kashmir Kashmir is famous throughout the world for apples Besides them the State has a

large number of pears quinces almonds peaches walnuts waternuts (Singhara) grapes plums currants apricots cherries mulberries pomegranates gooseberries and strawberries

33 Minerals

The State possesses rich deposits of minerals but only a very small quantity is excavated Coal iron bauxite sapphires peat sulphur and limestone exist in large quantities Gold washings are found in Ladakh from the Indus and its tributaries

34 Forests

Kashmir is rich in forests as well These forests are a very valuable possession to the State The State derives various economic benefits from these forests Terpentine resin gum and lack is produced from certain trees There is a kind of a forest plant called Kuth which is used for the manufacture of colours Some forest plants are of great use in the preparation of drugs and medicines And on the whole the silk the sports the paper industries and the match factory owe their existence largely to forests

35 Animals

In the forests and on the mountain slopes of the State there are tigers ibexes markhors grooal bears pigs marmots leopards wolves red bears wild dogs foxes rabbits deer and monkeys Cow bulls buffaloe horses donkeys dogs sheep and goats are domestic animals The rivers and lakes are full of fishes A special kind of fish called Trout is also found in Kashmir People also keep hens duck and geese in large number

36 Birds

It is but natural that in such abundance of vegetation fruits and trees and in such a good scenery and a good climate there will be a large number of birds Kashmir enjoys the presence of all kinds of birds the chief among them being golden oricles wagtails king fishers herons water robins bulbul red starts huntings wren warblers thrushes greytits paradise fly catchers pigeons doves shrikes sparrows eagles and crows

37 Industries

Shooly Rahameem writes Just imagine that a good number of people who have gone to Kashmir for trade purposes they say in pride that their carpets or dining cloth or silk or embroidery etc are all Made in Kashmir because as you know Kashmir is famous all over the world for crafts and Industries' [1]

Industries play an important role in the economic life of the State The workers of these industries are skilled and efficient craftsmen They are well known throughout the world for their artistic skill Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru writes India has long been famous for her artisans and craftsmen but China seemed to me to be definitely superior in this respect In Kashmir I had the feeling that here was something which could equal China How beautiful are the articles made by the deft fingers of Kashmiri workers ! To look at them is a pleasure and to handle them a delight

Kashmir is not an industrialised country though it could become one It has enough of everything for the localization of industries No doubt it has a few big industries But the rest of the industries are either in in fancy or in cottage form Among the large industries the silk industry takes the pioneer place The state has in Srinagar the largest silk factory in the world The other important industries are the woollen industry (including Puttoo and blankets) the leather industry cotton factories honey purifying factories woollen stockings and sweater making factories sports and furniture factories, butter producing factories and a match factory

38 Arts and Crafts

What Kashmir is principally known for to the outside world is its shawls This is the most ancient industry of Kashmir The design of its art and craftsmanship is remarkable throughout the world The chief arts and crafts of Kashmir are the shawls carpets, embroidery gabah numda papier-mache wood carving gold and silver work copper work wood-work willow work hand made paper and toy making

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1 Rahameem (shooly) Harmet India.

391 Source of Power

It is necessary for a country to have cheap power if it wants to become industrialised The other sources of power—steam or petrol are not of such great advantage The State has two hydro electric generating power hous s both in the Kashmir and the Jammu Province A new hyd ro electric generating power hous is under construction in the Kashmir Province The enormous water sources of the country if tapped will bring prosperity to the country

392 Means of Communications

Kashmir has no railways so the means of transport is bus service A railway line connected Jammu with the west Punjab and its length in the State territory was only 16 miles To connect the State with the East Punjab a new road has been built via Kathua It connects the Banihal road with Pathankote and was opened on July 7 1948 In the Kashmir Valley boats are used for transport purposes in the river Jhelum the Dal the Vular the Anchar and the Manasbal lakes In some mountianous parts there are only foot paths There is a big aerodrome at Srinagar At Jammu and Poonch separate aerodromes have recently been opened

There are Post and Telegraph offices at various places in the State They are now functioning in co operation with the Communications Department of the India Govern ment Two Broadcasting stations have also been esta blished at Jammu and Srinagar

393 Trade

Absence of railways and the difficult means of commu nication and transport have hindered the trade of the State Anything that is exported or imported is carried in lorries Only the logs cut from forests are floated down the rivers As the economic sources of the State are undeve loped so the State is industrially backward This makes her to depend largely on imported goods

Imports Cotton manufacture woollen manufacture silk manufacture glass manufacture salt sugar tea petrolium corn (wheat and rice) tobacco drugs and medi cine hardware electric goods turmeric machines station ary and luxury goods are some of the important imports of Kashmir

Exports Fruits raw silk wool vegetables raw leather pulses kuth ghee shawls carpets papier machie, wood carving saffron z ra are the main exports

394 Tourist Industry

The scenery and beauty of Kashmir attracts thousands of visitors every year These visitors go there not only to protect themselves from the heat of summer but also to enjoy the salubrious climate natural beauty and gifted scenery The ancient monuments Mughal gardens health resorts hill sta ions thick forests snow capped mountains flowing streams murmuring brooks calm and clear lakes life in House boats trip in Shikaras hiking and ski ing fragrant flowers and abundance of fruits make Kashmir the favourite of numberless visitors

Quite a large number of people earn their livelihood because of these visitors Some people act as boatmen some as cooks some as chowkidars some as coolies and some as guides Some of them provide horses and ponies to visitors on hire for riding purposes while others offer them tongas cars boats—Shikaras and House boats for their conveyance Still a large number of them make a sale of Kashmir products arts and crafts including A few of the inhabitants run l otels for their boarding and lodging. The tourist industry of the country needs encouragement and improvement

In order to facilitate the buying of the visitors and to encourage the arts and crafts of Kashmir an industrial and agricultural exhibition is held by the State Government annually in the month of August and September at Srinagar Here Kashmir products of indegenous arts and craftsmanship for which Kashmir is famous throughoutt he world are displayed The State participated in the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 where it earned the title of the gem of the smaller courts

395 Visitors Bureau

Thousands of visitors visit Kashmir every year and so for the convenience of these visitors many tourists agencies have come into existence The State itself maintains a visitor s Bureau at Srinagar and other places

397 Kashmir—Homeland of the poor

Kashmir is known for its poverty In this respect Pt Jawahar Lal Nehru writes Wages are low and the contrast between the loveliness of the work done and the wages paid for this skill shames one Kashmir even more than the rest of India is a land of contrasts In this land overladden with natural beauty and rich nature s gifts *stark poverty* reigns and humanity is con tinually struggling for the barest of subsi tences The men and women of Kashmir are good to look at and plea sant to talk to They are intelligent and clever with their hands They have a rich country to live in Why then should they be so terribly poor ?

Again and again as I was wrapped in pleasurable contemplation of Kashmir s beauty I came back to hard earth with a shock when I saw this appalling poverty Why should these peopl remain so miserably poor I wondered when nature has so abundantly endowed them The existing resources are enough to raise the standard of living considerably provided of course that they are properly co ordinated and utilized at a planned and ordered basis Cheap power is available and many small and big industries can be started The field for the development of cottage industries and handicrafts is enormous Then there is the tourist traffic for which Kashmir is an ideal country It can well become the play ground not only of India but of Asia

The people s organisation the National Conference has pledged itself to wipe out this stark poverty from the face of the country by implementing an all round coordi nated economic plan It stands for Kisan Majdoor Raj It has already moved in this direction by abolishing Jagir dari and amindari Land to the tiller is what it aims at

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL SITUATION

The Political changes in Kashmir have been enormous Though protected by Nature with lofty mountains on all sides it has been trampled under foot times without number by voluptuous and greedy invaders Tatars Huns Indo Scythians Chaks Mughals Pathans Sikhs have overrun the country one after the other Beauty of the land has been more to its detriment than to its advantage Wars of succession court intrigues suicides and interne cine warfare are a series of the most tragic tales

41 Ancient Kashmir

Kashmir has witnessed a glaxay of kings from the most generous to the most cruel The early history of Kashmir is shrouded in mystry It dates back to 5 000 years before Christ

Of this hoary antiquity we have no extant records except a long list of kings a few place names and ruins of temples left ravaged by the onslaught of reckless and merciless time and ruthless wind and rain For about six hundred and thirty three years Dayakaran and his fifty five successors are said to have ruled Kashmir Somadatta was the last of the line He was followed by Gonanda I Damodra I succeeded him Kings after kings came to the throne of Kashmir Nothing unusual happened till Asoka conquered Kashmir in about 250 B C Buddhist culture spread throughout the land But still Buddhism could not attract great numbers to its fold because of the sway of the learned Brahmins over the populace Kashmir at this period of history had acquired great fame and name as a famous seat of Sanskrit learning and scholarship Asoka was succeeded by his son Jaluka in about 220 B C Damodra II succeeded him Supreme peace reigned in the land during this period But alas! very few traces are to be found at this time of Buddhist culture in the country Buddhism disappeared from Kashmir by about 638 A D after a long stay of nine long centuries It made many admirers but few adherents The Bhuddhist monarchs were great builders and architects They built huge gig-

antic and massive stone temples and palaces traces of some of which are still to be found

Kashmir knew no peace for the next three centuries Short reigns court intrigues murders disorder and suicides were the order of the day Chaos reigned supreme Oppression and persecution loomed large Islam made its way into Kashmir in the beginning of the 14th century It was characterised by tyrannical oppression and merci less pers cution which cul minated in Sikandar the Iconoc last Kashmir heaved a sigh of relief under Zain ul Abidin an enlightened Muslim monarch who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1423 A D Plenty and prosperity once again showed their face Order was evolved out of chaos Tyranny and persecution were changed exactly into their opposites Zain ul Abidin may rightly be pro claimed the Akbar of Kashmir He like Akbar encouraged literature painting and music and caused many translations to be made of works composed in Sanskrit Arabic and other langu ages He was probably sent by Providence in the hour of country s troubles to reconduct it along peaceful and pros perous path

After Zain ul Abidin gloom and darkness again un veiled itself The Chak rule in Kashmir commenced in 1554 A D This dynasty consisting of seven rulers reigned up to 1 88 A D Internecine wars were a special feature of the period

With the comings of the Mughals Kashmir witnessed another era of peace and prosperity Their rule lasted up to 1753 A D The Mughals were great lovers of country s arts and crafts The beauty of Kashmir the evergreen land enchanted and captivated their hearts It was during this period that a numb r of beautiful pleasure gardens like Nishat Shalimar Chashma Shahi Naseem Bagh Achabal were built and constructed They very much contributed to the material prosperity of the country

The Pathan rule which commenced from 1753 A D brought misery and destruction in its wake It was the period of *brutal tyranny* The whole period was period of tyranny and anarchy It is rightly considered the dark est period of Kashmir s history

At last the people of Kashmir tired of this misrule invited the famous Sikh chieften Maharaja Ranjit Singh to

Kashmir A decisive battle was fought in 1819 A D between the Sikhs and the Pathans The Pathans were routed But the Sikhs lost Kashmir to the British as a result of the First Sikh War

42 Treaty of Amritsar

The territory of Kashmir was transferred and made over to Maharaja Gulab Singh by the British Government according to the Treaty of Amritsar 16th March 1846 comprising of ten articles According to the Treaty the British Government transferred and made over for ever in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly and mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article four of the Treaty of Lahore dated 9th March 1846 (Article 1)

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of 75 lakh of Rupees 50 lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty and 25 lakhs on or before the 1st October 1846 (Article 3)

It will be of interest to know that this Treaty was challenged by Sheikh Abdullah the undisputed leader of Kashmir exactly hundred years after i e May 1946, in the Quit Kashmir slogan Terming it a *sale deed* he said that the acquisition of sovereignty by Maharaja Gulab Singh over Kashmir through purchase in total disregard to the existance and wishes of the people of Kashmir was invalid both in fact and law We may say that his claim has been justified by what has happened in Kashmir in the recent past

43 Modern Kashmir

The modern Kashmir dates back from 1846 when the British power extended over the Punjab During this period the State made little progress in various spheres Under the hundred years of Dogra rule Kashmir did not witness any invader But in 1947 Kashmir witnessed a

severe invasion by the Pakistani raiders There was loot plunder abduction of women on a scale unknown in the history of Kashmir But thanks to the Indian Army which rushed to the aid of Kashmir and saved the fair valley from spoilation by the raiders the country would have become a heap of ruins

Maharaja Gulab Singh the first Maharaja and the founder of the Dogra rule united the territory and founded the modern State of Jammu and Kashmir At the time of his accession the land was in a devastated condition under different Rajas each in some measure independent He annexed the territories of Kishtwar Chenani Poonch Ladakh Gilgit and Chilas He was succeeded by Maharaja Ranbir Singh and Maharaja Partap Singh No marked political change occured in their reigns

Maharaja Hari Singh the present ruler ascended the throne in 1925 Political awakening and consciousness was coming into the hearts of the p ople The political condi tion of the State underwent a radical change He tried to elevate the depressed condition of the masses but he could not achieve much because the people at large had no hand in the day to day administration of the State They were neglected and ignored

44 Constitutional Changes

The State is a Muslim majority Province ruled by a Hindu Maharaja The Hindus who only form an insignifi cant minority being educated got all the loaves and fishes of the State Economically and materially they were better off than the Muslims who were grinding under revolting poverty wide spread illiteracy and exploitation Encour agement was denied to them Those who were educated were in no way better off than their less fortunate breth ren The educated few struggled hard for State jobs but generally were repulsed How long could this unhappy tate of affairs last ! It culminated in the great rising of 1931 Though communal and religious in character it proved to be the starting point of the great political awak ening in the country It made people politically alive and roused them from their age long slumber of lethargy and inactivity It inspired people with bright hopes and fired them with enthusiasm Political development of the coun try was expedited Political partie came into existance

The force behind all this was Sheikh Mohd Abdullah It was given to him to light the torch of democracy in the State

Glancy Commission

After the riots had occured towards the end of the summer of 1931 a Commission was set up by His Highness Government in November of the same year to enquire into the grievances and complaints of the people which the various classes of people in the State alleged they were suffering under and which the Muslim masses had made the occasion of the agitation The Commission known as Glancy Commission (because of its President Mr B J Glancy) submitted its recommendations in March 1932 All the recommendations were accepted by the His Highness Government in toto Besides the establishment of a Legislative Assembly some of the important recommendations of the Commision and the Constitutional Conference which were implemented wholly or in part subsequently were - (i) Full religious liberty (ii) Non-interference into the Law of Inheritance (iii) Restoration of religious places (iv) Educational development (v) Adequate representation of different communities in services (vi) Proprietory rights in respect of lands (vii) Protection of agricultural rights (viii) Suppression of corruption (ix) Amendment of Press Regulation etc etc

Praja Sabha

Franchise Committee formed in May 1932, submitted its report on January 1934 Legislative Assembly (popularly known as the Praja Sabha) came into being on October 17 1934 with a total membership of 75—42 nominated and 33 elected Out of 33 elected members 21 were Muslims 10 Hindus and 2 Sikhs and out of nominated members 12 were State officials 14 non officials and 16 State Advisors In February 1939 the number of nominated members was reduced by 7 making the strength of elected members 40 Besides the Deputy President of the Praja Sabha was elected from among the elected members by majority vote So far the Praja Sabha has passed some 100 bills which have becomes Acts after receiving the assent of the Maharaja of Kashmir

Popular Ministers

In April 1944, ten years after the establishment of the

Parja Sabha Maharaja nominated two popular Ministers, out of a panel of six members of the Praja Sahba It was only a half measure as it was a sort of dyarchy The experiment failed when one of the popular Ministers resigned under protest for undue intervention and high handedness on the part of the Prime Minister

Emergency Administration

Notwithstanding the impact of the Pakistan invasion the old worn out autocratic governmental machinery collapsed and was forced to make way for a new popular administration under the leadership of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah Accordingly the new Emergency Government with Sheikh Abdullah as the Head of the Administration was set up on October 30 1947

Responsible Government

Sensing the need of the hour the Maharaja in a proclamation dated March 5 1948 announcing Responsible Government in the State invited Sheikh Adbullah leader of the largest political party to form Interim Government Accordingly Sheikh Abdullah was sworn in as the Prime Minister Soon after he formed the first National Cabinet

45 Political Parties

(1) The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference
(2) The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference
(3) The All State s Kashmiri Pandits Political Conference (Yuvak Sabha)
(4) The Guru Singh Sabha
(5) The Rajya Sabha
(6) The Praja Parishad

451 The National Conference

After the Movement of 1931 the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was started by the Muslims in October 1932 The primary aim and object of the Muslim Conference was to fight for the rights of the Muslims perfectly on the communal basis Though communal in origin and character it remained national in essence Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah the force behind this organi

zation, said in his first presidential address of the Muslim Conference —

We stand for the rights of all communities Our country s progress is impossible so long as we do not establish amicable relations between the different communities This is possible only when each community learns to appreciate the view point of other communities

Next year presenting the view-point of the Muslim Confrence, at its annual session Mirpur he observed —

The achievement of the Muslim Conference so far have benefitted all communities equally The freedom of the Press and platform and other concessions have not been wrested from any particular community but from the unwilling hands of the Durbar itself and have been distributed equally among all

Since 1935 onwards he began devoting his energies to the changing of the sectarian character of the Muslim Conference In an interview to a Press representative at Lahore in 1935 he stated —

I am determined to purge my country of the bane of communalism, whatever be the obstacles in my way

In May 1936, the Muslim Conference adopted the resolution of responsible government as its goal

In the context of growing sentiment of nationalism and the rising position of the Indian National Congress it became inevitable for the Muslim Conference to open its doors to all the people of the State for political agitation and struggle

On June 28 1938 the Working Committee of the Conference met at Srinagar and passed a resolution recommending to the General Council to alter the name and constitution of the Conference in order to enable all persons irrespective of their caste creed or religion to become its members It was at the Special Session on June 11 1939 that Sheikh Abdullah with the consent of the Working Committee and the General Council laid the foundation of a national body namely the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference In the very first session of the National Conference a national demand asking

for the setting up of complete responsible government in the State establishment of a Legislature from among the members elected by adult franchise inauguration of joint electorates and granting of certain reservations of seats for the minorities It was at this historic Session that Sheikh Abdullah observed —

In our new Kashmir we shall build again the men and women of our State who have been dwarfed by centuries of servitude and create a people worthy of our glorious motherland

Since that time this party has become the best organized the most powerful and the most popular party throughout the State

When the Kashmir Legislative Assembly (Praja Sabha) came into existence in 1934 this party secured the majority at every election (except the last one i e 1946 in which it did not participate) In 1944 when Maharaja got votes from the members of the Praja Sabha for the nomination of two popular ministers out of a panel of six the Deputy Leader of the National Conference party in that Assembly got majority of votes and so was nominated as one of the popular ministers He later on resigned because he was not given an opportunity to function effectively

This party has only one and unrivalled leader—Sheikh Mohd Abdullah one goal—*Naya Kashmir* and one flag—red coloured and plough marked All the communities are represented in this party The Students Federation Silk Weaving Factory Workers Union Barbers Union Motor Drivers Association Tonga Drivers Association and other unions and associations are all working under the influence of this political party It is a complete nationalist organi zation The official organ of this party is the daily *Khidmat* (Urdu) and the weekly *Khidmat* (English) The other papers of this party or supporting the cause of this party are the weeklies—the *Noor* the *Roshni* the *Sach* and the dailies—the *Ranbir* the *Navayug* the *Desh* and the *Khalid*

452 The Muslim Conference

There are many rival leaders of this party but the most dominating personality is that of Mir Waiz Maulvi

Mohd Yusuf Shah—the religious head of the Muslims He has been always jealous of the popularity of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah ever since he started his public life He always opposed Sheikh Abdullah and his creed and tried to put spokes in the wheels of his progress but unsuccessfully When Sheikh Abdullah founded the Muslim Conference in 1932 Mir Waiz at once formed the Azad Conference just to oppose Sheikh Abdullah and in 1939 when the Muslim Conference was changed into the National Conference by the great vision and leadership of Sheikh Abdullah Mir Waiz without wasting a single minute changed his so called Azad Conference into the Muslim Conference Although this Conference is a communal body and has a bitter religious tint yet it has failed at all times to influence the Muslim masses of Kashmir It could not stand before the powerful personality of Sheikh Abdullah and the strong influence of the National Conference In utter desperation this party came to seek the mercy and blessing of the Muslim League which in order to check the nationalist elements and the democratic progress of the State made this party an agency of their own

453 The Yuvak Sabha

This party stands for the protection of the rights of the Kashmiri Pandit community It was also founded after the great rising of 1931 Pandit Kashyapa Bandhu who later on joined the National Conference was its heart and soul up to 1939 Now it is under the influence of Pt Sheo Narayan Fotedar This party supports the cause of the National Conference It has its own official organ—the *Martand* the first daily of the State

454 The Gurusingh Sabha

This party has a small following of Sikhs and has been started to safe guard their rights This party is also supporting the national cause of the National Conference

455 The Rajya Sabha

This is an organization of the Hindus of the Jammu Province Kaviraj Vishnu Gupta is one of its prominent leaders Hindu Sabha another organization of the Hindus

of the Jammu Province started its existence at first separately but merged itself with the Rajya Sabha in 1947

456 The Praja Parishad

Of late (1948) a movement for separation of Jammu from Kashmir was started under the banner of Praja Parishad They demanded autonomy for those areas of Jammu Province which are inhabited by the Hindus and an Administrator from India It started agitation on June 27 1949 for its demands neglectful of the dangerous implications and consequences which were to ensue from it If the only parts of the State where Hindus preponderate want a separate home for themselves they were offering a nice argument for the 95% of Muslim population of Kashmir to accede to Pakistan It was tentamount to stabbing India in the back The Parishad soon realized the nuisance value of their sinister move and accordingly *L Rup Chand Nanda the President of the Parishad called* off the agitation and offered his hand of friendship and co operation to the State The new President of the Parishad is Pt Prem Nath Dogra

46 Political Domination

*Out of all the political parties the National Con*ference undoubtedly dominates the politics of Kashmir It is a nationalist body with enough of backing All the other parties except the Muslim Conference support the demands of this party and are willingly co operating with it The National Conference has launched many Satyagraha Campaigns in the State Its last struggle was started in May 1946 when it raised the Quit Kashmir slogan Its leaders and workers were released in September 1947

After studying the political developments of the State it becomes quite clear that Muslims forming the 77% of the population have and follow only two representative bodies while the Hindus who are in minority are distributed among the various political parties of the State which are less powerful The National Conference has branch organizations throughout the State—both in the Kashmir and Jammu Province while the other organizations are confined to one Province only The National Conference has branch committees even in remote villages Muslim Conference is almost dead The other political parties have ceased to be effective in the changed circumstances

and a majority of them have joined the ranks of the National Conference

46 The Press

The State has at present over 44 newspapers as against one in 1931 Out of these papers 24 are published in the Jammu Province and 20 in the Kashmir Province The first newspaper published in the State was in 1924 (the *Ranbir*) Besides these papers various journals also appear in the State

The printing presses in the State are 37 as against 8 of 1931 Of these 22 are in the Jammu Province and 15 in the Kashmir Province

CHAPTER V

KASHMIR AND INDIAN POLITICS

51 The Rising of 1931

Indian politics as represented by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League did not have its effect on Kashmir till 1931 Kashmir though an integral part of India kept aloof from the political struggles of the Hindustanis It was however Sheikh Abdullah who was first impressed by the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Indian National Congress in 1930 Since that time the influence of Indian politics began to affect the minds of some of the leaders of Kashmir In 1930 some secret planning was going on against the Government and the despotic ruler of the State in the Punjab They had formed a body known as the Kashmir Committee and had hatched and organised a plot to overthrow the autocratic rule of the Maharaja It culminated in the rebellion of 1931 which unfortunately at some places took a communal shape

52 Political Birth of Sheikh Abdullah

By this time Sheikh Mohd Abdullah after passing his M Sc was only a petty school master of the State High School Srinagar He emerged as the leader of the rising of 1931 After this rising Kashmir opened its eyes political parties came into existence and Sheikh Abdullah became the undisputed leader of the Muslim Conference which took its birth in 193? Mir Waiz Maulvi Yusuf Shah a Muslim divine and the political rival of Sheikh Abdullah aspired for a long time for the leadership of the Muslim Conference Seeing his hopes being dashed he at last left the Muslim Conference and formed a separate group He though a religious preacher failed to wield over the ignorant and illiterate Muslims

Sheikh

3 National

The entered the Kashmir the olt of 1931 But

the National element of the Indian politics began to creep in very showly and influenced Sheikh Abdullah deeply He turned into a staunch nationalist because he realised that Kashmir belonged to all—Hindus Muslims and Sikhs and so it was necessary to have the backing of all the communities of the State for achieving full responsible government With this ideal in view he changed the Muslim Conference into the National Conference Since that time Kashmir has been powerfully influenced by the Indian Politics The Indian National Congress always supported the people in their fight for freedom and battle against feudalism and autocracy It always gave every kind of support to Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference especially in their political struggles because the Congress believed in democracy and the nationalist movement Even the Indian Press—propagated the genuine cause of this party supported its demands and justified its struggles

54 League s Opposition

The Muslim League in order to check the national influence in Kashmir and to wield its influence in the State s politics found the Muslim Conference to their taste They always supported this party and accepted it as the sole representative of the Muslims of the State ignoring the fact that the National Conference was the most powerful, the most popular and the best organized party supported by the majority of the people The Muslim League never cared to support the demands of the National Conference nor did it recognize its powerful hold on the masses It carried on malicious propaganda against the National Conference to the best of its efforts This has also been revealed by Sheikh Abdullah himself in his speech on the 30th September 1947 He said —

> How can the Muslim League or Mr Jinnah tell us that we should accede to Pakistan ? They have always opposed us in every struggle Even in our present struggle (Quit Kashmir) he carried on propaganda against us and went on saying that there was no struggle of any kind in the State He even named us *goondas*

When the Indian National Congress formed the All India States People s Conference to support the cause of the States people and to establish full responsible go rn

ments in the States the Mulim League in order to poke its nose at once formed the so called All India States Muslim League a nominal body to support the Mu lim beaurocrats and rulers

The National Conference joined the All India States People s Conference and Sheikh Abdullah remained its Vice President for some years It was in 1946 that Sheikh Abdullah became the President of this body and thus was acknowledged as the leader of the 10 crores of States people The All India States Muslim League however did not function regularly or properly and so we do not know anything about it

55 Close Influence

Kashmir came closer to Indian Politics when on the invitation of Sheikh Abdullah and the National Con ference Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru visited the State in 1940 He was also accompanied by Badshah Khan the Frontier Gandhi They were given a rousing reception by the people of Kashmir They studied the political situation of Kashmir and delivered a few speeches to the citi ens of the Valley A closer contact between the National Congress and the people of Kashmir followed

In August 1942 when the Indian National Congress launched the great rebellion—the Quit India movement to overthrow the British Supremacy Kashmir did play its part well Many meetings were held by the National Con ference to support the cause of the brother Indians

57 Jinnah s visit for rest

Mr Mohd Ali Jinnah paid a visit to Kashmir in June 1944 On his way to Srinagar he said at Jammu I am going to Kashmir for rest and have no idea to take part in their politics

On June 17 1944 he was called upon by the Muslim Conference people to address the annual session of their Conference Here he began to play his own tune scandalised the National Conference and declared that only Muslim Conference was the sole representative of the Muslims of the State and the National Conference people were *goondas* He stated Muslims have one platform one Kalma and one God I would request Muslims to

come under the banner of the Muslim Conference and fight for their rights

Soon after that he was challenged by Sheikh Abdullah who addressed certain gatherings In his speeches he made it clear that if Mr Jinnah uttered anything against the people s organization—the National Conference in future he was doubtful of his honourably being able to leave the State

Such challenges of Sheikh Abdullah made the stay of Mr Jinnah in Kashmir difficult and somewhat dangerous and he was forced to leave the State While on his way to Kohalla he stayed for some time at Baramulla Here again he uttered a few words against Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference For this kind of malicious propaganda he was given a reception of stones by the Muslims who could not bear ill-words being spoken about their beloved leader Sheikh Abdullah The shower of stones instead of flowers made him leave the place rather the State under the protection of the police never to return League s fate in Kashmir was sealed from that day

58 Sopore Conference

In August 1945 Pt Jawahir Lal Nehru Rashterpati Maulana Azad and Badshah Khan were invited by Sheikh Abdullah On August 3 1945 the Annual Session of the National Conference was held at Sopore which was also attended by the three great Indian leaders Here the *New Kashmir* was accepted as the goal of the National Conference Sheikh Abdullah who presided over the session while referring to the Indian States stated Our destinies and our final liberation are bound up with the freedom of India itself

Pandit Nehru addressing the Conference urged the Kashmiri Pandits to rally round the Conference He also added that even from the narrow view of selfish interst it was advisable for them to join the Conference and not keep away from it In Kashmir the majority of the people were Muslims while other communities constituted only ten per cent of population It was therefore absurd for any Hindu or Sikh to say that he could not join the National Conference because it was constituted mostly of Muslims Hindus and Sikhs of Kashmir must know

they have to live in Kashmir Their fate was bound up with it and if they did not join the mass of the people of Kashmir who happened to be Muslims it would be themselves who would suffer most

Sheikh Abdullah in his concluding speech said if the Muslim League its followers and its leader Mr Jinnah wanted to establish their supremacy by sheer goondaism they would not succeed in this but would only undermine their organi ation He further said that the Muslim Conference by their mean tactics had sounded the death knell of the League in Kasnmir He warned the leaders from the Punjab that if they interfered in their affairs their stay in Kashmir would be impossible

591 Freedom of the States

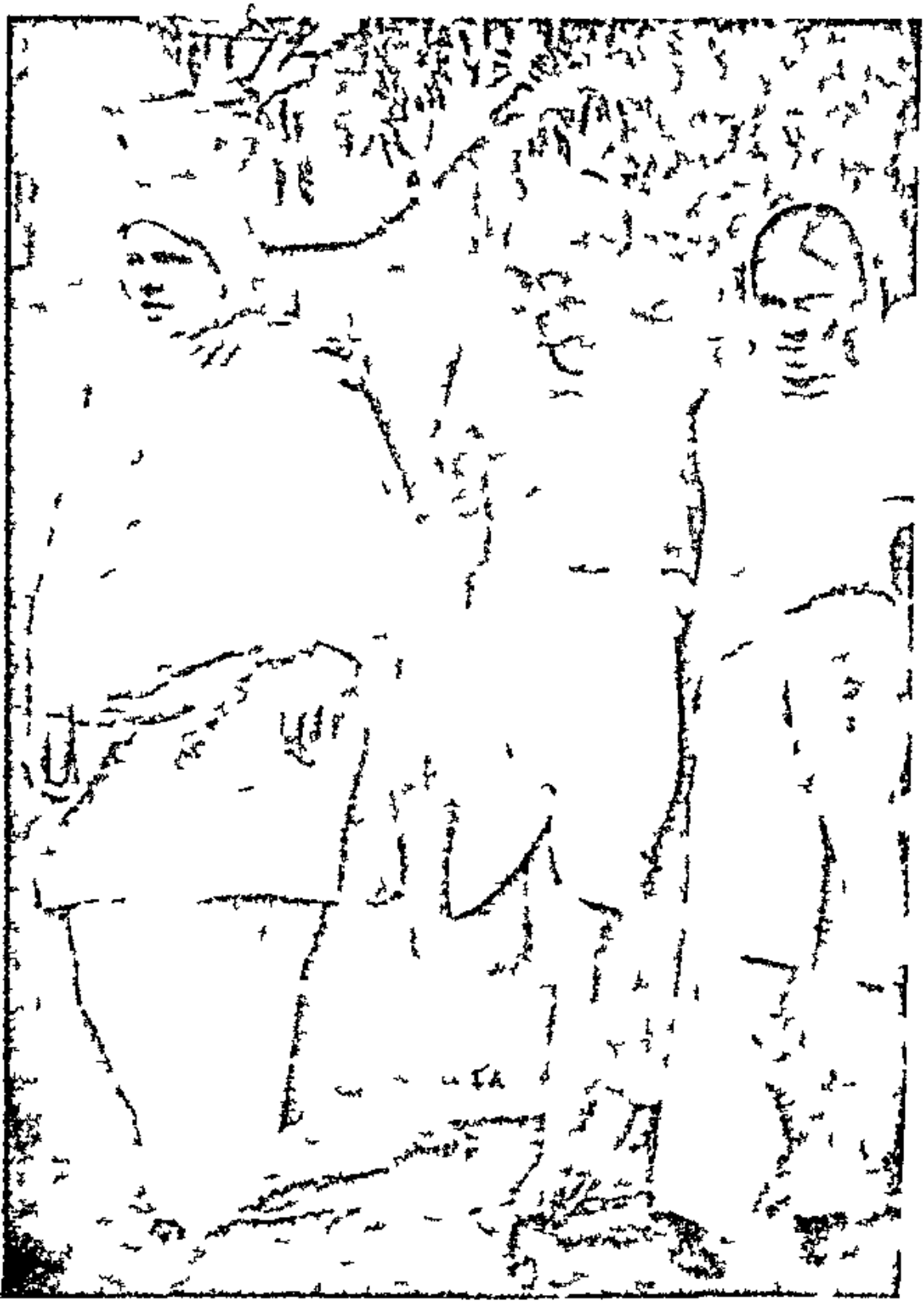
The Standing Committee of the All India States People s Conference held its session in srinagar on 8th August 1945 and adopted a long resolution dealing with the Ni am s Firman that responsible government as distinct from representative government cannot under any condition be established in those Indian States which have either contracted friendly relations with the British Government under historical treaties or are under the protection of the Paramount Power

In November 1945 when an unanimous cry for the release of the National heroes of the Indian National Army was raised throughout the length and breadth of India Kashmir National Conference supplied its quota of agitation

Sheikh Abdullah opening an exhibition in connection with the All India States People s Conference held at Udaipur on 31st December 1945 said Neither the Secretary of States for India nor the Viceroy nor even the Indian National Congress will give the people of the States independence For achieving independence which is essential for removing the pre ent poverty and hunger of the people in the States they will have to organi e themselves against the princes clique Pakistan and other such cries are thousands of miles away from independence The people s unconquerable will will not be crushed by these cries and will achieve indep ndence of the whole of India including the Indian States He further said that



Mr N V Gadgil, Maulana Mohammad Saeed, Sardar Baldev Singh, Dr Saif ud-Din Kichlu, Sheikh Pandit Nehru, Mr G M Sadiq Bandhuji and others



Gandhiji with Begum Abdullah and her daughter

I have no hesitation in saying that the will of the Kashmiris will be the supreme law in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

the slogan of Pakistan represented the quintessence of mutual fears and suspicion Economically socially and even on religious grounds Pakistan would be an utter futility Pakistan would be a disaster

592 The Movement of 1946

The National Conference started its last struggle in May 1946 when Sheikh Abdullah raised the slogan of *"Quit Kashmir"* The Indian National Congress and its top-ranking leaders helped this movement in every way they could 'Quit Kashmir Movement was in fact a direct off shoot of Quit India' Resolution The Indian Press also supported the movement Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru himself went to Kashmir to see the situation twice But he was not allowed by the State authorities to enter the State territory for the first time Mr Jai Prakash Narain Mrs Aruna Asif Ali Rashterpati J B Kripalani Mrs Kripalani and even Gandhiji all came to see the movement launched by the National Conference

The Muslim League and its boss Mr Jinnah played on their own harp They as usual tried to stifle the voice of the people of Kashmir Mr Jinnah not to speak of helping the Movement even gave a statement to the Press saying that there was no movement of any kind launched by the National Conference Sheikh Abdullah has himself disclosed it before an audience of one lakh people on October 29 1947 The League tried to crush by some means or other the national movement in Kashmir But it always failed against the powerful influence of Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference

It is thus clear that the political balance of Kashmir has remained and will ever remain in the hands of the National Conference which has always tried and is trying to tread in the path of the Indian National Congress This organization has suffered and at last succeeded The future of Kashmir is linked with this political party

CHAPTER VI

UNDER KAKISTOCRACY

61 What of Kakistocracy

Kakistocracy—the *Worst Rule*[1]—is the name given to the rule of the late Prime Minister of Kashmir—Rai Baha dur Pandit Ram Chandra Kak He dominated the whole administration of the State and also the politics of Kashmir for more than two years Like Mussolini Mr Kak believ ed that the State should be based on force rather than consent violence rather than agreement dictation rather than p rsuasion He believed in naked and un ashamed force The popular parties were ruthlessly supp ressed No opposition was tolerated Terror reigned sup reme In th State there was no freedom of speech no freedom of thought no freedom of opinion and no freedom of association Justice was flouted The Rule of Law was nowhere in op ration Press was gaged Those persons who had the courage to condemn the Government were sent to the goals Atrocities were perpetrated and cruelties committed in the name of law and order Criti cism was silenced and truth suppressed

This period will be looked upon as one of the darkest period in the history of Kashmir It was the policy of this administration that made Kashmir meet its present aweful fate The responsibility for the present havoc and the critical situation in Kashmir will mostly go to Kakistocracy Mr Kak had risen from a very humble position of a Librarian to that of a Prime Minister by sheer skill and hardwork He is a local Hindu—Kashmiri Pandit and was in the good books of the Maharaja of Kashmir It is the Maha raja however who raised him to that position it is the Maharaja who forced him to resign in August 1947 and it is the Maharaja whom he has *served* the most The

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present helpless position of the Maharaja is the result of what his most favoured most honoured and most trusted man has done in his regime

62 Birth of Kakistocracy

Mr Kak became Prime Minister in 1944 when Sir B N Rau the then Prime Minister of the State was called back by the India Government Mr Kak being a Kashmiri was supported by all the political parties of the State including the National Conference and the Muslim Conference on his accession to his new position The Muslim Conference supported him till the last and it will even support him now *Sheikh Abdullah was himself pleased* to have a State Subject as the Premier of the State, who expected would do good to the country and to its people

63 Dyarchy

In the same year the Maharaja announced his intention to have two Ministers from the Legislative Assembly —the Praja Sabha Out of a panel of six members His Highness nominated two persons—one Muslim and one Hindu Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg the Deputy Leader of the National Conference Party in the Assembly got the first nomination and the second nomination fell to Captain Wazir Ganga Ram Sheikh Abdullah and other National Conference leaders welcomed this gesture on the part of the Maharaja It was only a half measure as it was a sort of a dyarchy Still everybody welcomed it But Mr Kak continued his means tactics for a year or so and made the work of the National Conference nominated minister very difficult His high-handedness finally culminated in the resignation of Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg on March 17 1946

64 Kakistocracy in Full Force

Mr Kak who wanted to have his own iron rule was not moved by the resignation of Mr Beg He wanted to have a puppet he wanted to create disunity and disruption in the ranks of the National Conference He soon succeeded in his mischief He was the dictator and so could do what he liked He at once tapped the leader of the National Conference Party in the Assembly Mian Ahmad Yar and without having any respect for democracy appointed him as the Minister in place of Mirza Afzal

Beg Thus half measure of Responsible Government proved to be no measure at all and what the Maharaja had done with his good intention now ended in smoke Still the Maharaja was satisfied with Mr Kak and the Kakistocracy Mian Ahamad Yar however betrayed his colleagues lowered the status of the National Conference Party of which he was the leader and for a ministerial job he sacrificed all for which he and his organi ation had been fighting so far

65 Indian Political Changes

During those days India was passing through the most critical period of her history The Muslim Le gue had gained ground in its effort for the achievement of Pakistan The Congress was very eager to overthrow the Br tish supremacy by some means or the other It had sacrificed a lot in the great rebellion—the Quit India Movement of 1942 Its leaders were put into prison upto 1945 when finally they were released to reach an agreement with the Muslim League for transfer of power The Simla Conference was held in June 1945 just after the release of the Congress leaders The Conference also failed due to the veto allowed to the minority (League) against the majority (Congress) Previously the Sapru Committee had alr ady put forth its proposals in April 1945 After the failure of the Wavell proposals the Parliamentary Delegation was sent to India in December 1945 to study the actual situation of the country The visit of this Dele gation did not serve any useful purpose Finally the Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pathick Lawrence—the then Secretary of State for India Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr A V Alexander came to study the situation of India and the Indian politics in March 1946 The Mission came with an open mind and had dis ussions with all the political parties the representatives of the States the leaders and the statesmen of India To reach a common agreement many meetings were held between the leaders of the Congress the League and the Akali party of the Sikhs Another Simla Conference came into being but unfortunately no final agreement was reached and so the Mission after studying everything fully gave its own Award on May 16 1946

67 Quit Kashmir Slogan

After the Cabinet Mission had arrived in India the President of the Kashmir National Conference Sheikh

Abdullah paid a visit to the Punjab Here he had meetings with other leaders On his return from the visit, Sheikh Abdullah sent a memorandum to the Cabinet Mission analysing the demands of his party and being fed up at home with Kakistocracy he raised the slogan of Quit Kashmir in May 1946 He delivered many speeches from May 6 to May 10 in Srinagar thereby repudiating the Treaty of Amritsar of 1846 which he regarded as a sale-deed between the British and the Maharaja Gulab Singh the founder of the Dogra rule in Kashmir He then stopped delivering speeches after May 10 and waited for the decision of the Cabinet Mission He however left for Delhi on May 20 1946 to meet Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru President of the All India States Peoples Conference On his way near Uri he was arrested by the Kashmir Government and put into the Badami Bagh Contonment

671 Movement in full swing

Soon after Sheikh Abdullah's arrest other prominent leaders of the National Conference were arrested by the Government and so the movement started in full swing Processions were taken out slogans were raised and speeches were delivered by the workers of the National Conference in order to have themselves arrested The Government arrested each and every body who took part or was suspected of taking part in the movement

Large number of workers of the National Conference were thus arrested The National Conference workers members and believers raised the slogans 'Kashmir ko —chhor do Bainama Amritsar ko—tod do Kashmir ko—Azad karo etc The movement took the shape of hostility to the ruler in the beginning and to the Prime Minister in the end Mr Kak however crushed the movement with all his ability, skill and iron will But he did not know that the popular movement could not be suppressed for long Even the mighty British Government could not crush the Indian National Congress in the Quit India movement of 1942 and it was impossible for the State under Kakistoracy to stifle the voice of the people

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad the next man in importance to Sheikh Abdullah however could not be arrested He secretly left for Delhi and did continue his work for the Conference from that place He was declared the

Acting President of the National Conference Mr Ghulam Mohd Sadiq a prominent member of the Working Committee of the Conference also managed his escape to Lahore Mr Ghulam Mohi ud Din another prominent leader of the Conference went underground and kept the movement alive by his secret working and propaganda He formed a War Council which kept the movement alive and harrassed the Government

68 Future of the States

Ten days after the Quit Kashmir slogan and five days after the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah the Cabinet Mission gave its Award It suggested to divide India into three zones with a common centre It also proposed besides other things to set up a Constituent Assembly for framing the All India Constitution representing also the States who could send one representative for every ten lakh of population

On the relations of the States the Mission however made it clear that the Union of India should deal with the following three subjects Foreign Affairs Defence and Communications

On June 8 1946 Pandit Nehru the President of the All India States People s Conference gave a statement on the States people s rights by declaring that Sovereignty must reside in the people and not in any individual

On June 10 1946 the General Council of the All India States People s Conference met and commenting on the Cabinet Mission s plans declared —

> No Constitution for India can have any validity or effectiveness unless it applies to the ninety three million people of the Indian States and no such constitution can be satisfactorily made without reference to the representatives of the people

In the same year at the Gwalior session of the All India Stat s P ople s Conference Sheikh Abdullah who was till then the Vice President was elected as the President of the Conference Sheikh Sahib could not ttend the es ion himself as he was in jail due to the Quit Kashmir movement

691 Nehru's Arrest

Sheikh Abdullah was charged with treason Pandit Nehru himself wanted to come to study the whole situation but was not allowed by the Kashmir Government to enter the State territory He however came on June 20 1946 and entered the territory declaring that any place including Kashmir was his home land He pushed on but was checked at Kohalla This led to his arrest along with the Secretary of the States People's Conference Pt Dwarka Nath Kachroo Meanwhile he was called by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad the then Congress President for an emergency meeting of the Working Committee at Delhi in which his presence was badly needed Panditji left under the Congress discipline and made up his mind to come to Kashmir second time He came and was allowed by the Kashmir Government to study the Kashmir situation

692 Abdullah's Trial

Pandit Nehru arranged for the defence of Sheikh Abdullah Mr Asaf Ali now His Excellency the Governor of Orissa, was appointed by the Congress as the Chief of the Defence Council Pt Jai Lal Kilam a prominent advocate and a local Kashmiri Pandit now Judge High Court Kashmir State offered his services as an assistant The trial of Sheikh Abdullah was held at Badami Bagh in an open court There Sheikh Abdullah in a historical statement explained the significance of the Quit Kashmir slogan by stating that he meant to end the autocratic rule in Kashmir He was however found guilty and sentenced to nine years imprisonment His colleagues and other workers of the National Conference also were put in prison and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment

693 General Policy

The general policy of the Kashmir Government under Kakistocracy was to crush the national element in the State It crushed for a short time the national spirit of the people but temporarily

Support to Muslim Conference

The Muslim Conference which had always been anti nationalist played its part well on this occasion They opposed the movement in order to win over Mr Nehru He

in order to please the fanatic Muslims adopted a loose policy towards the Muslim Conference The National Conference being supressed its leaders being imprisoned Kakistocracy raised the position of the Muslim Conference and thus gained its favour Mr Abdul Salam Dalal who was sentenced to seven years imprisonment for attacking a National Conference worker and later on released unconditionally created an anti national bloc and gave the support of the Muslim Conference people to Kakistocracy

New organization set up

Kakistocracy was determined to weaken the hold of the National Conference on the masses and so a new organization was started under the banner of the All Kashmir State Peoples Conference The primary motive behind this organization was to support and strengthen Kakistocracy It was a government body whose leaders and workers were paid These nominal leaders or supporters were provided with facilities of every kind under Kakistocracy Some of the workers fully saitsfied their selfish ends by the money and means available in this regime—but for how long ?

Press gagged

Kakistocracy failed to get the support of the other organizations in the State But it did not worry It had got the support of the Muslim Conference and its own paid organisation Censorship was imposed on the daily *Khidmet* the official organ of the National Conference and the daily *Martand* the official organ of the Yuvak Sabha (organisation of Kashmiri Pandits) The daily *Ranbir* the only nationalist paper of the Jammu Province was ordered totally to stop its publication Such of the papers which supported Kakistoracy were given full freedom and even other facilities

Praja Sabha elections

Kakistocracy did not stop at this The old Legislative Assembly (Praja Sabha) was dissolved Fresh elections were held in December 1946 when the whole surface of Kashmir was covered with snow and when all the leaders and workers of the National Conference were in prison The object was to get dummies elected for the support of the Government policy and to weaken the voice of the National Conference and of people even in legislature The

National Conference due to the high-handed actions of the Government refused to take part in this farcial election

694 India Divided

During this period the whole sub continent of India passed through the most critical times The Cabinet Mission plan had proposed to set up a Constituent Assembly in order to frame an All-India Constitution including that for the States But the Muslim League refrained from joining it and the result was the division of the mother country The Independence Bill of India was passed in the British Parliament and India was divided into two separate Dominions—India and Pakistan—on the basis of the two nation theory expounded by the Muslim League The States were allowed to join either of the Dominions

695 Kakistocracy Unmoved

When the fate of our Mother Country was decided it was the time for the states to decide their fate as well Kashmir is economically backward so its fate is linked with India—the richer Dominion Earlier to the division of the country a Constituent Assembly was set up and the states were allowed to join it Kakistocracy kept the State aloof The Kashmir Government was later on requested by all the political parties of the State the first among them being the Muslims Conference to join the Constituent Assembly *Kakistocracy was not moved* The *Muslim Conference* then urged the State to declare for independance assuring the authorities that they would even fight against Pakistan if any invasion from that side took place But soon after it they declared that Kashmir should join Pakistan as the Muslims formed the majority

Kakistocracy still remained un changed It appears that the Government was in favour of declaring the independence of the State as in that case Kakistocracy could continue to remain in power Some of the Muslim Conference leaders were also in favour of this opinion because they knew that Kashmir could not remain independent and on an internal revolt and an external invasion would remove the Government including the Maharaja altogether Thanks to God ! This idea did not fruitify But it was quite evident that the enemies of the State were growing powerful A hand-

ful of Muslim Conference people were having full liberty and choice because of the absence of the National Conference leaders and workers who were in jails There was every danger of communal disturbances as the riots had already started in the Punjab But it was *Begum Abdullah* who gave a lead to the public in communal unity despite the neutral policy of the Governm nt She succeeded in her efforts remarkably although the national element of the State was being supressed by the Kakian policy

697 Kakistocracy at its Zenith

At this critical juncture everybody felt the absence of the great and popular leader Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who was in Bhadarwah Jail His presence in the political field of the State was a great necessity So all the political parties including the Muslim Conference demanded the release of Sheikh Abdullah—the welder and the moulder of the destiny of the State—along with other leaders and workers But the Government was not moved The Congress President Acharya Kripalani and Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani came to Kashmir with the same request Mr Kak was called to Delhi as well Even *Gandhiji the Symbol of* India s freedom himself visited Kashmir still Kakistocracy was not prepared to accept anything

The situation of the State was getting worse day by day Politics had changed India s fat had changed people had changed but Kakistocracy was unchanged Mr Kak was as constant as the Northern Star He would not submit to anything whatever might happen He would neither release the political prisoners nor join the Constituent Assembly

698 The Final Death

At last its master—the Maharaja was appealed to His Highness realised that Mr Kak was endangering the position of the State irretrievobly and was therefore compelled to retire his erstwhile loyal Dewan It was one of the most fortunate days in August 1947 the tenth day of that month when Kashmir got relief from Kakistocracy It was the triumph of democracy the voice of the people of the State especially of the National Conference Kakistocracy ended and Mr Kak its breeder and leader was no longer in the field

In 1948 Mr Kak was tried by the Popular Government of Kashmir and sentenced to two years imprisonment but was later on rel ased



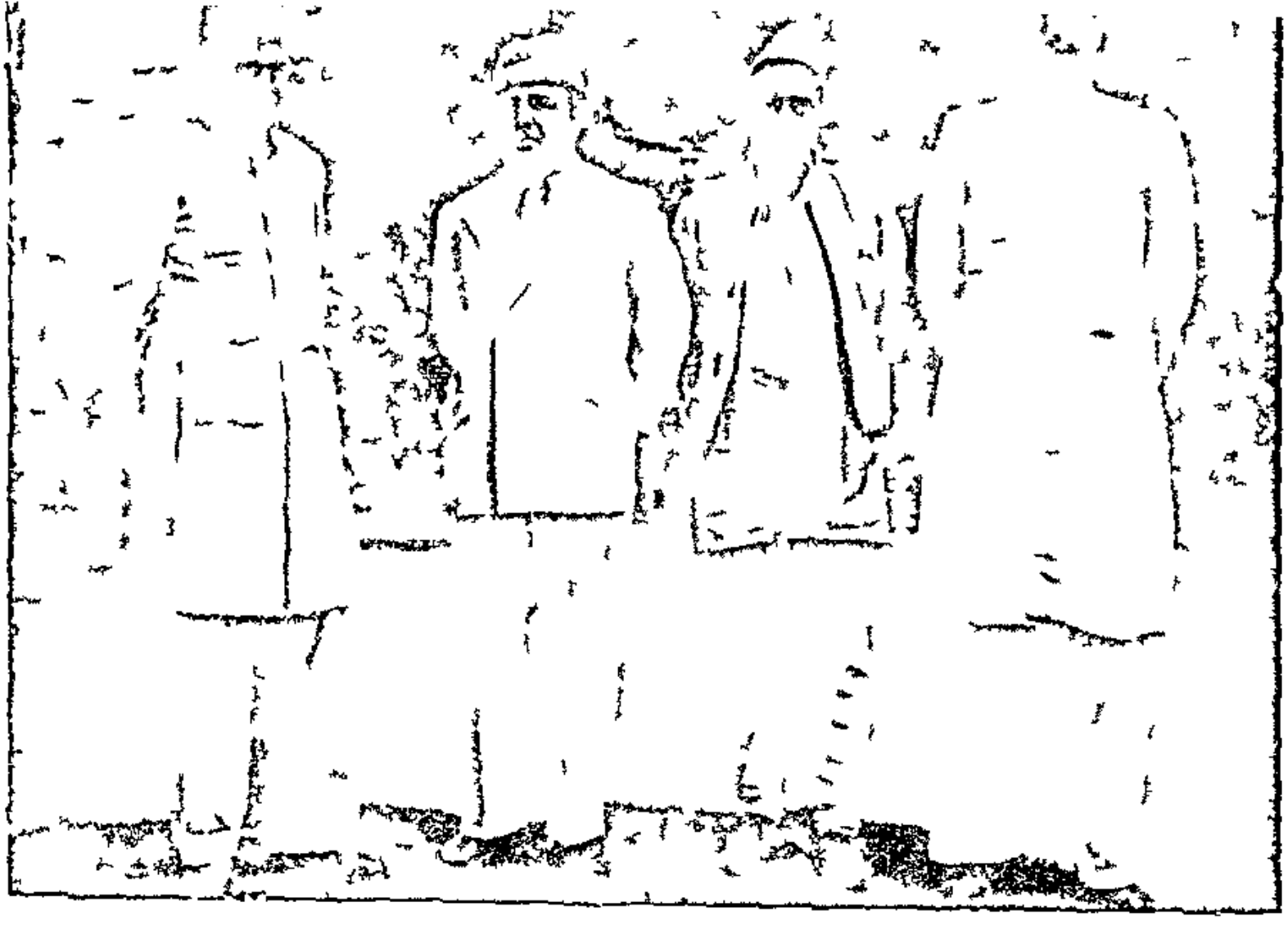
Sheikh Abdullah and Pandit Nehru

"I pledge before you on behalf of myself and the people of India that we (India and Kashmir) shall ever remain together."

—*Jawaharlal Nehru*—(November 11, 1947)

"Kashmir will ever be with India whatever sacrifices we shall have to make we are all Indians and India is our homeland."

—*Sheikh Abdullah*—(May 1, 1948)



Maulana Mohd Saeed Mirza M A Beg Pandit M R Baigra and Sheikh Abdullah
Representatives of Kashmir in the Indian Parliament
(We) [illegible] for P[illegible] Pt[illegible] Ind[illegible]

CHAPTER VII

JOINS THE INDIAN UNION

The death knell of Kakistocracy was tolled amidst great rejoicings but the shadow of the autocratic rule of the Maharaja still hovered on the heads of the people

71 Transfer of Gilgit

Thakur Janak Singh was temporarily appointed as the Prime Minister The National Conference welcomed him Gilgit a part of the State territory and the place of utmost strategic importance was returned to the Kashmir Government by the British Government on August 1 1947 Both the people and the Government celebrated the day with rejoicings The Kashmiris were looking ahead They expected a political change

72 Policy Unchanged

August 15 1947 was expected to be a day for the declaration of Kashmir s accession to either of the Dominions This day is a red letter day in the Indian history because it was on this day that India got her long cherished independence But unfortunately it was the day when the mother country was divided permanently into two Dominions It was also the day on which the rulers of the States saw the paramountcy coming into their hands The British supremacy was no more Thus the Maharaja of Kashmir celebreted this independence day with hearty zeal The people of the State were jubilant But to the utter disappointment of the people the Maharaja at the same time did not declare the State s accession to either of the new Dominions

73 Stand still Agreement

The Maharaja however continued the stand still agreement with both the Dominions and offered his good wishes to both the States on behalf of himself and his subjects on the Independence Day The Pakistan Dominion in a broadcast from the Pakistan Radio thanked the Maharaja and

accepted the stand still agreement The Indian Union did not give its consent to the stand still agreement neither did she force the Maharaja to join the Indian Dominion She declared that *the will of the people of the State should decide the accession to either of the Dominions* which must be decided immediately

74 Pakistan s Indifferent Attitude

Pakistan soon flouted the stand still agreement with the State She wanted that Kashmir should accede to the Pak stan Dominion as Muslims formed the majority in the State She supported the Muslim Conference which had no popular voice in the State To the disappointment of the League leaders their real supporter in the State—Mr Kak—was no more in office So they could not wield their influence in the Government circles They however thought of blockading the State Economic blockade of Kashmir was now the only weapon in their hands

They stopped the supply of petrol to the State The necessaries of life like salt cloth sugar wheat and other articles wer not sent to the State They stopped all the economic goods and still claimed that they had accepted the stand still agreement The Kashmir Government made repeated requests and even sent a persor al representative to have a talk with the Pakistan Government about it but to no purpose Pakistan believed that due to the economic blockade Kashmir will have no necessaries of existence and so Kashmiris would either force the Govern ment due to their economic necessity or the Government itself would be forced to join that Dominion The roads joining Kashmir with Pakistan were already unsafe due to loot arson and destruction carried by the *goondas* of Pakistan So the roads linking Kashmir with the rest of India had already been closed by the goondaism of the Pakistanis

75 Kashmiris Attacked

Staggering bloodshed due to communal hatred and religious fanaticism had occurred in the Punjab Hindus and Sikhs were killed whole sale in the West Punjab Kashmiris working at Rawalpindi wanted to leave for their homes in Kashmir The Kashmir State Government requested the Pakistan Government for the same The

Pakistan Government accepted the request and sent them back (the number was only 200) in Pakistan buses under the Pakistan military escort But unfortunately, they were attacked one and all just at a distance of a few miles from Rawalpindi by the Pakistanis Nothing is known of their fate The Kashmir Government protested but at the same time was helpless

76 *Release of Sheikh Abdullah*

The situation was growing serious day by day The popular leaders were all in prison and the demand for their release had become a necessity in the conditions prevailing Government also realised it though late Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan was called by the Maharaja for advice Sheikh Abdullah was released unconditionally on the morning of 29th September 1947 He was given a grand reception by all the people of the State including the Muslim Conference people A highly dignified river procession was taken out during the day in which all the people of Srinagar greeted their national hero In the evening Sheikh Sahib addressed an audience of one lakh Kashmiris at Hazuri Bagh There he declared that joining to the either Dominion was a secondary matter and the primary thing was to make themselves free He however made it clear that *40 lakh Kashmiris would decide the issue of accession themselves* In deciding the accession of the State to either of *the Dominions* the economic condition of the State and the poverty of the people was to be kept in view He then added that he was not a believer of the two nation theory—nor did he believe in it before nor would he ever believe in it in future—even though the Pakistan had become a reality based on this baseless theory Religion had no place in politics and he would ask Mr Jinnah and other Pakistanis where were they when the people of Kashmir were agitating alone for their freedom? They had always opposed the voice of the people of Kashmir still if the people of the State wanted to join hands with them he would welcome their decision

Sheikh Sahib addressed certain other large gatherings in other parts of the city and pressed them for communal unity which alone could lead them to success and prosperity In one of his speeches he asked the people to

raise a Home Guards of 10 000 volunteers for the communal p ace which was at once raised

77 Freedom First

It may be noted here that the Acting President of the National Conference Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad who had been outside Kashmir for a year or so in connection with the Quit Kashmir movement could not come to the State because of the Government s ban A warrant for his arrest was then cancelled by the Kashmir Government in the early days of September 1947 and Bakhshi Sahibi returned to his native land and was accorded a hearty reception by the people He also made it clear in his speeches that the accession of the State was a secondary matter and the immediate necessity was the freedom from the autocratic rule of the Maharaja He also stressed that the Kashmir would join that particular Dominion which would help it in removing its economic backward ness and acute poverty Communual unity and amity was stressed by him too

78 Unwanted Premier

Thakur Janak Singh was appointed temporarily the Premier to take over from Mr Kak Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan was soon made the Prime Minister of the State by the Maharaja for a period of five years After his appointment as the Premier in the early days of October 1947 all the political prisoners were released In his first Press Conference just on the day he took over charge he made it cle r tha the State had no intention of joining either of the Dominions at present Speaking regarding the question of granting the responsible government in the State the new Premier stated —

> I have b en disgust d with the popular Mini tries of the Congress and I will not let this happen in Kashmir Kashmiris are not yet ripe to share such responsibility and it will take long to train them up

791 State Blockaded

Kashmir was at this time facing the acute economic blockade of Pakistan The Prime Minister approached the Pakistan authoriti s in connection with the economic

difficulties and reminded them of the stand still agreement The Secretary of the Political Department of Pakistan was deputed to Srinagar by the Pakistan Government on this request and met the Deputy Prime Minister at Srinagar and promised to send immediately the necessary articles But it was like an oath of fidelity and friendship made while drunk They wanted and they succeeded in blockading the State economically The State Government had run short of petrol, salt sugar and cloth

The Government in order to meet the urgency of transport difficulties approached the Burma Oil Company and succeeded in making arrangements for petrol The petrol was sent by the Company but was withheld by the Pakistan Government at Sialkot 17 000 maunds of wheat which were at Rawalpindi were also withheld Pakistan was out to destroy Kashmir economically It had severely affected the State and so the beautiful land of Kashmir was losing its balance day by day There were hundreds of visitors at Srinagar who wanted to leave for their respective homes in India but could not and were shut up there because of the non-availability of petrol The Pakistan Government had already cut the lines of communications such as the Jhelum-Valley Road Abbotabad Domel Road Banihal Cart Road and Jammu-Sialkot Railway, at the Pakistan border Thus Srinagar along with Jammu was cut off from the rest of the world There was only one passage—the Air Route which Pakistan could not cut It was the only running vein of blood in the corpse of Kashmir

Telegraph and telephone lines which were operated by the Pakistan Government under the stand still agreement were also tapped The Kashmir Government was facing all kinds of difficulties because of the economic and commercial blockade of the Pakistan Dominion

792 Trap for Sheikh Abdullah

Alongside the economic blockade Pakistan attempted to trap Sheikh Abdullah and make him a tool in fulfilling their evil designs with regard to Kashmir It was towards the fulfilment of this plan that two top ranking Pakistan officials namely Sheikh Noor ul Haq Deputy Commissioner Rawalpindi and Dr M D Taseer were sent to Srinagar under the pretext of making arrangements for

the import of n ces aries of life to win Sheikh Abdullah to their side It led to a series of talks between some of the National Conference leaders and some prominent Mu lim Leaguers like Liaqat Ali Khan Nawab Mamdot and Abdul Qiayum Khan at such places as Lahore and Rawalpindi In the meanwhile Pakistan extended an invitation to Sheikh Abdullah requesting him to come to Karachi for negotiations Sheikh Abdullah replied that he would be glad to come to Karachi after attending the meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India States People s Conference due on October 18 1947 at Delhi Pakistan had thought of winning over Sheikh Abdullah to their side failing which they had decided to coerce him to their d cision by arresting him and setting up a Provisional Government under his Presidentship thus deceiving the innocent people of Kashmir But God willed otherwise Sheikh Abdullah s decision to leave for Delhi foiled Pakis tan s attempt to trap him They therefore invaded Kash mir

All this has been revealed by Mr G K Reddi the former Director Public Information A ad Kashmir Government (Pakistan)

793 Freedom Before Accession

Sheikh Abdullah came to Delhi on October 17 1947 to attend the meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India States People s Conference During his stay here he made it clear beyond doubt that issue of the acces sion of the State to either of the Dominions could only be d cided by the people of Kashmir themselves and that in case the State acceded without taking into account the wishes of the people he would be the first man to rais his banner of *revolt* against such undemocratic decision Thus setting up of full Responsible Government was the immediate ne d of this hour Freedom before accession in brief was the demand he concluded

794 Security Threatened

Kashmir raised her voice but who could listen to her She was left to the mercy of her fate She even appealed to His Majesty s Government but with no satisfactory results Having completely threat ned rather cut off the State s economic and commercial links Pakistan now began

to threaten its political security Raids by Pakistanis started from the Pakistan border over Mansehra Poonch Mirpur Kotli Bhimber and Kathua areas along the State territory of the Jammu Province His Highness Government made an appeal to Mr Jinnah the Governor General of Pakistan but with no success The State forces however turned the raiders out and guarded the State border Later on the Maharaja toured the border area and was surprised to find that the 75 per cent of people within the four miles of the Jammu Pakistan border had been killed and their houses burnt or looted

7941 Kashmir Invaded

Upon this the Premier of the State declared that he would seek any outside help if the situation created by the Pakistan Dominion continued like that It was the unfortunate night of October 22 1947 when the tribesmen from Pakistan area were let loose to invade Kashmir via Abbottabad Domel Road These tribesmen were encouraged rather supported by Mr Abdul Qayum the Premier of North-West Frontier Province who had earlier challenged the Kashmir Government for seeking any help from India He organized the whole plot and sent the armed tribesmen from his Province to the beautiful valley of Kashmir through Abbottabad Soon after it the armed tribesmen also entered the State territory through Kohalla A small garrison of State troops consisting mostly of Muslim deserters joined hands with raiders who went on marching upto Domel From that place a majority of them crossed over to Muzaffarabad killing and looting the inhabitants on their way Another party continued their advance on the Kohalla Srinagar road At Uri a handful of State troops under Brigadier Rajendar Singh checked their advance upto October 25 1947 Having captured the town the raiders advanced and captured the Mahora Power house the only source of electric supply to the whole of the Kashmir Valley This caused complete blackout in Srinagar and other towns of Kashmir On October 26 1947 the raiders reached near Baramulla – the third biggest town in the Kashmir Valley at a distance of 34 miles from Srinagar Kashmir was in danger Its political economic and social security was threatened

There was no military strength in the State Everything had collapsed The State was at the mercy of God

All the high officials at Srinagar including the Maharaja had l ft for Jammu Most of the people from the suburbs of Srinagar left their homes to the mercy of rai ders and came to Srinagar to save their lives Government was not prepared for all this It had nearly taken its last breath But the National Conference at this critical hour kept a guard throughout the city with the active and vigorous help of its Home Guards (Bachao Fauj) They encouraged the citi ens and stopped people from leaving the city They succeeded in it remarkably

795 Request for Accession

At thi decisive juncture Sheikh Abdullah the Pre sident of the people s organisation—the National Con ference—left for Delhi and requested the Indian Union for accession and help The Maharaja had already requested for help from the Indian Government on October 24 1947 Mr Mahajan the Prime Minister of the State also left for Delhi on the morning of October 26 1947 and requested the India Government for accession and help against the invaders who had by this time even captured Baramulla Kashmir was on the horns of a dilemma A further delay would have meant throwing the State to the free looters of Pakis tan Being approached on behalf of Kashmir headed by heir *Sher e Kashmir* and after fully discussing the issue the Indian Government sympathised with the helpless Kash miris and accepted the accession of the State on the mor ning of October 27 1947

7951 Abdullah s Explanation

Sheikh Abdullah gave the following statement before he returned to Ka hmir from D lhi on the morning of Octo ber 27 1947 explaining Kashmir s accession to India

He said that Kashmir was in dire peril and the first duty of every Kashmiri was to defend his mother land against the intruder He stated that the Invasion of Kashmir was meant to coerce and compel the people of Kashmir to act in a particular way namely to accede to Pakistan Every Kashmiri resented this compulsion

> Those who are responsible for its defence have failed us and the responsiblity therefore falls on the people of Kashmir They are determined to fight the invaders and raiders who have come to despoil

the country and to compel our people to function in accordance with their will This is a new kind of slavery which we will resist to the utmost I am going back to Kashmir to lead this resistance of the people to the invader

The Kashmir National Conference has stood for responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja We have fought for our freedom suffered for it and we had hoped that before any other step could be taken the question of responsible government must be settled Even the question of accession to India or Pakistan or any settlement about the future must we have stated follow these vital constitutional changes within the State

'Many of the influential members of the National Conference were of the opinion that accession to the Indian Union would be advantageous to the State both from political and economic reasons Economically Kashmir depends for its market much more on India than on Pakistan Politically it was felt that India was a much more progressive State than Pakistan and Kashmir would have greater scope for free development according to its own genius if she was allied to India

During my incarceration vital changes had taken place in India and a new situation had arisen Much had happened that had brought misery and disaster to millions of people

It became necessary for us therefore to take stock of the situation most carefully and decide in a way that would be advantageous to Kashmir and *in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people of Kashmir* I advised my people that *the question of accession should therefore not be decided immediately* and that the first step should be the constitutional change on the basis of Responsible Government After that the future relations of Kashmir with India and Pakistan might be determined

But events have moved fast Soon after my release I heard of preparations along the western border of Kashmir for some kind of invasion or raid Armed people infiltrated into State territory and in many

places there were armed conflicts

I came to Delhi to preside over the Standing Committee of the States People's Conference The very day I returned to Srinagar news came that a large party of armed and well equipped raiders travelling in motor lorries had entered Kashmir via the Abbotabad road near Muzaffarabad These raiders created havoc and looted Muzaffarabad and other places They marched towards Srinagar

Well Prepared Raid

It was obvious that this raid had been carefully prepared and every kind of help had been given to it in the shape of arms equipment and motor transport It was obvious also that this invasion was meant to coerce and compel the people of Kashmir to act in a particular way namely to accede to Pakistan

Every Kashmiri was shocked by this raid and the ruin in the trial of this raid Every Kashmiri resented this compulsion on his will *The question of accession to India or Pakistan became a secondary issue and the first duty of every Kashmiri was to defend his motherland* against the intruder They refused to be compelled to accede to Pakistan in this way

I came to Delhi for a few hours to consult my colleagues here and to explain the critical position in Kashmir to members of the Government of India I asked them on behalf of the people for help in resisting this brutal raid The Maharaja's Government had also made his request to the Government of India I am now going back to the people of Kashmir to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in defending our heritage and our homeland and to share with them the perils and sorrows that may be in store I know the spirit of my people and I am sure that we will triumph in the end

I appeal to all lovers of freedom in India or Pakistan to stand by the people of Kashmir in this hour of trial and to denounce the raiders who have come to bring sorrow and disaster to our country

7952 Maharaja's Request

On October 26 1947 when the invaders had reached near Baramulla His Highness the Maharaja of

Kashmir in a letter to His Excellency the Governor General of India announcing the accession of the State to the Indian Union. The Maharaja wrote —

My dear Lord Mountbatten

I have to inform your Excellency that grave emergency has arisen in my State and request the immediate assistance of your Government.

As your Excellency is aware the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded either the Dominion of India or to Pakistan. Geographically my State is contiguous to both the Dominions. It has vital economic and cultural links with both of them. Besides my State has a common boundry with Russia and China. In the external relation the Dominion of India and Pakistan cannot ignore the fact.

I wanted to take time to decide to which Dominion I should accede or whether it is not in the best interest of both the Dominions and of my State to stand independent—of course with friendly and cordial relations with both. I accordingly approached the Dominion of India and Pakistan to enter into a stand still agreement with my State. The Pakistan Government accepted this agreement. The Dominion of India desired further discussions with representatives of my Government. I could not arrange this in view of the developments indicated below. In fact the Pakistan Government under the stand still agreement are operating the post and telegraph system inside the State.

Though we have got a stand still agreement with the Pakistan Government that Government permitted steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like food salt and petrol to my State.

Afridis soldiers in plain clothes and desperadoes armed with modern weapons have been allowed to infiltrate into the State at first in the Poonch area then in Sialkot and finally in force in the area adjoining Hazara district on the Ramkote side. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and thus had to face the enemy at several points simultaneously so that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and looting.

The Mahora power house which supplies the electric current to the whole of Srinagar has been burnt The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped makes my heart bleed The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching with the aim of capturing Srinagar the summer capital of my Government as a first step to over running the whole State

The mass infilteration of tribesmen drawn from distant areas of the N W F P coming regularly in motor trucks and using the Mansehra Muzaffarabad road and fully armed with upto date weapons cannot possibly be done without the knowledge of the Provincial Government of the N W F P and the Government of Pakistan In spite of repeated appeals made by my Government no attempt has been made to check these raiders or stop them from coming to my State In fact both Pakistan Radio and the Press have reported these occurrences Pakistan Radio even put out a story that a Provisional Government has been set up in Kashmir The people of my State both Muslims and Non Muslims generally have taken no part at all in this destruction

With the conditions obtaining at present in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion Naturally they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Dominion of India I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach the Instrument of Accession for acceptance by your Government The other alternative is to leave my State and my people to free booters On this basis no civilized Government can exist or be maintained This alternative I will never accept so long as I am the Ruler of the State and I have life to defend my country

I may also inform your Excellency's Government that it is my intention at once to set up an Interim Government and ask Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities in this emergency with my Prime Minister

If my State has to be saved immediate assistance must be available at Srinagar Mr Menon is fully

aware of the gravity of the situation and he will explain to you if further explanation is needed

In haste and with kindest regards

The Palace Jammu
October 26 1947

Yours sincerely,
Hari Singh

7957 India's Acceptance

His Excellency Lord Mountbatten the Governor General of India on behalf of his Government replied on October 27 1947 accepting the accession provisionally His Excellency wrote

Government House
New Delhi Oct 27 1947

My dear Maharaja Sahib

Your Highness letter dated Oct. 26, has been delivered to me by Mr V P Menon In the special circumstances mentioned by your Highness my Government have decided to accept the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India Consistently with their policy that in the case of any state where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State It is my Government's wish that *as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people* Meanwhile in response to Your Highness appeal for military aid action has been taken to day to send troops of the Indian Army to Kashmir to help your own forces to defend your territory and to protect the lives property and honour of your people

My Government and I note with satisfaction that your Highness has decided to invite Sheikh Abdullah to form an Interim Government to work with your Prime Minister

With kind regards

I remain

Yours very sincerely
Mountbatten of Burma

796 Provisional Accession

India soon accepted the request and Kashmir became a part of the territory of the Indian Union Now it was the duty of the India Government to save the State from the raiders and to protect the peace loving citi ens from the perilous situation that had been created It may be noted here that even though the request was made by Sheikh Abdullah on behalf of the Kashmiris besides the request made by the Maharaja and his Government still the accession of the State to the Union was accepted temporarily by Lord Mountbatten the Governor General of India who made it clear hat the will of the people of the State would finally decide the issue of accession

797 Flame of Freedom Lit

Kashmir joined the Indian Union—a free and demo cratic country on October 27 1947 So as a result of contact with this free and democratic country the flame of freedom was also lighted in Kashmir At this critical hour Kashmir s destiny was given in the hands of Sheikh Abdullah and other National Conference leaders—represen ting th forty lakh Kashmiris The Maharaja had already written about his intention to His Excellency the Gover nor General of India in his letter of October 26 1947

The new Emergency Government was set up on the Mysore State model on the 30th October 1947 Sheikh Abdullah was sworn in as the Head of the Administration and thus was asked to share the responsibilities of the State Mr Mehar Chand Mahajan the Prime Minister of Kashmir revealed it on October 28 1947 He said —

> His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir has acceded to the Dominion of India and has asked me to invite Sheikh Abdullah leader of the National Conference who has always shown genuine interest in the welfare of the State subjects to form the In terim Government

798 New Kashmir Born

Kashmir became free from autocracy on March 5 1948 On this day N w Kash mir—the cherished goal of 40 lakh Kashmiris took its birth His Highness the Maha raja in a proclamation announced Responsible Government in the State Sheikh Abdullah President of the National

Conference—the biggest and the most powerful political party in the State—was sworn in as the Prime Minister He formed the first National Cabinet soon after the took over Thus Kashmir saw the dawn of freedom—the triumph of democracy and an end to autocracy This newly won freedom was again challenged by Pakistan The fight in Kashmir was not the fight against the autocratic rule of the Maharaja with which the raiders were excited but it was now the fight of *free Kashmir* against Pakistan who wanted to keep the land again in slavery this time of their own Kashmir has become free and will ever remain free

7991 Kashmir in the Constituent Assembly

The ties of friendship between India and Kashmir became stronger day by day It was nearly towards the middle of 1949 that a need for representing Kashmir in the Constituent Assembly was felt Accordingly the Constituent Assembly adopted Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar's motion on May 27 1949 to enable the Ruler of Kashmir to nominate on the advice of his Prime Minister four representatives one for every million of the population to the C A An amendment moved by Prof K T Shah suggesting that the representatives should be chosen by the State Praja Sabha (Legislative Assembly) elected in the winter of 1946 47 was rejected Pt Nehru described Prof Shah's proposition as monstrous and the circumstances of the election of the Praja Sabha as fantastic and farcical and said that the Praja Sabha was a bogus body Accordingly four representatives namely Sheikh Mohd Abdullah Maulana Mohd Saeed Masoodi Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg and Pt Moti Ram Bagra were nominated by the Kashmir State to the Constituent Assembly

7992 Special Article on Kashmir

In view of the special conditions obtaining in the Kashmir State it became necessary to introduce temporary provisions with respect to the Jammu and Kashmir State in the Indian Constitution The discrimination was due to the fact of Kashmir not being ripe for the same sort of integration as had taken place in the case of other States Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar while moving the Special Article in the Constituent Assembly expressed hope that in due course even Kashmir

will become ripe for the same sort of integration as has taken place in the case of other States

Temporary Provisions

The Article 370 in the Constitution with regard to these temporary provisions is as under —

1 Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution —

(a) The provisions of Article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir

(b) The power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to—

(i) Those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List which in consultation with the Government of the State are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State and

(ii) such other matters in the said Lists as with the concurrence of the Government of the State the President may by order specify

Explanation — For the purposes of this Article the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognized by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated the 5th day of March 1948

(c) The provisions of article 1 and of this article shall apply in relation to that State

(d) Such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and notification as the President may by order specify

Provided that no such order which relates to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of subclause (b) shall be issued

except in consultation with the Government of the State

Provided further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government

2 If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (*ii*) of sub clause (*b*) of clause 1 or in the second proviso to sub clause (*d*) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the constitution of the State is convened it shall be placed before such assembly for such decision as it may take thereon

3 Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Article the President may by public notification declare that this Article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date specify

Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause 2 shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification

PART II

KASHMIR TRAGEDY

CHAPTER VIII

PAKISTAN INVASION AND OBJECTS BEHIND IT

Kashmir is entirely a mountainous region with a strip of level land in the south along the border of the Punjab Craddled admist very lofty mountains the beautiful valley of Kashmir extends to 85 miles in length and about 30 miles in breadth Its snow-capped mountains beautiful valleys chick for sts fragrant flowers and glittering lakes comprise most of the grandest scenery in the world This has made it a world famous health resort and camping ground Its people are also world famous in art skill intellect industry beauty and simplicity But this beautiful land on the surface of the earth the sweetheart of millions of people throughout the world was invaded and its beautiful citizens were ruthlessly massacred their houses burnt their property loo ed and their women abducted The land was not invaded on one side alone but along the 450 mile long border of the State territory adjoining the Pakistan Dominion It was invaded on three sides—north west and the south But for the timely help of the Indian Republic the fate of this land would have been sealed The whole State would have been by this time under the sway of these free booters and looters The enemy is still in the land reluctant to leave it But Kashmiris are determined to clear their holy land of all these barbarous marauders and cut-throats

81 Communal Troubles

The British had to quit India but not before they succeeded in dividing the coun ry Th ir chief weapon as described by Lord Minto—our old Viceroy and Governo - General was the principle of Divide and rule" They succeeded throughout their s y and did no give it up e en at the time of their exi from India Thus they owed many o called blessings on India and this is on of th blessings which hi e en n ry he to India Th wanted and they succeeded

82 League Responsible

India t the cost of lon dra n of tears a l ars

fices of the millions of its noble souls got its independence The Muslim League succeeded with its master s help—the British—to get the vivesection of India materialised Her followers strengthened the virus of communal hatred They started communal troubles at Noakhali (Bengal) and on the Direct action day at Calcutta Bihar retaliated They did not even then give it up They started it again in the West Punjab and the Frontier Province and so reac tions followed in the East Punjab and in Delhi Lakhs of people have become now destitutes They have lost their houses their property and even their dear and near ones This was the price they had to pay for the freedom Who is to b blamed for all this ? Undoubtedly the Muslim League The same sentiment was also expressed by Sheikh Abdullah at Srinagar on September 29 1947 addressing an audience or one lakh Kashmiris He said —

> What has happened is known to every Indian India was divided and the new Dominion of Pakistan came into being Pakistan which was only a dream an unpractical idea some six years back has become a reality now But what did Pakistan do ? It created greater and a far wider gulf between the two larger communities of India—the Hindus and the Muslims by propounding the basis of the two nation theory The philosophy of Maulana A ad failed the vision of Badshah Khan failed and the baseless theory of Mr Jinnah succeeded

The two nation theory of the Muslim League did not succeed in Kashmir There was complete communal unity throughout the State though the Muslims formed 77 per cent of the population Kashmir is neither communist nor communalist and it always believed in the glory of India and the Indian unity and that all communities should con sider themselves as Indians said Sheikh Abdullah on January 10 1948 It had once for all turned out Mr Jinnah from its soil when he had tried to plunge in Kashmir politics

84 Pakistan s Intention

Kashmir is surrounded by the border of Pakistan in the west and in the south—in the west by the North West Frontier Province and in the south by the West Pu jab It is also linked with the Indian Republic on the south by the East Punjab and the State of Chamba The two roads con necting the State with the outside world now leading to Pakistan, were cut off by the Pakistan Government at the border A new road now leads it to the Indian Republic

Kashmir is economically weak and backward It is the homeland of the poor Thus it depends largely on imports Pakistan failing to create communal troubles intended to starve the State She blockaded the State completely in order to force her to join the Pakistan Dominion It was a direct violation of the stand-still agreement Kashmir Government protested and even approached the Pakistan Government But to no purpose

On October 15 1947 the Prime Minister of Kashmir Mr Mahajan sent a telegram to Mr Jinnah Governor-General of Pakistan regarding the situation created by the Pakistan Government despite the stand still agreement No reply was received

On October 18 1947 the Prime Minister of Kashmir again sent a telegram to Mr Jinnah to the same effect

On October 20 1947 Mr Jinnah denied these allegations in his reply sent to the Maharaja of Kashmir He stated —

> 'My Government adhere to our assurance and have every intention of carrying out the stand still agreement

This was only a verbal consolation but what was actually intended was to starve Kashmir and make her ripe for an internal revolt if not as yet an external one

85 Border Attacks

Alongside the economic blockade several border attacks had begun to coerce the State accede to Pakistan

Raja Yaqub Khan on behalf of the people of Hazara threatened the Maharaja of Kashmir with the following telegram —

> We are ready to enter the State fully equipped to fight your forces You are requested to ease the situation soon otherwise be ready to suffer the consequences

Major General Scott G O C Jammu and Kashmir forces in his statement of August 31 1947 said —

> Situation in Hazara and Rawalpindi areas is very unsatisfactory There is little doubt that the recent disturbances in Righ Tal were led by armed gangs from Pakistan

Major General Scott stated on September 1 1947

> 000 hostile tribesmen wearing green and khaki uniforms and carrying leather and web equipments were seen

The Kashmir Government protested to Pakistan but in vain

On September 13 and 14 1947 Pakistani soldiers entered Ali Beg and Jitli the State border villages

There were regular border attacks between September 23 1947 to Septemb r 30 1947

On October 4 1947 raiders armed with tommy guns were reported in Chirala leading to fight between the State forces and the raiders

On October 15 1947 raiders besieged Fort Owen in Mirpur

On October 10 1947 raiders breached Kotli Poonch road

On October 20 1948 Wa ir Mirpur informed the Kashmir Governm nt that armed m n had begun gathering in the areas of Chechian and Mangla

86 Invasion Starts

By this time some of the officials and leaders of Pakistan went on organizing the tribesmen in order to attack the State and force her to join the Pakistan Dominion On the 20th of October 1947 it was heard in Srinagar the capital of the State that tribesmen were assembling on the frontier to invade Kashmir And on the night of October 22 1947 it actually happened Kashmir was invaded by these tribesmen from Pakistan

On October 25 1947 Mr R L Batra the Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir came to Delhi and stated —

> Over 2 000 tribesmen armed with rifles bren guns machine guns and flares entered Kashmir territory on the night of October 22 and burnt Muzaffarabad town to the west of Domel bridge The invaders had reached near Dom l and Ghari

These invaders came in 100 lorries and ntered the State territory across the Kishen Ganga bridge west of Domel By the light of flares they looted the town before setting it abla e Muzaffarabad fell into their hands



National Militia

"Kashmiris are determined to hold aloft the banner of Gandhiji and fight the invader to the last and thus dig the grave of two nation theory on the soil of Kashmir."

—Sheikh Abdullah—(August 17, 1945)

DEFENDING TI IOME



Women s Defence Corps

We shall prefer death rather than join Pakistan Pakistan is the pla e where our dau hters and sisters were sold for a paltry sum

—[illegible] —(March 10 1948)

On October 23 1947 the invaders reached Ghari and Chinari burning and looting public and private buildings

On October 24 1947 the invaders having captured Chinari advanced towards Uri a town 63 miles from Srinagar

87 Onrush Stemmed

On October 24 1947 the raiders kept on advancing towards Uri The onrushing tide of these thousands of raiders was then stemmed by a handful of state soldiers (114 in number) under the brave and inspiring leadership of Brigadier Rajinder Singh (M V C) Refusing to lay down his arms even at the risk of total annihilation gallant Rajinder Singh slowed down their progress towards Srinagar for three days Fighting as he has against heavy odds with no prospects of receiving reinforcements he was forced to yield Every one of his 114 soldiers was killed fighting to the last Rajinder Singh wounded beyond recovery fell in the thick of battle

This several hours severe check at Uri imposed successfully by Brig Rajinder Singh the *Hero of Uri* on the raiders proved of incalculable good to the people of Srinagar and the State as a whole

After crossing Uri the raiders were free to advance towards Srinagar to capture the aerodrome They captured Rampore and continued their advance towards Srinagar Mahora Power house supplying electricity to the whole of Kashmir Valley especially Srinagar was also captured So Kashmir fell into complete darkness The raiders were now fifty miles from Srinagar

88 Sher e Kashmir Roars

The whole State had by this time become panicky People ran away from nearby towns and villages to reach Srinagar leaving the houses open and property unguarded at the mercy of the looters Sheikh Mohd Abdullah President of the National Conference addressed the Id meeting on the same day at Srinagar when he exhorted the people to keep calm and prepare themselves to resist the foreign invasion The National Conference Volunteers (Bachao Fauj) started parading the streets of Srinagar

891 Baramulla Threatened

On October 26 1947 the invaders having burnt the town of Muzaffarabad Uri and the villages on their way

killing ruthlessly the people and looting their property reached Baramulla the third largest town in Kashmir Valley situated at a distance of only 34 miles from Srinagar

Same day the Pakistan Radio announced that in the town that had fallen into the hands of raiders a Provisional Azad Kashmir Government had been set up headed by Sardar Mohd Ibrahim Khan the brother of Mr Abdul Qaiyum Khan the Frontier Premier—the chief man behind this invasion According to the same radio broadcast this so called Cov rnment— Azad Kashmir —was set up in Pallandari somewhere in Poonch

The raiders entered the Valley from three directions the first column from Poonch to Uri the second from Kohalla and the third from Abbotabad The small State force at Kohalla most of whom were Muslims deserted the State forces and joined hands with the raiders to raid their own native land

892 Request for help

At this time Kashmir finding itself quite unable to defend the territory requested for help from the Indian Government It may be m ntioned again that the request was made on one side by Sheikh Abdullah President, All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference on behalf of the people who had come to Delhi on th evening of October 25 1947 and on the other side by Mr Mehar Chand Mahajan the Prime Minister on behalf of the Maharaja and the Kashmir G vernment who came to Delhi on the morning of O tober 26 1947 The conditions and circumstances under which the State acceded to the Indian Union have b en dealt with earlier

893 Indian Forces Rushed

On the morning of October 27 1947 India Govern ment agreed to help the State and its people by accepting the In trument of Accession though provisionally It was now India s obligation to defend the State which became by th right of accession the Indian territory By a dawn to dusk aerial operation more than a battalion of Indian troops was transported to the Kashmir Valley The Dakotas carrying Indian troops reached for the first time the soil of Kashmir Srinagar aerodrome on October 27 1947 at 9—10 a m Sheikh Abdullah also returned

on the same day and accepted to form an Emergency Administration He urged the Kashmiris to resist the invasion The National Home Guards (Bachao Fauj) continued parading the streets and borders of Srinagar

894 Fall of Baramulla

By this time the raiders had captured Baramulla This great town fell into their hands on the fateful morning of October 27 1947 The handful of Indian troops who had reached Srinagar at once rushed and stemmed their progress Now the fight started between the people of Kashmir supported by the Indian troops and the raiders who wanted to enslave and loot them The Indian troops went on landing by air and marching by land

The Indian troops with the help of 10 000 National Conference Volunteers and Sheikh Abdullah the Head of the Emergency Administration controlled the situation

The first few Indian troops withdrew six miles from Baramulla at a place 25 miles from Srinagar till more reinforcement arrived Col D R Rai (M V C) commander of these troops died fighting valiantly He was instrumental in stemming the onward progress of the raiders considerably

895 Raiders Attack the Convent

The raiders attacked the convent at Baramulla and assaulted the Europeans They killed the Assistant Mother Superior a British officer and his wife The children of the British officer along with twenty other Britons were found missing

896 Raiders in the Kashmir Valley

The raiders continued advancing in other directions in the Kashmir Valley Being checked at Baramulla Srinagar road beyond Pattan 18 miles from Srinagar they diverted to Gulmarg side and continued their advance reaching north of Badgam a place only five miles west of Srinagar The number of raiders in this sector was 700 The tribesmen among whom were Mahasuds Wazirs Afridis and the people from Hazara Rawalpindi and Murree spread to other parts of the Valley towards Sumbal and Ganderbal areas

897 Jammu Front Opened

By this time trouble which had earlier started on the border line of the Jammu Province along with the Pakis

tan border was becoming more wid spr ad and s rious Poonch Mirpur and Kotli areas and other villages in certain other parts were attacked by raiders The State forces were unable to check the mass infiltration of the raiders which now occured from the Pakistan border Indian troops were despatched to help the State troops on that side In the Kotli area the invaders w re subjected ro heavy air attacks Reinforcement to the Poonch and Mirpur area continued About 3 000 State troops in four pockets in these areas were held up by the invaders

898 Kashmir Front

Tables Turned

Bv No ember 1947 the raiders were driven off from Ganderbal area Bihama Tullamulla Lar Nunar and other places The Indian troops continued dvancing on all sides in the Valley Sangrama an important road junction on Baramulla Srinagar road was also captured A fight ensued between the raiders and the Indian troops at Badgam four and a half miles west of Srinagar where the raiders w re beaten back costing the life of Major S N Sharma (P V C) The Indian troops with the full co operation of the *Bochao Fauj* succeeded quickly in driving out the raiders from the Valley

The raiders were cleared off from Badgam Sumbhal Shadipur and other adjoining areas More Indian troops and light artillery arrived in Srinagar through the Pathan kote route on November 8 1947

Baramulla Recaptured

On the Srinagar Kohalla road the raiders were driv en back beyond Pattan and other places Baramulla was captured on Nov 8 1947 and th condition of this great town and the open gate of the Kashmir Valley as seen after its recapture was horribl

Uri Taken Back

The Indian troops continued advancing along this road and captured the Power house at Mahora They still went on advancing captured Rampore and reached Uri by Nov 11 1947 At this place the Indian troops took rest and stopp d their advance Uri b ing captur d the Kashmir Front remained beyoned this town as th Indian troops gave up offensive attacks and contented them elves with the defence of the line

Valley Cleared

The mopping up operations continued and raiders fled from Gulmarg Tangmarg Handwara Bandipore and other places looting whatever fell in their hands Thus the beautiful Valley of Kashmir was rescued from the barbarous and brutal hands of the raiders

8991 Gilgit Falls to Raiders

Gilgit Illaqa a mountainous and thinly wooded area formerly extending over 14 000 sq miles with a population of 76 526, a place of utmost strategic importance was invaded and occupied by a lashker of tribesmen from Swat The State forces finding themselves quite helpless against heavy odds withdrew to Bunji At this time the three small tribal states—Hunza Yasin and Nagar lying along the frontiers of Afghanistan Pakistan Russia and China on the extreme north of Kashmir and under the suzerainty of the Kashmir Government acceded to Pakistan They helped the raiders in Gilgit which easily fell into their hands

8992 Fall of Gilgit a Menace

It must be remembered here that the fall of Gilgit to the raiders is a serious danger to the State and the Indian Union as a whole But the Indian Union could not at that time send their troops to recapture it as the roads leading to that area were all covered with snow

Astore Falls

The raiders occupying Gilgit continued their raids and reached as far as Astore 150 miles from Srinagar

Brigadier Ghansar Singh Governor of Gilgit and Frontier Illaqas appointed by the Maharaja on August 1 1947 and commanding State forces garrison at Gilgit was surrounded by overwhelming number of raiders He had to withdraw from Bunji and retreat towards Srinagar His troops however reoccupied the Bridge Pratap Pora 173 miles from Srinagar and destroyed it in order to prevent the raiders advance during winter

Gurez Threatened

The invaders without meeting any kind of military opposition in the Frontier Illaqas continued their raids over defenceless and peaceful citizens and reached even Gurez

8993 Jammu Front

The State garrisons being very small in numbers were

besieged by the invaders who went on infiltrating across the Pakistan Jammu border These brave soldiers did not however surrender Supplies were dropped to them by air craft in Poonch Mirpur Kotli Jhanger and Naushehra areas

Fall of Bagh

On November 10 1947 a small garrison of State force be eiged in the town of Bagh in the Poonch Jagir managed to fight its way to the city of Poonch 30 miles away *Bagh thus fell into the hands of the raiders*

Troops Besieged

There were three garrisons of State troops in Mirpur Kotli and Poonch 70 80 and 90 air miles north west of Jammu respectively Other garrisons in these areas—Bhimber Jhanger and Naushehra were also besieged Supplies were dropped to these State troops by air till they were finally relieved

On November 18 1947 a contact was made with the State forces garrison at Naushehra and on November 19 1947 a small State forces garrison at Jhanger surrounded by raiders was also relieved

Fall of Rajauri

The raiders number went on increasing and they were now equipped with modern kinds of arms and ammunitions On November 18 1947 the raiders captured Rajauri helped by armed Muslim military deserters of State forces The Indian troops relieved Berri Pattan on the same day

Jhanger Captured

On November 21 1947 the Indian forces relieved the garrison of the State troops in Poonch town They intensified their activities in spite of the guerilla tactics of the raiders and succeeded in saving the State troops from surrender and in protecting the lives of the inhabitants in those areas Jhanger a town 12 miles from Mirpur being recaptured on October 18 1947 the Indian forces advanced in the Mirpur and Kotli directions Kotli was captured on November 26 Contact was made with the State troops in other pockets The State forces at last abondoned the town of Mirpur on November 28 1947

The contact was made with the besieged State troops at every place The front on this side had become a large one It was a 90 miles front from Pallandari to

the south of Akhnoor along the Pakistan border In order to shorten the lines of supply and having evacuated the town's population, the Indian troops left Kotli which thus fell again into the hands of the raiders

Capture of Chamb

Indian troops made progress in other directions They crossed Manawar Tawi river and captured Chamb 20 miles west of Akhnoor It was however on December 13 1947 when for the first time, the raiders came out in the open from the small hills in the Jhanger area which was held by 200 Indian troops Over 5 000 raiders then attacked Naushehra but were beaten back by the Indian Army which claimed to have inflicted more than 1,000 casualities upon the enemy

Need for Bombardment

The number of raiders having increased and they being equipped with all sorts of modern weapons of war the Indian troops found tremendous difficulty in their advance So the fight was intensified and bombs and rockets dropped on the concentration of raiders For the first time in the Jammu operations air-craft of the Royal Indian Air Force dropped 1 000 lb bombs on raiders headquarters near Mirpur a town five miles from the Jammu Pakistan border Indian air craft was shot at across the Pakistan border on December 31 1947

Raiders Mass Attack

The first day-light attack of the raiders on the Indian troops was launched on January 6 1948 when India Government had earlier declared in her memorandum to the Security Council of U N O that she would be within her rights to bomb raiders concentrations in Pakistan areas and thereby cut their roots of supplies etc 4 000 raiders attacked the Indian Army positions near Naushehra but were repulsed by the heavy bombing of the Royal Indian Air Force The raiders used in their attack medium and light machine guns mortar and artillery

Pathankot-Jammu Road Threatened

On January 23 1948 thousands of raiders penetrated four to five miles inside the State territory from Ramgarh to Bishna They were being supported by regular uniformed troops who carried machine guns mortars and flame throwers The advance of these thousands of armed raiders had hreatened the Pathankot-Jammu road to

which they were coming nearer and were only a mile from this main road In Poonch sector the raiders continued machine gunning sniping and using mortars against Indian troops positions

8994 Hero of Naushehra

On February 6 1948 nearly 11 000 raiders launched a day time attack (the biggest) near Naushehra but were forced to retreat after having lost 300 men

On the very day th Indian Army troops after the attack launched by Brig Usman captur d strongly held base of r iders the village of Kot four miles north east of Naushehra Some 2 000 raiders were killed in this operation by the Indian Army It is considered the biggest battle fought on th Jammu and Kashmir front Th cr dit of it all goes to Brig Usman who has rightly been acclaim ed as the Hero of Naushehra This gallant young Brigadier caring least for his precious life attacked the lion in his den and repulsed the Pakistani invaders back to their shame Seeing their very existence in danger the Pakistani officers set a pri e on his head To the misfortune of India this brave soldier was shot dead on July 3 1948 while defending Kashmir India s loss was Pakistan s gain

8995 White Paper

In a White Paper issued by the Government of India on March 5 1948 the disclosure was made that at that time there were 86 000 to 88 000 Pathans engaged in the Jehad against Kashmir It stated —

Recent operations around Naushehra have shown that the composition of the attacking force is approximately as follows —

70 per cent Pathans and Muslims from Dir and Swat States
20 per cent deserters from State forces
5 per cent from Poonch and
5 per cent Sundas

Of the total number of 88 000 73 000 to 75 000 are concentrated in various centr s in Pakistan and approxi mately 13 000 are engaged in Kashmir

Concentrations of Pathans in Pakistan are reliably understood to be as follows —

Abbotabad	6 000—8 000
Kohat Pass	10 000
Rawalpindi	5 000
Sargodha	7 000
Gujjarkhan	4 000
Jhelum	5 000
Gujrat	10 000
Wazirabad	8 000
Chak Amru	2,000
Sialkot	3 500
Nirala Head	2 000
Shikargarh	700
Chak Sukho	400
Wagha	200
Lahore	3 000
Chak Pundara Sahoti	8 000
Approximate total	73 000—75 000

8996 War Fronts

Jhanger, about 14 miles north-west of Naushehra and a place where the roads lead to Naushehra Mirpur, Kotli and Poonch was captured by a column of Indian Army on March 8 1948

Peshata Hir a village 32 miles north of Uri was captured on March 23, 1948

Kund 30 miles north of Reasi was captured by the State forces

Skardu about 160 miles north of Srinagar towards Gilgit was completely occupied by the Indian troops

Chingas a town about 12 miles north of Naushehra was liberated by the Indian Army troops on April 10 1948 Several hill positions in the Jhanger area were also captured

Rajauri about 20 miles north north east of Naushehra was captured on April 12 1948

Kheri Dharamsala was captured on April 15 1948

Chokibal north west of Handwara was captured on May 20 1948

Indian troops entered Tithwal, 25 miles west of Handwara on May 23 1948

Mendhar was taken on June 23 1948

Indian troops entered Gurez and Bagh on June 29 1948

R I A F fighters completely smashed an important bridge on the Chakothi Domel road on August 2 1948

Skardu Garrison Surrenders

The small besieged State force garrison at Skardu in Baltistan (Ladakh) held by about 200 men lost contact with Indian forces Head Quarters in Kashmir on August 14 1948 They were holding out without adequate supplies since November 1947 It was presumed that the garrison was over whelmed by the enemy

Murree Bombed

Pakistan Defence Ministry announced on August 21 1948 —

An unidentified air craft believed to belong to the Indian Union bombed Murree District (West Panjab) at 11 50 p m local time on August 19 After dropping the bombs the air craft attacked the vicinity with machine gun fire

Gilgit Bombed

R I A F Tempests heavily pounded the airfield military barracks and ammunition dumps in Gilgit on August 24 and August 26 1948

8997 Other Events

R I A F Fighters blasted the enemy Head Quarter in Zoji la area on September 2 1948

Enemy strong hold on the 8 000 feet high Pandu feature north of Jhelum was bombed by R I A F planes on September 20 1948

The enemy over 2 000 strong launched a two pronged attack in south and south west of Tithwal on October 13 1948 which was repulsed by the Indian troops This was one of the n ost well organised attacks put in by the enemy on this front It lasted for 2 hours

Thanamandi was cleared off all hostiles on October 18 1948

Pir Kalewa north north west of Rajauri was cleared of hostiles by the Indian troops on October 26 1948

Capture of Dras

The Indian troops cleared Zoji la pass of the enemy and marched to Ladakh in spite of the heavy odds they had to

face They were soon able to capture Dras an important post on Srinagar-Gilgit route

Capture of Kargil

The Indian troops did not rest here Pursuing the enemy they captured Kargil on November 23 1948 25 miles north to Dras Consequently impending danger to Ladakh was overcome, leading finally to the rescue of the entrenched Indian forces in Leh

Cease-fire

U N Kashmir Commission with a view to put an end to the bloody warfare reached India with its new cease fire proposal in the beginning of the third week of December 1948 It presented the proposal to the Governments of India and Pakistan Cease fire was announced one minute before mid night of January 1 1949 Thus after fourteen months (432 days) hard and bitter fighting in Kashmir until the cease fire on the first day of 1949 the Pakistan raiders were as far away from their objective as they were when they entered the country in October 1947

8998 Objects Behind Pakistan Invasion

Important facts and figures about the Pakistan s invasion of Kashmir composition of the raiders and their equipment have been described in the foregone pages It remains to be seen as to what objects worked behind this well organised and well timed invasion of the territories of Jammu and Kashmir

' Hushmoney ' stopped

Pakistan invaded Kashmir with the help of thousands of tribesmen the inhabitants of the mountainous areas between the North West Frontier Province and the frontier of Afghanistan This tribal area has a population of 23 78 000 with an area of 24 986 sq miles The people are generally illiterate, ignorant and mostly uncivilized They are known for their warring nature They were a constant threat to peace The old British Government to keep them pacified used to buy these tribesmen with bribes and *hush money* to the tune of several crores of rupees

Unemployment Question

But with the establishment of Pakistan the tribesmen were deprived of this hush money It could not afford to

feed them from their central exchequer like the British With the going away of the British forces resident in the tribal areas the tribesmen were also deprived of the little odd jobs in the military camps hitting them hard

Pathanistan Movement

Besides the movement for Azad Pathanistan had begun to grow giving constant threat to Pakistan leadership particularly to the Frontier League Government All this was pregnant with a grave danger to the satability of the newly founded Pakistan itself What was the solution? The invasion of Kashmir

Facts Disclosed

Light is also thrown on these objects by the disclosures made by the leaders of Kashmir Sheikh Abdullah in a statement on November 5 1947 stated that the invasion by raiders on Kashmir was the result of growing economic internal unrest which Pakistan was unable to solve and the invasion had been engineered to divert the attention of the people of Pakistan from pressing problems at home He said —

> The Government had to justify the establishment of Pakistan founded on the hymn of hate by bringing peace and plenty to the people for negative slogans could no longer provide emotional food for the Muslim masses This called for a policy of reconstruction which the Pakistan Government could not formulate and to avoid pessimism in the people it had launched a policy of jingoism to keep up public enthusiasm
>
> A counter move preferably aggressive was needed to kill the *Pathanistan* movement in the Frontier launched by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Pakistan could not afford to feed the Pathans from their central exchequer like the British so by helping the tribal people to plunder Kashmir Pakistan hoped to solve the economic problem of the Pathans for the time being

Maulana Mohammad Saeed General Secretary All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in one of his speeches said —

> The invasion of Kashmir was the ready though a short sighted solution of all these problems The invasion has for the time being isolated non-communal movements for Azad Baluchistan and Azad Pathanistan

Tribesmen have been promised rich prospects of plunder and loot in the famous valley of Kashmir Indeed their evil designs go farther They are all out to settle lakhs of their tribesmen in the lovely valley of Kashmir This has naturally proved a strong lure to these barbarous hordes dwelling in the barren hills of tribal areas where they live a life of poverty and semi-starvation

CHAPTER IX

DESTRUCTION WROUGHT BY THE INVASION

Kashmir was invaded on all sides by the tribesmen from Pakistan They are now occupying the frontier Illaqas of Gilgit as far as Gurez, the Ladakh Valley upto Leh the Kashmir Province territory upto Uri and the Poonch and Mirpur areas along the border line of Pakistan The danger has somewhat receded but Kashmir is not altogether out of the wood

911 Raiders Strength

Pandit Nehru, addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi on January 2 1948 revealed to the public that there were about 50 000 raiders in Kashmir and not less than 1 00 000 were being trained in the Pakistan territory Sardar Ibrahim the leader of the raiders also admitted this fact in his statement at Karachi on January 12 1948

Their number went on increasing day by day Mr M C Stalvad member Indian delegation to the Security Council revealed in the Council's meeting on January 23 1948 that there were 60 000 tribesmen in Kashmir who were being frequently reinforced Later in a White Paper issued by the Government of India on March 5 1948 it was revealed that there were nearly 86 000 to 88 000 Pathans engaged in the Jahad against Kashmir By January 1 1949 the number had risen to 1 00 000 Pathans

It is now fully known that the raiders not only were openly helped by Pakistan but the Pakistan troops itself were fighting on all fronts These raiders with the help of Pakistan troops and the active support of the Pakistan Government have overrun and devastated the whole territory of Kashmir that fell into their treacherous and barbarous hands and they are always a source of a great danger not only to Kashmir but to India as a whole According to the Kashmir Commission's (U N C I P) latest report there are about 32 battalions of well armed and well organized Pakistan troops in Pakistan held territory in Kashmir Latest figures reveal that the number of these troops has widely increased and there are now 40 battalions of such troops in the Pakistan occupied territory in Kashmir

912 Pakistan's Responsibility

The responsibility for this devastation directly goes to Pakistan and it is for this very reason that a complaint has been launched against Pakistan by the India Government before the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation Pakistan's non-committal and denying attitude at Lake Success could not stand water She at last shamelessly admitted in July 1948 before the U N Commission that her troops were in Kashmir Its Prime Minister Mr Liaquat Ali Khan as early as November 4 1947 in a broadcast from Pakistan Radio styled the raiders the oppressed people of Kashmir but the world knows that the Kashmiris are all fighting against the raiders on a national front irrespective of caste and nationality The Home Guards of Kashmir which mostly consist of Muslims are helping and have tremendously helped the Indian troops to drive back the raiders Mr Liaquat Ali Khan could not throw dust in the eyes of the people who were quite aware of the fact He had however admitted long before that there were Sympathisers" of these raiders in Pakistan Mr Ghazanfer Ali Khan Pakistan's then Refugee Minister, also accepted the fact in his speech of November 10 1947 —

> It is impossible for the Pakistan Government to prevent totally infiltration of volunteers into the State territory

Sardar Ibrahim Head of the raiders, in his statement at Lake Success on January 19 1948 clearly made it known to the world that the tribesmen responded to their call well

So these invaders cannot be called the people of Kashmir They are the people who wanted to conquer the State by force of arms in order to join it with Pakistan

Whatever has happened in the fair-land of Kashmir after the invasion—an *undeclared war* by Pakistan—the Pakistan Government cannot escape the responsibility for it It was on her incitement and continued help that the tribesmen were let loose to invade the State and that its own regular troops have been fighting in the State territory against the people of Kashmir helped by the Indian Army Of the destruction that these Pakistanis have wrought to this holy land of Kashmiris none is unaware at present But the most terrible and horrifying destruction was caused to Baramulla and Rajauri

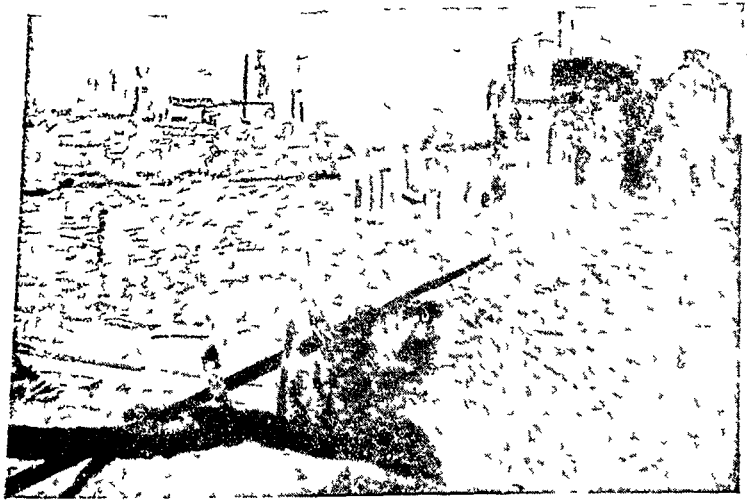
913 Rape of Baramulla

Baramulla the third biggest town of Kashmir is situated at a distance of 34 miles from Srinagar on the Kohalla Srinagar road This town fell into the hands of the Pakistani tribesmen and soldiers on the fateful day of October 26 1947 and continued to be in their hands for 13 days when it was recaptured by the Indian troops on November 8 1947

The town originally had a population of 14 000 Of these only 2 000 have survived the orgy of bloodshed and abduction in which the raiders indulged in there When Major General Kulwant Singh General Officer Commanding of Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir accompanied by other top ranking military officers and Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Deputy Chief of the Emergency Administration of Kashmir and the top ranking leader of Kashmiris visited the town on November 9 1947 the town presented a ghastly spectacle

The freebooters looted everything that they got They were armed with modern weapons The booty was carried off in 260 trucks along with a number of women Ornaments were plucked out of the ears and hands of some women The shops and houses were ransacked completely The looting was indiscriminate St Joseph s Convent and Hospital buildings also suffered the most Col Dykes Mrs Dykes the Assistant Mother Superior and three nuns were murdered Mother Superior was badly wounded A girl of Mr and Mrs Dykes was also kidnapped along with hundreds of other non Muslim and Muslim girls and women The statu s of Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary were pulled down and their faces besmeared All the books records medicines hospital equipments wer destroyed Most shameful desecration was committed in the Church The building was not bombed as alleged by Pakistan Radio Begum Shah Nawaz of Pakistan visited the spot after convent massacre was known to the world

It is believed that hundreds of non Muslims were killed many more forcibly converted to Islam and about 500 taken as hostages Even Muslims were not spared One of the victims being Mr Maqbool Sherwani a prominent National Conference Worker who was tied to a post and sprayed with brsn gun fire After that a notice was nailed to his forehead saying that he was a traitor



Devastated Baramulla

"All this has been done in the name of Islam to those very Muslims for whose deliverence they pretended, they were coming as *friends from Pakistan*"

—*Sheikh Abdullah*—(*November 16, 1947*)



Martyr Maqbool Sherwani

To save my Hindu Sikh and Muslim sisters from the brutal hands of the raiders I sacrifice myself

— *Nuran*

According to the U P I 200 women were taken Women between the years of 14 and 30 and men were taken to a Jail in the hills All women taken to the jail were molested with the exception of very few Fifty women jumped into the river to save their honour while they were being taken to the jail

Later investigations point out that the raiders had established two concentration camps in the town where they used to summon both men and women and torture them making them sit naked on the water logged cement floor without anything to eat continuously for three days This was done to extract information about concealed valuables A *Globe* message also admits this inhuman and un civilized act of raiders over the peaceful citizens of this town

Thus ended the 13 days ordeal of Baramulla which had fallen into the hands of the raiders on October 26 1947

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in an appeal for the relief of the people of Kashmir rendered homeless and destitutes by the Pakistanis, stated on November 17 1947 —

> During its (Kashmir) long chequered history there has scarcely been a greater treachery and outrage committed on the peace-loving citizens of that country than on this occasion
>
> I know from the Press that more than 4 000 men have been massacred at Baramulla a town of about 14 000 people

914 Fate of Other Places

The raiders looted each and every one burnt houses killed people and abducted women Destruction caused to the areas under their sway was horrible

The Power house at Mahora was damaged in order to cause complete blackout in the Kashmir Valley A girder bridge a few miles east of Mahora was also wrecked by the raiders

Gulmarg the beautiful resort 28 miles west of Srinagar was completely looted by these supporters of Pakistan According to the A P I the raiders broke in the Anglican church slashed open the safe and removed the communion plate They used ponies and mules to carry the booty which included carpets cushions and packs of playing

cards from the Gulmarg Club The hotels and bungalows were also looted

According to an eye witness account raiders used over 500 Pakistan trucks to carry the booty from the Kashmir territory at the fall of Baramulla

915 Abdull h s Invitation

Complete destruction and wholesale loot made the heart of people bleed But the sympathisers of these raiders whom they call the liberators of Kashmir still shut their eyes to this oppressive tyranny and indiscriminate blood shed They even now believe that the Muslims are oppress ed in Kashmir Persons under this delusion were invited by their Muslim brothers and Sheikh Abdullah the un rival led leader of those very Kashmiris to come and see for themselves what these *traitors of Islam* had done to this fair land of Kashmir and to its people Sheikh Abdullah stated on November 16 1947 —

> In the name of the people of Kashmir I invite observers from all countries specially Islamic countries to come and see for themselves what the invaders have done to destroy the homes of those very Muslims for whose deliverance they pretended they were coming in the name of Islam as friends from Pakistan
>
> These raiders abducted women They mas acred children They looted everything and every one They ev n *dishonou ed the Holy Quran and c nvert d mosques into brothels* and today every Kashmiri loaths the invading tribesmen and their arch inspirers who have been responsible for such horrors in a land which is peopled with the overwhelmingly majority of Muslims Their loot laden retreating have left destitution and want behind

Again on Novembet 19 1947 he issued another state ment and let the world see what Pakistan has done to Kashmirs He stated —

> Invaders struck us like lightning They score hed our land ruined our homes d spoiled the honour of women and devastated hundreds of villages Busy towns like Mu_affarabad Uri Baramulla and Pattan c ntr s of our trade on the high way to our

capital are only heaps of smoking rubbles with nothing left

These raiders came in the name of Pakistan to make us believe that they were true servants of Islam These lovers of Pakistan dishonoured even the Holy Quran and desecrated our mosques which they used as brothels to satisfy their animal lust with abducted women

In the name of every Kashmiri I ask the Pir of Manki Sharif to search his conscience as the head of invaders We ha e beaten back these *traitors of Isla r*

916 Fate of Jammu

On the Jammu side as well the raiders committed the same atrocities kept the scale of their loot and destruction well balanced and still claimed to have come as liberators from Pakistan

These raiders burnt and sacked the villages wherever they went across the Jammu Pakistan border The villages of Rah and Berri Pattan were ransacked wholesale

Forty villages adjoining Deobatala were burnt property looted and population killed This is what one can see in those areas which have been recaptured The condition of the areas under enemy occupation is far worse

Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir then the Chief Emergency Officer of the Jammu Province visited the Jammu border with the Governor of Jammu on November 24 1947 He stated -

> Wherever I went I saw villages burnt wholesale and crops looted or destroyed The raiders had looted the person and property of the Muslims and non-Muslims alike

It has been seen that the raiders took every conceivable things including food and clothing from Baramulla Sopore Pattan Bandipore Handwara Gulmerg Uri Tithwal Gurez and other pillaged areas on the Jammu side

917 Rajauri Massacre

The beautiful town of Rajauri 30 miles north of

Naushehra and situated on the old Mughal route to Kashmir which had fallen into the hands of raider was turned into a golgotha It was completely devastated The entire population of 12 000 Hindus and Sikhs was annihilated from the town In this town and surrounding areas *the raiders killed 20 000 men and abducted 2 000 women*

Three big pits full of dead bodies were discovered on the outskirts of the town In addition to the whole sale massacre of the population all able bodied persons between 20 and 50 were put to forced labour Indian patrolling columns and rescue parties recovered 1 040 nationals of this town including 300 Muslims who were held by raiders as hostages

918 Another Invitation

Raja Mohammad Afzal Khan Raja of Namblah (Uri) who has himself been looted invited Mr Jinnah and his lieutenants to see the destruction wrought by their so called Mujahidis He declared on January 16 1948

> We have seen enough of Pakistan Islam has been very inaptly represented by these Mujahidis who have exploited religion for their own ends Let Mr Jinnah or any of his lieutenants come and see for himself the incalculable amount of havoc and devastation wrought in this fair valley of Kashmir by these friends of Islam
>
> *I shall be ready to give them eye witness accounts* and living testimonials of loot arson rape and plunder perpetrated by these so called Azad Kashmir forces I invite Mr Abdul Qaiyum Khan to see for himself the fruits of his labour *Let all observers come and see how the fair name of Islam has been exploited for ulterior end and how the poor Muslims of Kashmir have been rendered homeless and destitute by these raiders*
>
> Some of the Hindus whom I had given shelter were hunted out and kidnapped Villages like Namblah Balakote Garkot Salikot Sahura and Hathlanga with 100 per cent Muslim population were looted and totally burnt without discrimination Poor villagers were made to carry the loot on their backs on pain of death

Ears of women and children were cut in the effort to snatch their ear rings Other acts of torture were committed in order to satisfy their selfish ends Even the children of Raja Mohammad Afzal Khan as stated by him witnessed the same fate The wrists and ears of women lay bleeding at the hands of these tyrants looters and free-booters

9191 Massacre of Buddhists

Pakistani marauders were so brutal that they murdered 500 peace-loving Budhists of Frontier Illaqas including the Lama of the Gauskar Padam monastery They converted a large number of Buddhists to Islam at the point of the bayonet A wave of indignation ran through the Buddhist world at this inhuman brutality

9192 Disastrous Picture

Statesman's special representative in Pakistan after touring Western Kashmir declared at Rawalpindi on February 10 1949 -

> The story to day of the territory known in Pakistan as Azad Kashmir is not one of war or politics but of uprooted human lives Half the houses in this (Mirpur)once prosperous town have been burnt out The main bazar street looks as thoroughly blitzed as did British towns in war time Heaps of bricks and stones and half burnt beams lie tangled in the road while not a house remains entire or has a roof

The same representative wrote on February 11 1949

> The outstanding impression gained in a visit to what Pakistan term the Azad country of Kashmir is one of *dire poverty* With filth neglected and towns wrecked by riot and warfare this picturesque part of Kashmir presents a sorry picture

On February 14 1949 he stated at Uri -

> Back in the area which the Pakistanis refer to as Azad Kashmir all along the road houses and peasants cabins have been burnt out or blown to *fragments* At Garhi Dopatta half way along the valley between Domel and Chakothi only a few skeleton walls are standing of the former prosperous little town The village of Chinari is half destroyed

and Chakothi wiped out except for a few cabins sheltered by the hill side

This is an account of an impartial observer !

9193 Kashmiris Tortured

Kashmiris have suffered and shall suffer tremendously at the hands of the Pakistanis Nearly 150 persons were killed and 22 wounded a a result of the fire opened by the Pakistan Guards in the Wah Camp (Camabelpore West Panjab) on July 2? 1949 Infuriated over the criminal assault committed by a Pakistan Army Officer on the daughter of Ramzan a resident of Poonch town one of the inmates of the Camp the refugees attacked the house of the Camp Commandant Pakistan Guards thereupon opened fire on the refugees resulting in the aforesaid casualties

Similar assaults on young refugee women when they wanted to obtain cloth and food rations from Pakistan Army men have been reported times without number The cloth used to be distributed free only to girls and young women and not to others It has also been reported that tribesmen took away 150 young girls from the Camp which housed Muslim refugees from Kashmir

This is not all Many Kashmiri Muslims have been arrested in Pakistan for alleged espionage Shops of several Muslim traders in Lahore Murree and Rawalpindi were raided and closed A strict eye is kept on the Kashmiri refugees in the Camps of Gujranwalla Gujrat Jhelum and Wah No Kashmiri Muslim finds his honour and life safe in Pakistan

Referring to all the atrocities Sheikh Abdullah stated on November 5 1949 —

> The Pakistani Mujahidis treatment of unarmeed people of Kashmir is an *undelible blot on the fair name of Islam* It is condemnable for all the atrocities perpetrated were carried out in the name of Islam and ostentatiously for its glory

9194 Destruction Continues

Reports of January 23 1948 revealed that thousands of raiders while advancing from Ram Gargh to Bishna were busy in loot arson and pillage A large number of village were burnt and more than 1 000 mds of grains were reduced

to ashes by these raiders A huge fire was raging in that area only 16 miles from Jammu

About 40 000 refugees from these devastated areas are in the city of Srinagar and about 50 000 refugees have poured into the city of Jammu from Poonch Mirpur and other areas 8 000 refugees from the State were in the Kashmir section of the Kingsway Refugee Camp New Delhi A large number of them have returned to Kashmir under the instructions of the Kashmir Government

The latest figures reveal that there are nearly 3 97 000 refugees in the State besides 2 00 000 refugees who have poured in from the enemy held territory Nagrota camp alone has got 40 000 refugees

The strength of the refugees in the various Relief Camps at present is as follows —

Jammu	43 000	Kashmir Province	10 000
East Punjab	5 000	U P	7 000
Chakrata	1 500	Other parts of India	5 000

Six lakh Kashmiris rendered homeless and penniless by these raiders are sufficient to show that what Pakistan means by liberation

9195 Casualities

The casualities upto February 8 1948 as revealed in the Indian Parliament by Sardar Baldev Singh India s Defence Minister were 950 which are classified as under -

Category	*Killed*	*Wounded*	*Missing*	*Total*
Officers	7	18	4	29
V C O s and others	293	550	78	922

Indian troops ever since their first landing in Srinagar on October 27 1947 have fought the enemy on 600 mile front from Pathankot to Leh and had inflicted nearly 15 000 casualities upon the enemy upto October 27 1948

9196 Relief Measures

The Kashmir Government as well as the Indian Government is doing its utmost to help these sufferers and helpless Kashmiris About 25 000 refugees have been accommodated in various relief centres in villages around Srinagar

and 15 000 have been lodged in 30 refugee camps in the city of Srinagar The Refugee Relief Organisation of Kashmir had upto January 20 1948 collected Rs 1 00 000 including Rs 25 000 paid by the Kashmir Government About 2 000 quilts 25 000 Namdas 1 000 pullovers and 1 000 blankets have b en distributed among the refugees in Srinagar alone They have also been supplied with 1 000 maunds of wheat and 1 440 maunds of rice

The National Conference had earlier given Rs 20 000 to the refugees in Jammu Rs 35 000 were collected and Rs 25 000 were given by the Maharani of Jammu and Kashmir

Sardar Patel India s Deputy Prime Minister sent Rs 1 00 000 to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad then Acting Head of the Emergency Administration of Kashmir while Pandit Nehru also s nt a cheque of Rs 10 000 for the relief of Kashmiris La t year Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru again contributed Rs 1 00 000 and Rs 10 000 *respectively* for the relief of Kashmiris

Mr Hor ce Alexander was deputed on November 19 1947 by the Indian Government to help the rehabilitation work in Kashmir Be ides this the Kashmir Relief Fund which has b en op ned by the Indians has rendered much help to the Kashmiris both in cash and kind

Recently Government of India has given 44 lakhs of rupees besides the 6 lakhs of rupees already sanctioned by the Kashmir Government for refugee rehabilitation But considering the number of displaced persons even this sum will prove inadequate The sum required for resettling these displaced persons was estimated by Sheikh Abdullah on February 13 1949 at Rs 15 crores This is what Pakis tan has done to Kashmir

Sheikh Abdullah stated as early as November 12 1947 —

> I shall beg all over the world and shall not rest content until every Hindu and Muslim is resetteled No one has besmirched the name of Islam to such an extent as the raiders from Pakistan who came in the name of Islam

9197 Present Position

At present Kashmir has virtually been divided into two parts the Indian and the Pakistan occupi d territory

Riding on their high wave of ambition the Pakistani invaders had spread themselves to the west and north of Srinagar in the Kashmir valley were only ten miles away from Jammu had crossed Zoji-la and, had reached as far as Sonamerg Their evil intentions went farther They wanted to grab the whole of Kashmir But to their shame they were driven back and routed on every front by the gallant Indian troops and patriotic Kashmiris Still nearly an area of 30 000 sq miles with a population amounting to 11 50 800 people (1 50 000 non Muslims included) is being occupied by the enemy at present These non Muslims have either been killed converted or made to flee forcibly Even thousands of Muslims are daily pouring into the Indian territory owing to merciless persecutions dire poverty and acute living conditions The conditions prevailing in this enemy occupied territory known as Azad Kashmir are pitiable indeed

CHAPTER X

KASHMIR AND U N O

After Kashmir's accession to India it became clear that invasion of Kashmir by the tribesmen from across the border was Pakistan sponsored But Pakistan denied it flatly and emphatically She said that the raiders were the inhabitants of the State who were fighting against the maladministration of the Jammu and Kashmir Government Pakistan gave them the high sounding title of Mujahids What a farce! But India was clear about the fact that these so called Mujahids were being supplied arms and ammunition and were being helped by Pakistan India therefore requested the Pakistan Government to stop all help to tribesmen in Kashmir on October 28 1947 the second day of Kashmir's accession to India Pakistan remained mum India repeated her request to Pakistan several times. But to no purpose The situation was growing worse day by day and there was the possibility of a greater conflagration between India and Pakistan International peace was threatened India was compelled after due consideration to lodge a complaint in the U N O against Pakistan

921 India's Memorandum

In accordance with Article 35 of the United Nations Charter India submitted a memorandum on December 31 1947 to the President of the Security Council India Stated —

> Such a situation now exists between India and Pakistan owing to the aid which invaders consisting of nationals of Pakistan and of tribesmen from territory adjoining Pakistan on the North West, are drawing for operations against Jammu and Kashmir which has acceded to the Dominion of India and is a part of India The Government of India requests the Security Council to call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately to giving such assistance which is an act of aggression against India If Pakistan does not do so the Govetnment of India may be compelled in self defence to enter Pakistan territory in order to

take military action against the invaders The matter is therefore of extreme urgency and calls for avoiding a breach of international peace

The facts point out indisputably to the conclusion —

(a) That the invaders are allowed transit across Pakistan territory

(b) That they are allowed to use Pakistan territory as a base of operations

(c) That they include Pakistan nationals

(d) That they draw much of their military equipment transport and supplies (including Petrol) from Pakistan

(e) That Pakistan officers are training guiding and otherwise actively helping them There is no source other than Pakistan from which they could obtain such quantities of modern military equipment

The Government of India has asked the Pakistan Government to deny the invaders facilities which constitute an act of aggression and hostility against India but without any response The last occasion on which this request was made was on December 22 1947 No reply to this letter has yet been received in spite of a telegraphic reminder sent on December 26 1947

In order that the objective of expelling the invaders from Indian territory and preventing him launching fresh attacks should be quickly achieved Indian troops would have to enter Pakistan territory Only thus could the invaders be denied the use of bases and cut off from their sources of supplies and reinforcements in Pakistan

Since the aid which the invaders are receiving from Pakistan is an act of aggression against India the Government of India are entitled in international law to send their armed forces across Pakistan territory for dealing effectively with the invaders

It therefore feels justified in requesting the Council to ask the Government of Pakistan —

1 To prevent Pakistan personnel military and civil participating in or assisting the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir State

2 To call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir State and

3 To deny the invaders —

(a) Access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir

(b) Military and other supplies and

(c) All other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle

922 Security Council's Action

Security Council placed the matter on its agenda on January 6 1948 In the meanwhile the Dominions of India and Pakistan sent their delegations respectively to Lake Success to take part in the Security Council's debate. Indian delegation consisted of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah M C Stelvad Col B N Kaul under the leadership of Shri N Gopalaswamy Ayyangar one time Premier of Kashmir Pakistan deputed Sir Mohd Zaffrullah Khan as its representative Under Article 31 United Nations Charter which lays down that any member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate without vote in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that member are specially affected the representatives of both the Governments were allowed to participate in the discussion without vote Mr Ayyangar presenting India's case in the Security Council on January 15 1948 stated —

> The withdrawal and expulsion of the raiders and invaders from the soil of Kashmir and immediate stoppage of the fight are the first and only task to which we have to address ourselves

Security Council on January 17 1948 appealed to both the Governments to refrain from making such statements which might worsen the situation more It asked both the Dominions of India and Pakistan to strain their every nerve to make the conditions better India replied to it on January 19 1948.

Commission to be Set Up

Security Council on January 20 1948 decided to set up a Commission consisting of three members for carrying out the instructions issued from time to time by the Council It was to mediate between India and Pakistan Both India and Pakistan were entitled to nominate one member for the Commission The number of the members of the Commission was later raised to five

President's Suggestions

This in no way mended matters Situation worsened Several meetings were held by the President of the Security Council with the representatives of India and Pakistan separately and jointly to arrive at a common decision But the gulf was widening between the point of view of the two Dominion representatives Still the President of the Council drafted certain proposals on the basis of these talks which were placed by him before the Council on January 6 1948 Some of the suggestions made by the President went against India's stand Pakistan was persisting on two things —

(1) Dissolution af Sheikh Abdullah's Government
(2) Clearing Kashmir of Indian troops

India's Reaction

Mr Ayyangar on February 3 1948 declared —

> This (Plebiscite) is a field in which the Council has no jurisdiction The matter is entirely for the jurisdiction of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and its people

Again replying the questions raised in the Council on February 5 1948 Mr Ayyangar stated on February 6 1948 —

> What is the status of these tribesmen which gives them the right to demand that a plebiscite should be satisfactory to them ? I am unable to see the strength behind such a position We have maintained that *the question of the future Government of Kashmir and the question of accession are matters for decision by the people of Kashmir*

Sheikh Abdullah spoke in the Security Council on February 6 1948 —

These raiders who had come to our land abducted thousands of our girls and looted our property All of a sudden Pakistan comes to the bar of the world as the champion of liberty of the people of Kashmir The world has got rid of Hitler and Goebbels but from what has happened and is happening in my country I am convinced that their souls have transmigrated to Pakistan

We want in Jammu and Kashmir that 40 lakhs of people—Hindus Sikh Muslims—should have their right to change their destiny to control their administration as best as they can

Indian Delegation Returns

Indian delegation decided to return to India and place the whole matter before their Government to get their instructions Security Council had strayed from its path It was made clear by Mr Avyangar when he stated in the Security Council on February 15 1948 that the issue with which we came here has been drowned in a cloud of other issues—issues which certainly could wait till fighting stopped Pandit Nehru was also forthright when he said at Jammu on February 15 1948 —

Instead of discussing and deciding our references in a straight forward manner the nations of the world sitting on that body got *lost in power politics*

Indian Delegation returned from Lake Success on February 19 1948 reaching Bombay on February 15 1948 Sheikh Abdullah at the time of landing in Bombay stated —

It is all power politics There seems to be no place for logic

923 Indian Delegation again to Lake Success

Security Council postponed discussion on Kashmir issue owing to the absence of the Indian *delegation* Delegation returned to Lake Success in the first week of March 1948 This time Sheikh Abdullah could not accompany the delegation Discussion was again resumed on March 10 1948 Consultations took place with the representatives of the two Governments—India and Pakistan. It was Dr Tsiang's (China) suggestion

Mr Avyangar stated in the Security Council on March 10 1948 —

> Any attempt on the part of the Security Council to demand that internal administration of a sovereign State should be put into the hands of an agency unconnected with the State perhaps or an agency which does not command the support of the people of that State is a proposition which is unthinkable and I would respectfully urge the Security Council not to press that idea on us
>
> It will not be possible for us to yield on the question of doing away with the administration that is functioning now and substituting in its place some hand of outside agency or an agency which does not meet with the support of the people of the State
>
> To ask for the exclusion of armed Indian forces altogether from the State is not a matter within the range of practical politics so far as we are concerned

Sir Zaffrullah Khan also stated on March 10 1948 —

> The whole question in Kashmir is whether Sheikh Abdullah or any other person who might be hand-picked by the Maharaja or by the Government of India and who is not acceptable to the people who are fighting that very Maharaja and that very Government should be in charge of the administration when the question in dispute is to decide by means of an election

924 Tsiang s Proposal

On March 18 1948 Dr T F Tsiang of China presented his proposal to the Security Council —

(i) To restore law and order

(ii) Plebiscite

(iii) General provisions

Dr Tsiang while presenting this resolution said that the proposal guarantees complete expression of the will of the people

India would have agreed to it had it not been altered in the course of discussion Sir Zaffrullah commenting on

the d aft resolution of Dr Tsiang on March 18 1948 said —

> I most earnestly submit to the Security Council that any Plebiscite held under a Government which has a man like Sheikh Abdullah at its head in a State which is oc upied by troops of one side is not likely to satisfy anyone that it is impartial
>
> Apart from anything else whatever resolution the Council passed it would have to satisfy the A a l Kashmir people sufficiently to make them stop fighting

Mr Philip Noel Baker Britain s representative while commenting on the resolution said —

> This resolution imposes a heavy duty on Pakistan in measures to stop fighting It points the way to Pakistan for fulfilment of this duty It is in the en during interests of Pakistan itself

925 Six Nations Resolution

On April 17 1948 Dr Lopez the President of the Council presented a six nations (Belgium Canada Colum bia Britain U S A) resolution on Kashmir It recom mended sending of a commission consi ting of five members to the Jammu and Kashmir State It took a new shape in th course of discussion and was finally accepted by the Council on April 21 1948 in spite of Indian delega tion s opposition to it

Rejecting the Six Nations resolution Mr Ayyangar stated on April 19 1948 —

> The accession which took place on October 26 1947 was both legal and lawful It has been followed up by India in the discharge of all obligations that her acceptance of accession imposed on her She is pro tecting her large populations from the unfriendly attentions of raiders from outside
>
> It is necessary for us to make it perfectly clear that after fighting ceases and peace and order are restored accession will still continu India s obligat ion will still continue both for defence and the main t nance of law and order until the pl biscite is taken

'To think of coalition Government in such circumstances is to invite the paralysis of the Kashmir Administration What need is there to provide for the requisition of additional forces for the purpose of pacification ? It is a round about-method of trying to introduce Pakistan forces into the Jammu and Kashmir State The introduction of these forces is fraught with incalculable risk

'As the resolution now stands India has definitely to express her strong opposition to it If however the resolution is carried in spite of our obligations and opposition it will be for my Government to decide its course of action in the circumstances so created'

Sir Zaffrullah Khan while commenting on the resolution said on April 19 1948 —

This resolution is based on those principles which the Security Council earlier thought essential Anyone will be immediately struck by the fact that in its main aspects this resolution is all one sided

Pakistan in order to discharge its obligations must have a certain number of its forces to help supervise the arrangements for cessation and withdrawal

Mr Ayyangar again stated on April 22 1948 —

The plebiscite administration is supposed to function in the name of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir It cannot therefore be asked to apply to an outside State to supply forces which it may require for the performance of its functions inside Kashmir It is obvious that no forces will be under the control of the Commission My objection is also against the importation of any Pakistan forces to help in conducting the plebiscite

926 India s Reaction

In the session of the All India Congress Committee held at Bombay on April 24 1948 Pandit Nehru stated that it was impossible for India to accept the resolution on Kashmir passed by the Security Council He further expressed that this straight issue has been consistently baulked by the Security Council

On April 26 1948 he again declared at Bombay —

> Whatever be the decision of the United Nations on the Kashmir problem the Government of India will fulfil their pledge to the people of the State

The General Council of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference unanimou lv rejecting the resolution on Kashmir on April 2? 1948 declared —

> U N has no right to force us an unfair decision againt the wishes of the people

927 India s Reply

India in her letter of April 5 1948 to the President of the Security Council regretted to implement those parts of the *resolution which were opposed by their delegation* in unambiguous terms The Indian Cabinet while commenting on the re olution on May 6 1948 declared —

> India cannot agree to the plan envisaged in the re olution for she cannot yield on fundam ntals

928 Kashmir Commission Set Up

A Kashmir Commission was set up on May 7 1948 consisting of five members India and Pakistan chose C echoslavakia and Argentine respectively and the Securi ty Council nominated Belgium and Columbia U S A was added as the fifth member Security Council placed before India a draft agreement on May 10 1948

9991 Security Council s Resolution

A resolution was pass d in the Council on June 3 1948 with a majority vote of eight members China Russia and Ukraine abstained from voting

Th re olution was rejected by India By June 3 1948 resolution the Kashmir Commission was authorised to enter into necessary consultations with two Governments *regarding the issu in dispute India was inform d to this* re pect

9292 Commisson Takes Up Task

The Commission held its first meeting in Geneva on June 15 1948 It held eleven m etings upto July 3 1948 *for deciding its future course of action Th Commission* informed Indi on June 23 1948 about its int ntion to leave for India for ent ring into necessary consultations

for settling the Kashmir issue India promised every possible help

It was on July 5, 1948 that the Commission left for India It remained in India upto September 22 1948 and on its return presented its first Interim Report to the Council The Commission saw things for itself and entered into various talks both with Pakistan and India

9293 August Resolution

The Kashmir Commission passed a resolution on August 13 1948 in Karachi and presented it simultaneously to the Governments of India and Pakistan on August 14 1948

Resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan at its fortieth meeting on Friday in Karachi

The United Nations Commis ion for India and Pakistan having given careful consideration to the point of view expressed by the representatives of India and Pakistan regarding the situation in the State of Jammu and Kasmir and being the opinion that the prompt cessation of hostilities and the correction of conditions the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security are essential to implementation of its endeavours to assist the Governments of India and Pakistan in effecting a final settlement of the situation

Resolves to submit simultaneously to the Governments of India and Pakistan the following proposal —

PART I

Cease Fire Order

A The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that their respective High Commands will issue separately and simultaneously a cease-fire order to apply to all forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as of the earliest practical date or dates to be mutually agreed upon within four days after these proposal have been accepted by both Governments

B The High Commands of the Indian and Pakistan forces agree to refrain from taking any measures that might augment the Military potential of the

forces under their control in the State of Jammu and Kashmir

(For the purpose of these proposals forces under their control shall be considered to include all forces organised and un organised fighting or participating in hostilities on their respective sides)

C The Commanders in Chief of the forces of India and Pakistan shall promptly confer regarding any necessary local changes in present dispositions which may facilitate the cease fire

D In its discretion and a the Commission may find practicable the Commission will appoint Military Observers who under the authority of the Commission and with the co operation of both Commands will supervise the observance of the Cease fire order

E The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan agree to appeal to their respective peoples to assist in creating and maintaining an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of furthur negotiations

PART II

Truce Agreement

Simultaneously with the acceptance of the proposal for the immed ate cessation of hostilities as outlined in Part I both Governments accept the following principles as a basis for the formulation of a truce agreement the details of which shall be worked out in discussion between their representatives and the Commission

A 1 As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State

The Government of Pakistan will use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the Stat of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally r sident therein

who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting

3 Pending a final solution the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops will be administered by the local authorities under the surveillance of the Commission

B 1 When the Commission shall have notified the Government of India that the tribesmen and Pakistan nationals referred to in Part II A 2 hereof have withdrawn thereby terminating the situation which was represented by the Government of India to the Security Council as having occasioned the presence of Indian forces in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and further that the Pakistan forces are being withdrawn from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the Government of India agrees to begin to withdraw the bulk of their forces from that State in stages to be agreed upon with the Commission

2. Pending the acceptance of the conditons for final settlement of the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir the Indian Government will maintain within the lines existing at the moment of the cease-fire those forces of its Army which in agreement with the Commission are considered necessary to assist local authorities in the observance of law and order The Commission will have observers stationed where it deems necessary

3 The Government of India will undertake to ensure that the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will take all measures within their power to make it publicly known that peace law and order will be safeguarded and that all human and political rights will be guaranteed

C 1 Upon signature the full text of the Truce Agreement or a communique containing the principles thereof as agreed upon between the two Governments and the Commission will be made public

PART III

Plebiscite

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir *shall be determin* ed in accordanc with the w ll of the people and to that end upon acceptance of the true agreement both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions wnereby such free expression will be assured

9294 Reactions

India moved by a genuine desire for settling the Ka hmir issue and for upholding the honour and prestige of the U N O gave its unqualified support to the August Resolution by accepting it in its entirety while Pakistan s approval tentamount to d nial was conditional It made the situation critical

92941 Clarification Sought

At the time of the discussion on the August Resolution *Pt Nerhu in a letter dated August 20 1948 to Dr Joseph* Korbel Chairman of the Commission referred to the spar sely populated mountain ous regions of the Jammu and Kashmir State in the north the probl m of whose admi nistration and defence was not covered by the Resolution

He had further said that as the authority of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir over this region as a whole had not been challenged or disturbed the respon ibility for the admini tration of the area should revert to the State Government and the defence to India Gilgit would be the only exception that India would be prepared to make

India should then b free to maintain garrison at select ed points for the dual purpose of preventing the incursions of tribesmen who obey no authority and to gaurd the main trade routes from the State into Central Asia

In his letter dated August 25 1948 the Chairman of the Commission confirm d that due to peculiar conditions of this area the Commission did not specifically deal with the military aspect of the population in its resolution of

August 13' The Commission believed that the question raised in the Prime Minister s letter could be considered in the implementation of the resolution

92942 Pakistan s Rejection

Pakistan after a good deal of hesitation communicated her decision rejecting the August Resolution on September 6 1948 to the Commission Two points of special note occur in the letter That political control of

(1) Azad Kashmir forces rested with the Azad Kashmir Government and that the Azad Kashmir Government alone had authority to issue a cease fire order to those forces

(2) the Azad Kashmir Government was a necessary party to any settlement of the Kashmir question

9295 Commission s Announcement

The Commission declared on September 6, 1948 —

> The replies of the two Governments to the Commission s proposal showed that while the Government of India had accepted it being animated by the sincere desire to promote the cause of peace and thus to upnold the principles and prestige of the U N" the Pakistan Government's acceptance was conditional which meant rejection

9296 Marshall s Appeal

Mr Marshall, U S Secretary of State stated before the U N General Assembly on September 23 1948 —

> 'Mediation and negotiation between India and Pakistan with regard to Kashmir should be continued in order to achieve a peaceful settlement of an issue which has been charged with grave dangers

9298 Pakistan s Hue and Cry

Kashmir question came before the Security Council on November 25 1948. Sir Zaffrullah Pakistan representative raised great hue and cry at the Indian Army's advance He said that the Indian Army had advanced 50 miles taking possession of 1 000 sq miles of Muslim populated area Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai replying to Sir Zaffrullah s

allegations said that the military action was taken as a defensive measure He further stated that the Pakistani troops were in Kashmir which is a part of the Indian Union They together with A ad Kashmir forces under the overall military administration of Pakistan High Com mand were making aggressive attacks on the Indian fronts in north west and south

92991 Plebiscite Proposals

It was on January 5 1949 that the Kashmir Commission passed a resolution which had been accepted by the Government of India and Pakistan previously regarding the free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir Originally the resolution had appeared as a supplementary to the August 13 1948 resolution Accordingly a cease fire was orderd on January 1 1949 But soon differences cropped up between India and Pakistan owing to the different and contradictory interpretations placed bv the two Govern ments on certain clauses of the plebiscite proposals th reader can himself gauge the gulf thus created by going through the interpretations which have been given in the next capter of the two Governments respectively All the later developments have been briefly described in the next chapter

929911 Plebiscite Formula

A The Commission re affirms its resolution of 13th August 1948

B The Government of India and Pakistan simulta neously accept supplementary to this resolution the following principles —

1 The question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decid ed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite

2. A plebiscite will be held when it shall b found by the Commission that the cease fire and the truce arrangements set forth in parts I and II of th Commission s resolution of 13th August 1948 have been carried out and the arrangements for the plebiscite completed

3 (a) The Secretary General of the United Nations will in agreement with the Commission nominate a Plebiscite Administrator who will be a personality of high international standing and commanding general confidence He will be formally appointed to office by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir

(b) The Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organising and conducting the plebiscite and for ensuring the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite

(c) The Plebiscite Administrator shall have authority to appoint such staff of assistants and observers as he may require

4 (a) After implementation of Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of August 13th 1948, and when the Commission is satisfied that peaceful conditions have been restored in the State the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator will determine in consultation with the Government of India the final disposal of Indian and State armed forces such disposal to be with due regard to the State and the freedom of the plebiscite

(b) As regard to the territory referred to in A 3 of Part II of the resolution of 13th August final disposal of the armed forces in that territory will be determined by the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator in consultation with the local authorities

5 All Civil and Military authorities within the State and the principle political elements of the State will be required to co operate with the Plebiscite Administrator in the preparation for and the holding of the plebiscite

6 (a) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the disturbances will be invited and be free to return and exercise all their rights as such citizens For the purpose of facilitating repatriation there shall be appointed two Commissions one composed of nominees of

India and other of the nominees of Pakistan The Commissions shall operate under the direc tion of the Plebiscite Administrator The Government of India and Pakistan and all autho rities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will collaborate with the Plebiscite Administ rator in putting this provision into effect

(b) All persons (other than citi ens of the State) who on or since 15th Augut 1947 have enter ed it for other than lawful purpose shall be required to leave the State

7 All authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir will undertake to ensure in collabora tion with the Plebiscite Administrator that —

(a) There is no threat coercion or intimidation bribery or other undue influence on the voters in the plebiscite

(b) No restrictions are placed on legitimate politi cal activity throughout the State All subjects of the State regardless of creed caste or party shall be safe and free in expressing their views and in voting on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan There shall be freedom of travel in the State including freedom of lawful entry and exit

(c) All political prisoners are released

(d) Minorities in all parts of the State are accord ed adequate protection and

(e) There is no victimization

8 The Plebiscite Administrator may refer to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakis tan problems on which he may require assistance and the Commission may in its discretion call upon the Plebiscite Administrator to carry out on its behalf any of the responsibilities with which it has been entrusted

9 At the conclusion of the plebiscite the Plebiscite Administrator shall report the re ult thereof o the Commission and the Government of Jammu

and Kashmir The Commission shall then certify to the Security Council whether the plebiscite has or has not been free and impartial

10 Upon the signature of the truce agreement, the details of the foregoing proposals will be elaborated in the consultations envisaged in Part I and Part II of the Commission's resolution of 13th August 1948 The plebiscite Administrator will be fully associated in these consultation

CHAPTER XI

CEASE FIRE AND AFTER

14 month old strife b tween Pakistan and India over Kashmir ceased one minute before mid night of January I 1949 when Indian Government announced it officially It was received with a sense of profound relief by the people of India

931 Cease fire Implemented

A Press Communique of the Government of India on the Cease fire stated —

> Recently Dr Alfredo Lo ano a member of the U N Commission for India and Pakistan accompanied by Mr Samper his alternate and Dr Erik Colban personal representative of the Secretary G neral of the United Nations visited New Delhi and Karachi to discuss with the two Governments certain proposals to supplement Part III of the Commission s resolution of 13th August 1948 These proposals dealt with certain principles to govern the holding of a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir after normal conditions h d been restored The Commission felt that the acceptance of the e proposals by both Governments would enable the implementation without delay of Parts I and II of the Commission s Resolution of 13th August 1948 Dr Lozano s mission succeeded and he returned to New York on the 26th December to r port to th Commission which is due to meet again on January 3 1949

The Communique added —

> The Commission s announcement of its latest proposals should b shortly forthcoming In view how ev r of the fact that with the acceptance of these proposals there remained no reason for a continuation of hostilities until the Commission s formal announcement the Government of India authorised their Commander in Chief General Sir Roy Bucher to inform General Sir Douglas Gracey Commander in Chief Pakistan that the Indian troops would ceas fire provided that the Commander in Chief Pakistan

could give assurance of immediate effective reciprocal action on his part The Commander in-Chief Pakistan having given with the authority of his Government the assurance asked for a cease-fire has been ordered to take effect from one minute before mid night of January 1 1949'

932 Conflicting Interpretations

Both the Governments of India and Pakistan tried to act up to the cease-fire order But there were violations of the cease-fire by Pakistan after some time Conflicting interpretations were put by India and Pakistan on the U N Commission s proposals that led to cease fire in Kashmir It caused stir in political circles and among the general public The Government of India published the full text of negotiation called *aide memoire* carried on by Pandit Nehru with Dr Lozano on the 21st and 22nd December 1948 in the Indian Press on the 16th January 1949 And on the 17th January 1949 appeared Pakistan s interpretations and clarifications

933 Aide-Memoire

On December 21, 1949 Dr Lozano accompanied by his Alternate Mr Samper and Mr Colban Personal Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations met Pt Nehru the Prime Minister Sri Gopalaswami Ayyanger and Sir G S Bajpai were also present The relevant portions of the negotiation is as under —

> The discussion of the Commi sion s Plebiscite Proposals fell into two parts (1) General and (2) Particular in reference to individual clauses The Prime Minister empha ized (1) that if the Government of India were to accept the Commision s plebiscite proposals, no action could be taken in regard to them until Parts I and II of the Commission s Resolution o August 13 had been fully implemented (2) that in the event of Pakistan not accepting these propo als or having accepted them not implementing Parts I and II of the Resolution of August 13 the Government of India s acceptance of them hould not be regarded as in any way bindin, upon them (3) Part III of the Commission s Resolu

tion of August 13 provided that the status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end upon the acceptance of the Truce Agreement both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured

The present proposals appeared to limit the method of ascertaining the will of the people regarding the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to a Plebiscite While the Government of India adhered to their position in regard to a plebiscite they had pointed out that in view of the difficulties of holding a plebiscite in present conditions in Kashmir *other methoas of acseertaining the wish of the people should also be explored*

The Commission had itself recognized the difficulties of carrying out a plebiscite in Kashmir The Government of India feels that the exploration of other methods should not be ruled out

(4) B 1 Preamble The phrase The Governments of India and Pakistan simultaneously accept is incorrect in that either Government may not accept the principles supplementary to the Resolution of August 13 Even if both Governments accept them the acceptance cannot b simultaneous The wording should be changed accordingly

B 3(B) The question was raised whether the form of words employed was intended to give the Plebiscite Administrator powers of interference in the administration of the State e g by direction and supervision of the State forces and Police mentioned in paragraph B 8 of the Security Council s Resolution of April 21 1948 Dr Lo ano said this was not the intention of the Commission and the words quoted above had been deliberately omitted His functions and powers would be limited to ensuring that the Plebiscite was free and impartial

B 4(B) The Prime Minister drew attention to the fact that the Azad Kashmir' forces which had been armed and equipped by Pakistan and were under the operational command of the Pakistan army, ran into tens of thousands Their presence in territories referred to in A 3 of Part II of the Resolution of August 13 even after demobilization would be a constant threat to the territory under the control of Indian and State forces a deterrent to the return of many refugees and an obstacle to the free expression of opinion regarding the future status of the State by those who might be opposed to the accession of the State to Pakistan Dr Lozano pointed out *that it was the Commission s intention that there should be large scale disarming of those forces* though it would not be possible to require withdrawal from these territories of genuine inhabitants of these areas

B 6(A) Dr Lozano agreed that it was not the Commission s intention that Pakistan Commission should operate outside Pakistan Thus Pakistan Commission would not operate in the territory referred to in A 3 of Part II of the Resolution of August 13 The Prime Minister then raised the question of the free return to the State of all citizens who had left it on account of disturbances He said the entry of persons claiming to be citizens into the State would have to be most carefully checked Dr Lozano said the Commission fully realized the necessity of an accurate and effective check but had not gone into details Possibly those returning to the State could be stopped and examined at the frontier

The Prime Minister pointed out that considering the length of the frontier and the ease with which people could slip across the border over mountain tracks a check on the frontier would not be effective except by the employment of large forces

Apart from the problem of entry there is even the more important problem of the rehabilitation and protection of those who have left the State on account of recent disturbances Homes have been destroyed property has been lost there has been wholesale dispossession of persons from the land that they used to cultivate

B 6 (B) It is assumed that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will decide whether or not a person entered the State for a lawful purpose

B 7 (B) India is a secular State the United Nations also is a secular organisation Pakistan aims at being a theocratic State An appeal to religious fanaticism could not be regarded as legitimate political activity Dr Lozano agreed that any political activity which might tend to disturb law and order could not be regarded as legitimate The same test would apply to freedom of press and of speech

As regards the freedom of lawful entry and exit this must obviously be governed by B 6 of the proposals It is assumed that in the territory under their control entry and exit will be regulated by rules framed for the purpose by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir with due regard to the security of the State and the maintenance of law and order

Dr Lozano said that a system of permits would probably be necessary

With due regard to the security of the State the Government of India wish to emphasise the supreme importance which they attach to adequate provision for the security of the State in all contingencies

Dr Lozano and Mr Colban met the Prime Minister at 11 a m on December 22

Dr Lozano said that the *aide memoire* of the conference which took place on Monday December 20 was a correct account

of the proceedings He suggested however that the phrase large scale disarming' of the Azad Kashmir forces used in the *position of the aide memoire dealing with* B 4 (B) of the Commission's plebiscite proposals did not perhaps represent the Commission's intention What the Commission had in mind was the disbanding of these forces Disarming it was assumed would follow The Prime Minister pointed out that disbandment was not the same thing as disarming Pakistan had raised something like 35 battalions of 28 000 to 30 000 men who now formed part of the Azad Kashmir forces The presence of such a large number of armed people even if the regular formation were disbaned would not be conducive to either the security of that part of Jammu and Kashmir which is under the control of India and State forces or the security of those inhabitants of the territories referred to in A 3 of Part II of the Resolution of August 13 who did not fully subscribe to or share the political views of pro Pakistan elements

Moreover the question of the re entry into these territories of State citizens who had left it on account of the present conflict had to be kept in mind With such a large number of members of the Azad Kashmir forces under arms former inhabitants of these territories who held different political views would not dare to re enter and therefore would be debarred from participation in a free and impartial plebiscite

'In view of this explanation *Dr Lozano agreed that the phrase large scale disarming should be regarded as correctly interpreting the Commission's intention*

Under the Commission's proposals the Governments of India and Jammu and Kashmir assumed a great many responsibilities while Pakistan had to do practically nothing The Governments of India and

Jammu and Kashmir could not in fairness be expected to discharge any of their responsibilities regarding the plebiscite until there was satisfactory evidence that Pakistan was carrying out its obligations under Part II of the Resolution of August 13

B 9 As at present worded could be interpreted to mean that consultations with the Plebiscite Administrator should start immediately on the signature of the truce This clearly was not feasible

Dr Lozano and Mr Colban pointed out that when the paragraph in question was drafted all these considerations were not present to the mind of the Commission The Commission according to Dr Lozano had assumed that since the Prime Minister of India had informed the Commission two days after it had placed before him the conditions attached by the Government of Pakistan to their acceptance of the Resolution of August 13 that he stood on his original premises that Pakistan forces must be withdrawn from the State before the Government of India could consider any further steps action in relation to B 9 would be feasible only after satisfactory progress had been made with the implementation of Part II of the Resolution of August 13

Mr Colban and he agreed that the consultations envisaged in B 9 could take place only after the Commission was satisfied that satisfactory progress had been made with the implementation of Part II of the Resolution i e after hostile tribesmen Pakistan forces and Pakistan nationals who had entered Jammu and Kashmir for the purpose of fighting had withdrawn from the State territory Dr Lozano said that this was the interpretation of B 9 which they would present to the Pakistan Government in Karachi

'The Prime Minister pointed out that if Pakis an accepted the present proposals and carried out its obligations under Part II of the Resolution of August 13 promptly he saw no reason why the appointm nt should take much time What he wished to empha size was that there would be nothing which the Plebiscite Administrator should usefully do in India until progress had been made with the imolem n tation of Part II of the Resolution as now explained by Dr Lozano and Mr Colban

As regards alternative methods of ascertaining the wish of the people regarding the future status of Jammu and Kashmir Dr Lozano said that the state-ment in Para 3 of the Aide-memoire dated December 21 1948 was substantially similar to his own record

934 Pakistani Version

The Government of Pakistan released the text of the Commission s propo al of December 11 1948 the clari fications given by Dr Lozano to the Pakistan Government and the Pakistan Government s letter of December 25 1 49 accepting the Commission s proposals as explained and elucidated by Dr Lozano on January 17 1949 Following are the relevant extracts -

The Truce Agreement prov des for the following —

1 Withdrawal from the State of all Pakistan troops and of the bulk of the Indian Army In its letter of 27th August 1948 to the Government of Pakistan the Commission explained that synchro-nization of the withdrawal of the armed forces of the two Governments will be arranged between the respective high commands and the commis ion The Pakistan representatives were also informed that the number of Indian troops to be retained during the truce period in the areas now occupied by the Indian Army will be the minimum required for the maintenance of internal security and law and order

2 The Commission further explained in its letter of 19th S pt 1948 that th area in the occupation of forces under the overall contr ol of the Pakistan High Command would remain in the occupation of the Azad Kashmir forces The Commission stated

categorically that its resolu ion of 13th August do s not contemplate the disarma-nent or disbanding of the Azad Kashmir Forces

3 The Pakistan Government undertook to use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the State ot tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normal ly resident therein who had entered the State tor the purpose of fighting

4 Pending a final solution the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops would be administered by the local authorities under th surveillance of the Com mission It was explained by the Commission that the term local authorities meant th Azad Kashmir Government although the Commission could not and did not accord recognition to that Gov rnm nt It was further explained that surveil ance did not mean actual control or super ision and that the Commis sion s sole aim would be to ensure that the local uthorities did not violate the cease fire and truce agreements The Commission also explained that it did not contemplate surveillance of the Gilgit admin istration which was temporarily in charge of a Poltical Agent of the Pakistan Government The Commission also made it clear that the Maharaja s Government would not under any circumstances be permitted to interfere with or to send any military or civil official to the territory und r the control ot the local authoties

5 The Government of India und rtook to ensure that the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir would take all measur s within their power to make it publically known that peace law and order would be sateguarded and that all human and political rights would be guaranteed The Commission expected that sim lar action would be taken by the local authorities in th areas evacuated by Pakistan troops.

6 The third part of the agreement r lates to the holding of a plebiscite

Dr Lozano explained that the expression the Plebiscite Administrator will be formally

appointed to Office by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir does not mean that he will be an employee of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir or subject to its control the Plebiscite Administrator would in fact be a person of high international standing and commanding general confidence

III The Plebiscite Administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organizing and conducting the plebiscite and for ensuring the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite

V When the Commission is satisfied that Parts I and II of its Resolution of August 13 have been implemented and peaceful conditions have been restored in the State the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator will determine in consultation with the Government of India and the local authorities in the areas evacuated by the Pakistan Army the final disposal of Indian and State armed forces on the one hand and of the Azad Kashmir Forces on the other with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite Dr Lozano informed the Pakistan Government that it is the intention of the Commission to ensure in due course a large scale reduction and disarmament of the armed forces on both sides of the cease fire line and that the exact scope of this reduction and disarmament would be determined by the Commission and the Plebiscite Administrator in consultation with the authorities concerned

VI All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the disturbances will be free to return to the State and exercise their rights as such citizens The United Nations Commission contemplates the establishment of two Commissions one operating in India and the other in Pakistan to assist the return to the State of the refugees

VII All persons (other than citizens of the State) who on or since 15th August 1947 have entered it for other than lawful purposes

hall be required to leave the State Dr Lozano informed the Pakistan Government th t the object of this provision is to ensu e the withdrawal of elements which hav endangered or might endanger the mainte nance of peace and order and of refugees and the nationals of India and Pakistan who have entered the State since 15th August 1947 otherwise than for lawful purpose

VIII. There shall be complete freedom of l gitimate political activity throughout the State including freedom of th press speech and ass mbly and freedom of travel in the State and freedom of lawful entry and exit release of political pri oners adequate protec tion of minorities etc Th se condition have to be ensur d by all authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir in collaboration with the Plebiscite Administrator

(8) The abov sets out in brief the basis on which the Pakistan Gover ment has accepted and is imple menting the Commission s resolutions of 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949 The Pakistan Gov rn ment wishes to empha i that it is not bound by any explanation or clarifications which are contrary to the express provi ions of th Commission s resolution of 13th August 1948 and 5th January 1949 or to the clarifications giv n by the Commission to the Pakistan Government

935 Military Observers Appointed

On the recommendation of the Kashmir Commission the Security Council appointed Lt General Maurice Delvoie as the Chief Military Advisor of the Commission to supervis the observation by the two Gov rnments of the Cea e fire agreement He was to be aided by a group of 37 Military Obs rvers out of which 35 were working in the State by the end of June 1949

936 Plebiscite Administrator

Admiral Ches er Nimit was formally appointed as the Plebiscit Administrator in Kashmir by the U N O with the approval of both India and Pakistan Admiral Nimitz

commanded the U S A Navy in the Pacific Ocean and during the Second World War he was raised to the position of Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet and later made fleet Admiral He intended to leave for India on April 30 1949 but had to give up his intention due to deadlock on the Part II of the August Resolution between the Governments of Indian Republic and the Pakistan Dominion From the date of his appointment Admiral Nimitz has been drawing $40 000 per year from the United Nations as Plebiscite Administrator

937 New Proposals

The deadlock was inevitable because conflicting interpretations were put by India and Pakistan on the U N Commission s proposals that led to cease fire in Kashmir The Indian Government taking its stand on the interpretation given to Pt Nehru by Dr Lozano on the 21st and 22nd of December (1948) called aides memoire insisted on large scale disbanding and disarming the so-called Azad Kashmir forces and setting up the sovereignity of the Kashmir Government on the areas thus evacuated But the Pakistan Government insisted upon a strict adherence to the terms of the August Resolution She contended that the Azad forces should not be treated as a part of the truce agreement but only at such time as the final disposal of the forces remaining on the Indian side of the cease fire line is considered Further Pakistan was eager to create a civil armed force from the ranks of the Azad Forces in the territory to be evacuated by the Pakistan troops to maintain law and order in the Azad territory It was presented by the Pakistan delegation to the Commission s Truce Sub Committee on March 9 1949

Both the Commission and the Government of India couldnot accept the Government of Pakistan s interpretation that the declared objective of the truce arrangement is to create a military balance between the forces on each side India in its submission to the Commission on the implementation of truce on March 28 1949 again reiterated its earlier stand regarding the disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces By the beginning of April 1949 the views of the two Governments had begun to be increasingly divergent

938 Commission s View

In order to overcome this difficulty the Commission elaborated a general plan which envisaged the creation of a civil armed force with the assistance of Pakistan of approxi matly ten battalions It was presented orally to the representatives of both the Governments But it was more in the nature of a sounding out than concrete proposals But it oon became clear to the Commission that Pakistan was thinking along the lines of a reorganiza tion with only a minor reduction of the forces which were to retain a military and not civil character while India on the other hand appeared to be thinking more along the lines of the creation of a civil police force

9391 First Truce Proposals

The Commi sion pr sented i s first truce proposals to India and Pakistan on April 15 1949 It did not mention the Azad Kashmir Forces India insisted that the assurance given to the Prime Minister on December 22 1948 should be made clear b yond doubt and that decisions to implement this assurance should be taken not later than the compl tion of the withdrawal of Pakistan troops But Pakistan contended that the propo als were at variance with the resolution of August 13 1948 as clarified to her and hence were rejected It b came clear that the difference between the two Governments centred round two mains points—the withdrawal ot troops and the defence of th Northern Area

9392 Revised Proposals

The Commission s revi ed proposals of April 28 1949 introduced certain clauses with respect to the Azad forces and provided for an initial implementation of point 4 of the resolution of Janu ry 5 1949 through consultations with the authorities on both sides immediately upon the signature—and not completion—of the truce The two Governments were asked to convey their final decision within one week which was later on given up

93921 India s Reply

India s reply to the Commission s truce terms May 18 1949 reiterated its earlier stand regarding the A ad Forces It demanded that the question of the A ad Forces" should not be left in a state of uncertainty or be

the subject of challenge and dispute India, accordingly asked —

(1) That the agreement of the Government of Pakistan should be obtained now to the disbanding and disarming of these 32 battalions

(2) The procedure and phasing of the disbandment and disarming should commence immediately after the Truce is signed

(3) The phasing of the withdrawal of the Indian troops be not divorced from and should depend on, the progress made with the actual disbanding and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir forces

Besides the reply of the Secretary General of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs of June 17 1949 requested for assurances which went considerably beyond the scope of the proposals of the Commission Pakistan's reply of May 13 1949 was also not an acceptance of the Commission's proposals It was clearly contrary to the position taken by the Government of India

9393 Commission's Decision

It was on May 31 1949 that the Commission studied simultaneously the replies of India and Pakistan to its proposals It declared on June 6 1949, that the two Governments had rejected its revised proposals It further decided to depute Dr Lozano to Delhi for getting further clarifications from the Government of India regarding her reply to the Commission

Mr Trygve Lie, Secretary General U N O affirmed his faith in resolving the Kashmir deadlock that had ensued due to Commission's failure

9394 Dr Lozano Resigns

Dr Alfredo Lozano a prominent member of the Kashmir Commission resigned the membership of the Commission on June 24 1949 owing to the change in Ministry in Columbia He was succeeded by Mr Samper

9395 Permanent Cease fire Line

The Commission in its letter of July 1 1949 desired to bring about an agreement on a permanent cease fire line through meetings of the military representatives of the

two Governments at Karachi Accordingly the consultations between th representatives of the Commission and the military representatives of the two Governments were held in Karachi from July 18 to 28 1949 resulting in definition of an agreed cease fire line

The new line runs from Manawar to Gurez via Keren and beyond Gurez to south of Kishen Ganga river to a point south of Taobat From here it runs north of the river to Gurez and the Talel valley The line then cuts accross the Bur il Nullah north of Chorwan Thus the lin runs from Manawar to Shyok glaciers in the north 800 miles long

9396 Joint Meeting Proposed

The success of Karachi Conference coupled with the futility of continuing th negotiations separately with the two Governments made the Commission suggest a joint meeting at ministerial level under the auspices of the Commission But the Commission had to withdraw its invitation in view of the letters of reply from both Governments regarding the procedural question of a provisional agenda The Government of Pakistan in its letter dated August 16 1949 stated that the question of the disarming and disbanding of the Azad forces cannot be discussed during the forthcoming talks India on the other hand insisted that the inclusion of this subject was essential

9397 Arbitration Proposal

The Commission at its meeting on August 26 1949 approved Arbitration proposal which was sent to both Governments on August 29 30 1949 Article 5 of the said memorandum was as follows —

> The Commission in the light of the existing circumstances decided to ask both Governments whether they will agree to the course of action outlined below for the conclusion of the Truce
>
> 1 The two Governments agree
>
> (a) that they will submit to arbitration the differences existing between them concerning all questions raised by regarding the implementation of Part II of the August Resolution the arbitrator to decide these questions

according to equity and his decision to be binding on both parties

(b) that the arbitration will terminate once the truce terms are decided upon

(c) that Admiral Nimitz will be arbitrator

(d) that the procedure of the arbitration will be worked out subsequently

(e) since the procedure of arbitration will be limited to the conclusion of a truce the Commission will continue in the exercise of its functions Upon an arbitral the Commission will undertake the tasks assigned to it under the truce and under the resolution of January 5 1949

2 With reference to paragraph 1 (d) above the Commission considers that it would be in appropriate in advance of approval by the parties of the proposed course of action and of the person of the arbitrator to seek to define the exact procedure to be followed

93971 Undue Intervention

President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee sent two letters to the Governments of India and Pakistan on August 31 1949 appealing them to accept the Commission s latest proposals of August 29 1949 for settlement in the name of peace Pakistan accepted it But India termed it serious intervention and hence rejected it It was to undermine the work of the Security Council and the prestige of the U N O India s stand was later on justified by Dr Chyle a member of U N C I P in his minority report to the Security Council in which he accused U S A and U K for their interventions with absolute disregard of the competence of the appropriate organs of the United Nations

93972 India s Reply to Arbitration Proposal

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai Secretary General External Affairs Ministry in his letter dated September 8 1949 to the Chairman U N C I P stated

As requested in the concluding paragraph of the memorandum that you gave me on August 30 on

behalf of the UNCIP I am communicating to you in writing the views of my Government

Two Questions

In the course of the conversation that I had with your Excellency and Ambassador Colban on August 30 I asked two questions

1. Whether the Commission would state to the arbitrator the points submitted to arbitration

2. Whether the Commission would furnish to the arbitrator a clear account of the circumstances leading up to the present position and the Commission's own conclusions on points like the disbanding and disarming of Azad Kashmir forces on which it has already reached a conclusion

In answer to the first question your Excellency said that the Commission would prefer both parties to accept the wording of 1 (a) of paragraph 5 and to present to the arbitrator the specific points on which they seek his decision It would then be for the arbitrator to decide whether the issues raised by each party were germane to the truce or not

About the second question your Excellency explained that the Commission was now approaching an entirely new angle and entirely afresh Therefore it did not wish to go into the past Each party must state its own view in their historical context on the points that may be referred to arbitration

The effect of the explanation given by your Excellency in answer to my first question would be that the arbitrator would be free to determine the points on which he should arbitrate So far as the Government of India are aware, this procedure is novel and without precedent and could hardly be justified

As regards the answer to the second question the Government of India can only express their surprise and disappointment at the attitude of the Commission Apart from either party setting out its own version of past events it would have been just and proper if the Commission which has dealt with the matter during all these months had given an impartial and authorita

tive account of the facts which are within its knowledge and of the assurances given to it

The truce proposals embodied in Part II of the August Resolution cannot be divorced either from the events and discussions that preceded the acceptance by the Government of India of that resolution or the events and negotiations that have followed it

Kashmir Part of India

'The presence of Pakistan troops in the territory of Jammu and Kashmir is only one instance of Pakistan s aggression in the State of Jammu and Kashmir which by reason of its accession to India accession the legality of which the Commission has not questioned and is in fact and law beyond question is part of India

Pakistan s Aggression

The aggression began with the invasion of the State by tribesmen and other Pakistan nationals whom Pakistan aided and abetted It has continued ever since not only by reason of the entry of Pakistan regular forces into Jammu and Kashmir but by the waging of war by Pakistan against Indian and State forces the enlargement and organizaiton of the so called Azad Kashmir forces under the operational command of the Pakistan Army and the penetration of Pakistan troops into the thinly populated and mountainous territory in the north of the State

Pakistan s spirit of aggression has been further repeatedly manifested in the refusal even to discuss the disbanding and disarming of the Azad forces whose strength constitutes a menace as was pointed out to Dr Lozano during his conversations with the Prime Minister last December to the security of the portion of the State now under Indian control and an obstacle to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite

Defence of Norther Area

The same conclusion can be drawn from Pakistan s claim that the sparsely populated and mountainous region in the north of the State should be treated in exactly the same manner as the so called Azad Kashmir area referred to in A 3 of part II of the August Resolution

The Commission will note that this latest claim of Pakistan renders nugatory the assurances given by the Commission in Mr Korbel s letter of August 25 1948 to the Prime Minister that the problem of administration or defence in this large area could be considered in the implementation of the Resolution

The Govnrnment of India have repeatedly affirmed before the Commission and elsewhere that no settle ment of the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir could be either just or lasting which did not take into account the moral element inherent in an act of aggression This is as true of a settlement of the dispute over the truce terms as of the overall dispute about the future of the State The throwing open of the whole of this issue to debate before the arbitrator would in the absence of an objective statement by the Commission of all relevant facts inevitably prolong the proceedings and thus in definitely postpone that early and definitive action to implement part II of the August Resolution which the Commission and the Government of India desire

Disbandment of Azad Kashmir Forces Essential

In the Government of India s view the attitude of the Government of Pakistan towards the large scale disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces is a fatal obstacle to the bringing about of the peaceful conditions required for plebiscite According to our understanding Pakistan s contention is that since no reference is made to such disbanding and disarming in part II of the August Resolution this matter cannot be even discussed in considering the implementation of part II of the Resolution

But the Government of Pakistan forgets that before they agreed to accept that resolution, this matter was discussed between us and the Commission and we were given a specific assurance on behalf of the Commissi on that large scale disbanding and disarming of Azad forces would take place

Such disbanding and disarming is also essential to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite for reasons which were explained to Dr Lo ano by the Prime Minister in the course of their convers tions held on D cember 20 and 22 1948 Dr Lo ano reco

gnized the force of the Prime Minister's argument on this point and disclosed to us that the intention of the Commission was that there should be a large scale disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces

India to Defend Kashmir

To allow an assurance of this kind to be reopened even to the extent of placing this disbanding and disarming on the same level with the geographical disposition of the Indian and State forces left in the State will be to resile from a position reached between us and the Commission If the arbitrator is free to decide that there should be no disbanding and disarming of these forces, there will be no fair and impartial plebiscite If while accepting the need for such disbanding and disarming the arbitrator is free to postpone consideration of the matter until after the bulk of Indian forces in the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been withdrawn the security of the State will be in great jeopardy The Government of India cannot possibly take this risk which would be incompatible with their paramount responsibility to protect the portion of the State under their control against repetition of the horrors of the invasion of the State in October 1947

Since the assurance about the disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces was given on behalf of the Commission to the Govt of India it is understood that the number of these forces has grown considerably A new situation has thus been created of greater peril to the State and their disbandment has become even more necessary For all practical purposes the Azad Kashmir forces are a part of the regular Pakistan Army trained by that Army and under its operational control A withdrawing aggressor cannot in reason prefer any claim for leaving behind him 32 battalions or more trained and equipped by him and ready for battle

The Government of India are convinced therefore that this outstanding issue of the large scale *disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces is not a matter for arbitration* but for affirmative and immediate decision

Main Objection

The Government of India s main objection however to the present suggestion for arbitration is that as explained in the previous two paragraphs the principle issue is one which cannot be solved by arbitration It follows that they cannot accept the suggestion incorporated in 5 (1) (a) of the memo randum While unable to agree to the course of action outlined in paragraph 5 ot the memorandum my Government wish to make it clear that they are not opposs d to arbitration in principle

In conclusion I am to explain that the Government of India still hold that the people of Jammu and Kashmir should decide their future of their own free will They firmly stand by that offer and shall be ready to leave the question of the continued accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India to the people of the State to be decided through the demo cratic method of a free and impartial Plebiscite provided that the conditions necessary for making the plebiscite really free and impartial are creat d

G S Bajpai

93973 Pakistan s Reply

Mr Gurmani Minister for Kashmir Affairs Govern ment of Pakistan in its reply to the U N C I P Chairman on September 7 1949 wrote

I have the honour to refer to the memorandum handed by you on behalf of the Commission to the Pakistan Foreign Minister on August 29 1949 and to state that the Pakistan Government agree to the course of action proposed by the Commission in paragraph 5 of the memorandum for implementing part II of the Commissoin s August Resolution

93974 Kashmir Objects to Arbitration

Sh ikh Abdullah the Premier of Kashmir declared in his Presidential Address to the annual session of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference on September 24 1949 at Srinagar —

I have no doubt in my mind that the suggession of arbitration carried within itself greater possibilities of

conflict in the future than any other issue which has provoked violation of peace so far We do not want to repeat Munich in Kashmir We frankly feel that *arbitration means nothing else but appeasement of the aggressor* The fate of Czechoslovakia at the hands of Hitler stands as a warning against all solutions which seek to satisfy the wrong doer by yielding more and more

Arbitration would mean escaping from reality and making Kashmir a scapegoat in the bargain We cannot play with the destiny of four million people and why should we be asked to accept an 'out of court settlement

The All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in its 1 500 word official resolution of September 25 1949 at the annual session declared in unequivocal terms that the arbitration proposal was yet another device to rob the people of Kashmir of justice and of appeasing the aggressor It affirmed its faith in being the guardian of four million people of Kashmir and the protector of their right to decide their future of their own free will It would at no cost allow any individual however high his standing may be to decide their future des iny It further said that all these 21 months the people of Kashmir hoped that the aggressor and the invader would be named but they were disappointed They viewed the arbitration offer of President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee with doubt and suspision It further affirmed that the people of Kashmir will shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their freedom and above all their right to decide their own destiny

93975 Commission s Reply to India

The Chairman of the Commission in his reply to the India Government s letter of September 8 1949 stated -

> 'The Commission is concerned to note that the nature of your Government s reply appears to have been determined by considerations arising out of two questions about which there seems some misunderstanding
>
> the Commission is of the opinion that it would be preferably first to have the Government s acceptance of the course of action as presented and then

to consult with them regarding the several methods which might open for the further procedure The procedure inherent in your Excellency s question is one of these and is consequently not precluded

As regards the second question the Commission wishes to assure your Excellency that it will of course be at the disposal of the arbitrator and present with him a full account of the facts which are within its knowledge

The objection of a free and impartial plebiscite and principles relating to the conditions which must be created in order that it be a truly free and impartial remain unquestioned

In this connection your Excellency has referred to the disarming and disbanding of the A ad Kashmir forces The Commission wishes to point out that both Governments have agreed to a large scale disbanding and disarming of these for es as one of the conditions precedent to the holding of the plebiscite The differences which have arisen between the two Governments with respect o decisions on this matter has not been one of substance but of scope method and timing Arbitration would apply to this aspect only

The Commission hopes that in the light of the foregoing your Government may reconsider the memorandum submitted to your Excellency on August 30

Robert B MacAtee

Chairman

93976 India s Stand

Secretary General Government of India in his letter dated September 15 1949 to the Chairman of the Commis sion stated

The Government of India have given the fullest consideration to the Commission s memorandum in the light of your Excellency s letter I wish to point out in the first place that our original reply to the proposals contained in the Commission s memorandum of August 30 was based not on any minor considera tions but on the fundamental condition that the

creation of public confidence and of a peaceful atmosphere is necessary preliminary to preparation for a plebiscite This is a condition which both my Government and the Commission have accepted and it cannot therefore be left to the decision of an arbitrator

the large scale disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces is one which cannot be settled by arbitration

'In the Government of India s view the process of consultation with the two Governments to determine the points of reference to arbitration should precede and not follow acceptance of the proposal for arbitration Since whether or not arbitration takes place will depend upon agreement between the two Governments upon the points to be referred to arbitration this would be the more logical and appropriate course

G S Bajpai

93977 Commission s Final Reply

The Chairman of the Commission wrote two letters dated September 19 1949 to the Secretary General Government of India and to the Minister for Kashmir affairs Govof Pakistan respectively

Letter to India

In the light of that letter (September 15) and your Excellency s letter of September 8 the Commission understands that the Government of India is unable to accept the course of action suggested in that memorandum

In these circumstances the Commission has decided, under its terms of reference, to report to the Security Council its activities on the sub-continent since its last Interim Report

Letter to Pakistan

The Commission notes with satisfaction that your Government has agreed to the course of action proposed by the Commission in paragraph 5 of that memorandum

The Commission has also received an answer from the Indian Government .It appears from this answer that the Government of India is unable to accept the course of action suggested

9398 Commission s Failure

The Commission s repeated and long efforts for bringing the two Governments agree to their proposal which they modified from time to time in view of the difficulties that cropped at every stage failed and were bound to fail They were face to face with two divergent views of the Governments especially on such fundamental issues as the disposal of the A ad Forces the withdrawal of troops and the defence and administration of he Northern Area all essential to the final solution of the problem involved They placed the aggressor at par with those who were oppressed Pakistan wa an agressor and had no right to be in Kashmir while India was there by right and as a matter of law The Commission did not recogni e this distinction It also did not carry out its past promises and tried to appease the aggressor Hence its failure

93991 Commission s Return

The Commission having failed in its efforts decided to report the matter back to the Security Council It therefore left for Geneva on August 25 1949 to write its third interim report for submission to the Security Council

93992 Delvoie Incident

General Delvoie Military Advisor to U N Commission removed seven boxes containing jewellery silver and gold which were lying in safe deposit of a bank at Srinagar to Rawalpindi on September 28 1949 in a special U N plane without the knowledge and permission of the State Government The boxes belonged to Sardar and Begum A R. Effendi who are now actually helping the Azad Forces against the Kashmir Government He was therefore declared an enemy agent by the State Government

A serious view of the situation was taken by the Governments of India and Kashmir and accordingly the Government of India sent a note on October 3 1949 to the U N C I P on the question of breach of diplomatic privileges by General Delvoie General Delvoi later on

admitted that he removed the property in good faith and had no knowledge that Prince Effendi had been declared an enemy agent He was recalled by the Com mission and accordingly he left India for Geneva on November 8 1949

93993 Commission s Report to the Security Council

The U N Kashmir Commission after a year of attempting to solve the Kashmir problem reported its failure on December 12 1949 to the Security Council After giving a historical review of the case the report listed the three main problems in the dispute as follows -

(1) Disposal of the ' Azad Kashmir forces

(2) Withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan regular forces from the State and

(3) The question of the northern areas

The report then gives the position of the two Govern ments as represented by them The relevant portions are as follows —

Indian Position

India considered herself to be in legal position of Jammu and Kashmir by virtue of the Instrument of Accession of October 1947 From the fact of accession flows India s claim to be responsible for the security of the State A plebiscite in the State would be for the purpose of confirming the accession which is in all respects already complete

The cardinal feature of India s position is her con-tention that she is in Kashmir by rights and that Pakistan cannot aspire to equal footing with India in the contest

Pakistan s Posit on

Pakistan bases its case on the contention that the accession of the State to India is illegal The State of Jammu and Kashmir had executed a stand still agreement with Pakistan on August 15 1947 which debarred the State from entering into any kind of negotiations or agreement with any other country The Act of accession was brought about by violence and fraud and as such it was invalid The entry of Pakistan forces into Kashmir was neces sary

in order to protect her own territory from the invasion of the Indian forces

A ad Kashmir Forces

A ad Kashmir forces number some 32 well equipp ed battations Units of Pakistan Army itself are present in A ad Kashmir and have operated in the closest cooperation with the local forces

There is indeed no doubt that the A ad forces now have a strength which changes the Military situation and to that extent makes the withdrawal of forces particularly those of India a far more difficult matter to arrange within a structure consi dered only the regular forces of two armies

Although it might be a matter of discussion whether the numerical strength of the Azad Kashmir forces has actually increased there is no question that those forces who have since then been working in close cooperation with the Pakistan regular army and who have been trained and officered by that army have increased their fighting strength

Withdrawal of Forces

Pakistan has been consistent throughout in her contention that the withdrawal of the forces on the two sides should be synchroni ed This position is fundamentally offered to the contention of the Government of India

India is not prepared to withdraw such part of her forces in Kashmir as might be characterised as the bulk whether measured quantitatively or qualita tively unless agreement with Pakistan on the large scale disbanding and disarming of the A..ad forces is reached

As long as the Government of India mentions the position that Pakistan should not have information regarding the nature and timing of the Indian with drawal before acceptance of truce by both parties and as long as Paki tan considered that this informa tion alone will vouchsafe before hand that synchroni ation in the withdrawals is provided for the prosectus for implementation of the truce are remote

The conclusions to be drawn is clear Develop

ments in the State during the past year necessitiate a modification in the original plan of demilitarization Such a modification must treat the problem of demilit arization as a whole eliminating all distinctions

The Commission concluded

The entry of Indian forces into the area north of 'Cease fire' line would almost inevitably lead to a renewal of hostilities

The report was signed by four members only—the representatives of Argentine Belgium Columbia and the U S A The signature of Dr Chyle the representative of Czechoslavakia did not appear at the bottom of the recommendations He later on (December 18 1947) submitted a minority report to the Council blaming it for its failure A Note was attached to the Commission s conclusion by Mr Robert Van de Kerchove the representative of Belgium

939931 Belgian Delegate s Note

The Commission transmitted to the Security Council the protest of the Pakistan Government with regard to the admission of representatives of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Constituent Assembly of India and said that while it was difficult to oppose this measure of the Indian Government on purely local grounds it could not be denied that the step was undesirable from the political point of view

Mr Kerchove in the Note remarked "The Belgian delegation feels that it is its duty to draw the serious attention of the Security Council to this matter as it reveals a conception of the problem the consequences of which are liable to create difficulties for the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question This policy would lead to the gravest consequences

939932 Commissions s Suggestions

The Commission suggested the appointment of one person as mediator because it doubted whether the fi e member Commission was the most flexible and desirable instrument to continue in the task It also suggested that the Security Council give one person broad authority in an endeavour to bring India and Pakis an together on all unresolved issues It suggested that the Council should

consult with representatives of India and Pakistan to arrive at terms of reference for its representative The Commission also recommended that the Council ask both India and Pakistan to take all necessary precautions to secure that their agreements regarding the cease fire be faithfully observed The report stressed that further consideration should be given to the possibilities of arbitration

93994 Commission Exposed

Dr Oldrich Chyle C echoslavak member of the U N C I P published his minority report on its work on December 17 1949 in whi h he accused the Commission of having made several errors in its negotiations The relevant portions of his report are given as under —

> The Commission has made a serious mistake in that it cancelled the joint political conference which had been convened with the assent of both Governments for August 22 1949 in New Delhi
>
> But in its unauthorised proposal of the arbitration of a truce agreement it overstepped its terms of reference
>
> The secret arbitration offer of the Commission was before being presented to the Governments of India and Pakistan placed at the disposal of the Govern ments of the U S A and the U K and President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee in a synchronised action made use of it for public interventionary pres ure
>
> The Commission did not show sufficient sagacity when presenting its basic proposal for the solutions of the Kashmir problem—the resolution of August 13 1948 in which the Commission deeply underrated the significance of the Azad forces and failed altogether to take into account the situation in the north area
>
> The Commission did not succeed in winning over the public confidence on either side
>
> The failure of the Commission s mission is there fore not solely ascribable to the intransigence of the Governments of India and Pakistan

The report of the Commission sets forth the three most important obstacles which baulked its efforts to reach agreement *The reasons for the insolubility of the problems must be sought in the shortcomings of the resolution of August 13, 1948*

'In its Part II there is no mention of Azad forces which meanwhile grew by the spring of 1949 into 32 disciplined and fully armed battalions which according to an evaluation by the Military Advisor of the Commission represent *a formidable force*

Owing to this fact which is at variance with Part I Section B of the said resolution forbidding both parties any increasing of the military potential the situation has materially undergone an absolute change and so a new problem was created as to what within the meaning of the resolution represents the bulk of the Indian Army in Kashmir From this has arisen logically further difficulties concerning disarming of the Azad forces and the synchronization of the withdrawal of military troops

Similarly due to the sagacity on the part of the Commission the situation was rendered more difficult also for the solution of the other main problem northern area

When dealing with its proposal to both Governments the Commission entirely omitted to concern itself with the situation in the strategically very important territory to the north of Kashmir Having ascertained this short coming the Government of India submitted a reservation in respect of the resolution dated August 13 1948 concerning its right to administer the northern territory Instead of rectifying the aforesaid shortcoming the Commission replied by a letter dated August 25 1949 stating the question might be examined when the resolution of August 13 1948 was implemented

From the legal point of view the Government of Pakistan does not consider the Commission's letter of August 25 1949 as legally binding on it It is only natural that each from its own stand point the Governments of India and Pakistan should hold views diametrically opposed to each other

And here—due to Commission s lack of under standing of the sitation—is the core of all subsequent legal contentions affecting the northern area which the Commission has not been able to bridge The Commission facing on materially changed situation in the northern area is bound to admit that while *the reservation of the Government of India of August 20 1948 may be legally valid it is physically impossible to implement it*

Whatever the reasons are for not rectifying the oversight of the resolution of August 13 1948 by a proper formal legal instrument it is to a great extent the *Commission s own fault* that its mediatory efforts to solve this second main problem have not proved successful

From the beginning of June 1949 the U S. delega tion strove to bring the Commission round the idea of solving the question of truce by arbitration

Dr Chyle then r corded his obj ction to a proposal that Admiral Nimit.. be appointed arbitrator for a truce agreement He said that this was done despite his insistence that a joint political conference should be called first He further recored

The course of discussion on the offer of arbitration of a truce agreement—to which Commission was not even authorised on the basis of its terms of reference —made it clear indeed that the Commission was not free from *outside influences*

The intervention by President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee were only made possible on the basis of precise and timely information emanating from the Commission itself If everyone of the member States of the U N took a similar course of action to that of the U S A and the U K each and every medi ation action would be made impossible and the U N would be seriously undermined

If a peaceful solution of the dispute was to be attained it had to be s en that the Commission did not becom an instrument of policy of certain Great Powers

Dr Chyle then made the following two proposals —

(1) There must be a new mediation organ un trammelled by any outside influence

(2) There should be a new Kashmir Commission composed of eleven members of the Council

93995 Issue in the Security Council

The Kashmir issue was taken up again for consideration by the Security Council on December 17 1949 The Kashmir Commission had submitted its report on its activities earlier and most of the Commission s members had reached Lake Success from Geneva The delegations of India and Pakistan headed by Sir B N Rau and Mr M A Gurmani respectively were present to participate in the Council s deliberations The three other members of the Indian delegation were Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mr D P Dhar

Mr Samper presenting the Commission s report to the Council appreciated the efforts of the Governments of India and Pakistan in observing the Cease fire He also made it clear as to why the Commission failed in its mediation task Dr Chyle presented his minority report a day later which came as a bomb shell to the Council

939951 Norway s Suggestion

Dr Arne Sunde Norway s representative while speaking in the Security Council on December 17 1949 suggested —

> I frankly doubt the utility of further discussion of the issues in the Council—I suggest that the President should meet informally the two parties and find a mutually satisfactory way of dealing with the Kashmir problem He should then report to the Council any proposal which might develop during the negotiations with two parties.

Dr Sunde s suggestion was supported by the representatives of Britain and France but opposed by the Russian representative The suggestion was then put to vote and was carried through nine in favour Russia and Ukraine abstaining Accordingly General A G L McNaughton, the Council s President was asked to confer with the representatives of India and Pakistan

93996 McNaughton s Proposal

General McNaughton (Canada) started his negotiations with the two parties on December 18 1949 He conveyed his proposals to the Governments of India and Pakistan on D cember 27 1949 India rejected the proposals because of their being based on the main U N C I P report The proposals had ignored Dr Chyle s warning that the Commission s resolutions of August 13 1948 and January 5 1949 which are the basis of negotiations are out of keep ing with the actual present day situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and that no comptomise accept able to both Governments can be reached on their basis

General McNaughton d cided to make certain amend ments in his proposal and carry on his further negotiations on the suggested amendments of the two parties He therefore asked the Council on December 31 1949 that the two parties should have adequate time for considera tion of all aspects of each other s suggested amendments The Security Council enpowered the G neral to continue his work even after January 1 1950 when the Presidentship of the Council passed to Dr T F Tsiang (China)

Demilitari_ation Essential

The proposal (Paragraph 2) of General McNaughton envisages a programme of progressive demilitari ation the basic principle of which should be the reduction of armed forces on either side of the cease fire line by withdrawal disbandment and disarmament It was also for the first time that the question of the Militia of the State of Kashmir was raised The proposal stated that the programme of demilitari ation should include the reduction by disbanding and disarming of local forces including on the one side the armed forces and militia of the State of Kashmir and on the other the Azad forces Administration of the northern area should the proposal said subject to U N supervision, be continued by the existing local authorities

939961 Conflicting Amendments

The demilitari ation proposal of Gen McNaughton was not in any case favourable to India It had in a way ignored the rights and claims put forth by her As the proposal stands it brings the aggressor at par with those that are oppressed Pakistan has been given the equal place with that of India and the assuranc s given to India by the commission have been totally ignored

Thus India proposed the amendments to paragraph 2 whereby

(1) The reference to armed forces and militia of the state of Kashmir was omitted
(2) The responsibilities for the defence and the administration of the Northern areas was to rest respectively with the Government of India and the Government of Jammu was omitted

Pakistan wanted the following to be added to paragraph 2 —

The final disposal of all forces remaining in the State will be determined by the Plebiscite Administrator under U N C I P s resolution of January 5 1949

939962 McNaughton s Failure

Gen McNaughton submitted his 18-page report to the Security Council on February 7 1950 The report produced the replies of India and Pakistan to the demilitarization proposal made by Gen McNaughton on December 22 1949 the amendments suggested by each Government to the proposals the comments of other Government on them and two pages of Gen Mc Naughton s final remarks in which he had clearly confessed that I do not believe that further activity on my part would serve any useful purpose

The proposal as it is evident was in way an advance upon the Commission's previous proposals It had in no way tried to solve the fundamental difference existing between India and Pakistan and hence it was doomed to failure

939962 Rau s Spirited Defence

Sir B N Rau in a spirited speech before the Security Council on February 7 1950, explained elaborately India s stand on Kashmir and enumerated in detail the numerous obstacles placed by Pakistan in the path of an early plebiscite

Analysing McNaughton s proposals Mr Rau said that 'the reservation as to the territorial integrity etc of the State has been omitted from the present proposals Elaborating his argument Mr Rau pointed out that McNaughton s proposal regarding the northern area merely provided for the continuation of the existing authorities' without any reservation of the sovereignty of the State This was no all There were two other

important differences between it and the resolutions of August 13 1948 and January 5 1949 At no time previously was it suggested that the Kashmir State forces should be disbanded or disarmed The proposal to disband and disarm them is new So too is the mention of the State Militia

Thus India was not in a position to accept the proposals as they stand because they would in effect eliminate or neutralise everyone of the assurances relied upon by India in accepting the Kashmir Commission's resolutions of August 13 1948 and January 5 1949 They had in main ignored the legal and moral aspect of the question

939963 Plebiscite to Decide the Issue

Sir Zaffrullah Khan Pakistan's representative stated in the Security Council on February 8 1950 —

> Possession of Kashmir can add nothing to India's economy nor to its stretigic security On the other hand it was vital for Pakistan

Sir B N Rau while replying to this point stated on February 10 1950 that the matter was to be decided not by the comparative needs of India and Pakistan but by *the wishes of the people* Elaborating his argument he said —

> The wolf may need the lamb desparately but the lamb may have different wishes in the matter It is because India has no need to exploit Kashmir and can give her the fullest economic and political freedom that a large section of the Muslims of Kashmir wish to remain in India
>
> The holding of the plebiscite in the whole State and the unquestioned sovereignty of the State over its entire territory are inseparably connected
>
> I still ask that the wrongs should be completely undone before a plebiscite can be held

939997 Four Power Resolution

The Security Council adopted a resolution on February 24 1950 terminating the unsuccessful U N Commission for India and Pakistan and appointing a U N representative to take over its power and responsibilities in Kashmir The resolution was introduced by Dr Carlos Blanco (Cuba)

President of the Council and sponsored by U S A Britian and Norway The resolution stated —

The Security Council —

(1) Calls upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to make immediate arrangements without prejudice to their rights or claims and with due regard to the requirements of law and order to prepare and execute within a period of five months a programme of demilitarization on the basis of the principles of Paragraph 2 of General McNaughton's proposal or of such modification of those principles as may be mutually agreed upon

It stated besides other things to appoint a U N representative to 'assist in the preparation and to supervise the implementation of the programme of demilitarization and terminate the five member U N C I P

939971 Resolution Explained

Sir Terence Shone (Britain) explained the resolution on behalf of the sponsors on March 8 1950 when the Security Council resumed its debate He stated —

That the programme of demilitarization could best proceed on the basis of the McNaughton principles and that the programme of demilitarization should be dealt with as a whole and accomplished within a single period that it should embrace all the areas of the State including the northern area

Sir T Shone stated clearly that while the intention is to follow broadly the lines indicated by Gen McNaughton the U N representative will have a certain amount of discretion to adjust his course in the light of any fresh consideration He further stated that the council could only recommend these suggestions The demilitarization programme is to be without prejudice to the rights and claims of the parties and with due regards to the requirements of law and order

Regarding the temporary administration of the Northern area the sponsors have assumed that there could be no question of making any change in the civil administration in the northern area

The sponsors believe that any such change would involve the risk of an extension of military activity

If the U N repres ntative should find the assumption unwarranted *this resolution u ill not preclude him from sug gesting other appropriate and equitable arrangrments for* an expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute

The U N representative can make any suggestions which in his opinion are likely to contribute to he expedi tious and enduring solution of the dispute Explaining it Sir T Shone pointed out that any suggestion made by the U N representative must be compatible with the agreed objective (holding of plebiscite) But if after investi gation on the spot he ound the agreed objectiv im practicable *he would be free to make suggestions at va ian e with the ag eed objective*

939972 India s Reply

Mr B N Rau stated in the Security Council on March 8 1950 —

> Paragraph one of the resolution calls upon the Gov ernments of India and Pakistan to execute with in a period of five months a programme of de militarizaton on the basis of the principles of Para 2 of McNaughton proposals or of such modifica tions as may be mutually agreed
>
> In th statement which I made before the Council on F bruary 7 I fully explain d the views of my Government on *the legal and moral issues involved in the Kashmi dispute* and on th proposal of Gen McNaughton Thos views were conceived with no spirit of obstruction but are reasonable and just and my Government wishes to reaffirm them
>
> In para two of the resolution the appointment of one U N r presentative to perform the functions des cribed her in is envisaged My Government desire that the person chosen as representative should be acceptable to them
>
> Sub Para (A) of Para two of the resolution states that it will b amongst the functions of the U N repre sentativ to assist in the preparation and to super vise th implementation of th programme of d militari ation referred to in Para one of the resolution and to int rpret the agreements reached by the parties for demilstari ation

The Government of India assume that the reference here is to agreements that might be reached hereafter by the parties They also assume similarly that the agreements refered to in Sub para (D) of Para two of resolution are *agreements on demilitarization that may be reached hereafter* between the parties

939973 Pakistan's reply

Sir Mohammad Zaffrullah Khan while commenting on the resolution objected to Sir T Shone s explanation that the resolution would not preclude the U N represent tative from suggesting other appropriate and equitable arrangements for the administration of northern area

Sir Zaffarullah Khan stated what does this mean ? This is fundamental So what would be the basis for mak ing such a change ?'

He further stated that his Government would like to know the exact import of the sentence only if he (the U N representative) should find after investigation on the spot that the agreed objective (holding of impartial plebiscite) was impracticable would he be expected to make sugges tion at variance with this objective

Assume that one of the parties not desiring to have an impartial plebiscite should create conditions making the holding of such plebiscite impracticable Would then the representative be justified in saying that he would be within his rights to make suggestions at variance with the agreed objective

The main features of the resolution are satisfactory and its acceptance would depend largely upon the clarifi cations on the above points

939974 Resolution adopted

The Security Council adopted a resolution on March 11 1950 setting up a meditator in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan Voting on the resolut on was eight in favour and none against

Dr Vitri La Frente (Ecuador) Pre ident of the Council stated —

The resolution w is "both objective and just and al

so equitable It tries above all to help the parties find a solution for their dispute

Immediately after the vote M Nincic (Yugoslavia) explained that he felt that the question of Kashmir should not be viewed solely or essentially as two party views but in the light of the interest of the people

Any proposed council action he declared must be weighed keeping in view the repercusions which it might have on the population of India and Pakistan

939975 India s Conditional Acceptance

Sir B N Rau stated in the Security Council on March 14 1950 —

> The Government of India s position regarding the McNaughton proposals was restated by me in the statement I made on March 8 and my Government adheres to it and sees no reason to modify it Subject to that my Government accepts the resolu tion

939976 Pakistan s acceptance

Sir Zaffrullah Khan stating Pakistan Government s acceptance of the resolution stated in the Security Council on March 14 1950 —

> I need hardly remind the Council that Pakistan s attitude generally with regard to the resolution has been that it is based on the McNaugeton proposal

939977 Divergent Viewpoint

The representatives of India and Pakistan made con tradictory statements while accepting the resolution India s acceptance to the resolution is subject to the impor tant reservations *which were indicated by Sir B N Rau* in his speech of February 7 1950 and reaffirmed in his statements of March 8 and 14 1950

India made it clear that she would not carry out the McNaughton proposals to which she objected whereas Pakistan s representative Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan accepted the resolution because it is based on the McNaughton proposals

Acceptance by India and Pakistan of the new resolution could therefore be presumed to be contingent upon their interpretation of the principles of demilitarization proposal of Gen McNaughton subject to their own amendments which is also divergent

93998 Mediator Appointed

Sir Owen Dixon Australian High Court Justice a notable diplomat and one of the most distinguished leaders of the Australian legal profession was accepted as U N representative in the Kashmir dispute The Security Council duly confirmed his appointment on April 12 1950

Earlier to the suggestion of the name of this 61-year old judge, the sponsors of the Four Power resolution proposed the names of Admiral Chester Nimitz (Plebiscite Administrator-designate) and Dr Ralph Bunche former Acting Mediator in Palestine which were not accepted by India

CHAPTER XII

WHAT NEXT ?

941 Kashmir at the Cross Roads

Kashmir is today at the cross roads It is sitting on the brim of a valcano which is emtying itself slowly Simple minded innocent looking peace loving ignorant and illiterate Kashmiri has to choose between life and death He has undergone numerous hardships trials and tribulations during the last 28 months All of them have left deep scars on his face He has been plundered and looted his women abducted raped and molested and his children ruthlessly killed His green fields and small huts have been turned into one va t heap of ruins by the so called Pakistani liberator If with all this he invites the bullying and merciless Pakistani to come and rule over him it will be his misfortune nay his tragedy

942 Pakistan s Expediency

To many cease fire announcement of January I 1949 has come as a shock Why for all this blood shed rape arson abduct.on of women ? Has the blood of hundreds of brave Indian soldiers been spilled in vain ? India has bled white owing to Kashmir war Was it only to pacify inhuman and brutal Pakistani raiders ? Kashmir war acted as a drain on Pakistan s resources in men and materials To avoid economic bankruptcy and maintain her prestige in the eyes of the world she accepted cease fire proposal When her dreams of winning Kashmir by force of arms was shattered she bent her knee When Pakistan discovered to her shame that after 14 months of bitter fighting in Kashmir she was as far away from her objective as she was when riding on the high wave of his march from Domel to within the gates of Srinagar she had no alternative but to accept the proposal She was moved by no humanitarian motives It was political expediency which compelled her to act as she did

943 No Early Plebiscite

Will there be lasting peace in Kashmir ? It all depends on the forthcoming Plebiscite There are no prospects of

Plebiscite being held in the near future The geographical and climatic conditions are to be reckoned with Plebiscite if it means the counting of heads would mean a district wise plebiscite It may necessitate division of the State into areas like Mirpur and Poonch Jammu Province Ladakh Kashmir Valley and Gilgit would follow To work it out elaborate machinery would have to be installed Besides the task of rehabilitating about six lakhs of Hindu Muslim and Sikh refugees in the State is in itself a stupendous task and expert opinion goes to show that this work alone will take years Next comes preparation of electoral rolls which itself would cause considerable delay and difficulties A general census would have to be taken to decide as to who are nationals and who are trespassers This task is also very huge and will take much time especially in the enemy occupied territories where vigilance and care are to be exercised in enrolling voters This is not all Then conditions prevailing before the hostilities have to be restored Law and order is to be evolved out of prevailing chaos and disorder Amidst these circumstances it will at least take more than two years before a plebiscite can be held in the State

Sovereignty to be Restored

Besides this the sovereignty of the state over its entire territory is essential and no plebiscite can be held till the sovereignty of the lawful Government of Kashmir is restored in the areas under Pakistan s possession

Other Methods

Neither the Indian Government nor the United Nations Commission are oblivious of all these difficulties that will come in the way of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir The Indian Government had therefore requested the Commission to explore other methods also for ascertaining the wish of the people In this connection it would be well to remember Pandit Nehru s suggestion to the British Press namely electing a Constituent Assembly which should decide the question of accession of the State either to India or to Pakistan This appears both feasible and practicable

944 No Division

Division of Kashmir as some fear is entirely out of question Still there is a sinister move in this connec

tion from certain quarters especially British It was from the British Press that the suggestion of division came first But the Government of India and Kashmir are deadly against this as is evident from the utterances of such responsible men as Pandit Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah India is determined to throw out the raider from the land of Kashmir at any cost and then leave the Kashmiris to decide their own future

945 Need of the Hour

However as the matters stand we have to face things squarely and boldly We have not to think of the past but of the future Self complacency will not do Action bold and determined is the necessity of the hour We have to gain whatever time is at our disposal There is every danger of the simple unsophisticated illiterate villagers being misled by the Pakistani raider with his cry of Islam in danger To counteract such malicious propaganda intensive propaganda campaigns healthy and based on facts seem necessary

The people should be made to feel that their lot will be bettered by linking their fate with India The benefits economic political and cultural that will accrue to Kashmir by its association with the Indian Republic should be made known to the masses Kashmir has everything to gain and nothing to lose except its poverty and squalor if it joins Indian Republic India has spent crores of rupees in constructing roads bridges telegraph and telephone lines radio and broadcasting stations aerodromes and hospitals during the last so many months All these things are only a prelude to the things that are to come

947 Fundamental Issue

Kashmir is we is too fundamental a issue to be ignored or neglected The Kashmir war is more than a war of guns and bombs It is not a wrangle for territory It is not a conflict of arms between two States but a conflict between two opposing and antagonistic ideologies The one stands for secular democracy and what it means while the other stands for theocratic totalitarianism and all its attendant evils The triumph of Kashmir will mean triumph of India Kashmir alone will prove whether or

not India can develop into a secular State in the modern sense of the word The development of Kashmir on secular and democratic lines will mean a constant threat to Pakistan which is based on two nation theory

Let us hope we would be able to win the forthcoming plebiscite in favour of India with the banner of love and truth We have all along followed the path of truth Our cause is just and we are sure to win

PART III

KASHMIR GLORY

CHAPTER XIII

TOWARDS NEW KASHMIR

951 New Kashmir What it is ?

During the least two years Kashmir has assumed an international importance It has become the focal point of international interest People have wondered at the amazing capacity of the people in fighting the Pakistani marauders and cut throats People—Hindus Sikhs Muslims—raised a united front against the common enemy and repulsed them They were without arms and ammunition They were least equipped How long could they fight an army equipped tooth and nail with modern weapons of war But they fought on and won How ? They had a common programme and a common objective ?

What is this common programme and common objective ? It is *New Kashmir* containing the progamme of the National Conference to fight the immemorial poverty of the peasant and the artisan and the unmitigated helplessness of the worker

The programme consists of two parts. Part I deals with the constitutional aspect such as citizenship the National Assembly electoral system etc But the National Conference did not rest content with this alone For it knew that political freedom is not enough that to make it durable and an effective means of peace and progress in a country it must be founded in socio-economic freedom Material and economic betterment of the masses—that is what we must aim at This alone can instil a new hope and a new sense of dignity among the people Hence the second part of New Kashmir defines the aims objects and underlying principles of economic planning It deals with the causes of poverty and ignorance in the Land of Plenty and gives in detail the possible methods of effecting a cure

The National Economic Plan will rid Kashmir of the five giant evils of want disease ignorance squalor and idleness All this will be done under planned economy New Kashmir promises the tiller of the soil and the labourer the Kisan and the Mazdoor the skilled

and the unskilled worker in the factories as well as in the small cottage industries the landless agriculturist the petty shopkeeper the petty farmer and other neglected sections of the people a fuller and new life full of dignity and honour It is this hope that has sustained the courage of the people during th darkest period of their history and has enabled them to defend the prestige and honour of their motherland with unparalleled courage

One thing is of special note in New Kashmir It does not neglect higher human values of life The whole of it is tinged with practical idealism Material values are neither neglected nor over emphasi ed Inspiration has been drawn not only from advanced modern Western democracies but certain important features of Soviet democracy have been incorporated in it This makes it what it is worth

952 Achievements of Abdullah Ministry

> We r ali e that political freedom is not enough that to make it durable and an effective means of peace and progress in a country it must be found on socio economic fr edom We are determined to make it worthwhile for the humblest and the poorest of our countrymen to love his country By concrete acts of the Government for his well being we will help him to realise that his country loves him too The Government will as conditions permit imple ment the Economic Programme of *New Kashmir* which has inspired hope into hearts of the millions of our countrymen

Thus spoke Sheikh Abdullah in his broadcast from Jammu Radio after assumption of office as the first popular Prime Minister of the State His Government had to work against heavy odds It had to face difficult times and situations du to external aggression and internal unstable condition Th whole economic and administrative structure of th country was shattered trade and transport was paralysed there was chaos everywhere This was not all Floods crop failure and thousands of refugees were other urgent problems which n eded immediate att ntion and solution There was no time for constructive planning and nation building activities But Sheikh Abdullah was not a man to be daunted by th se heavy odds They instead gave him a new zeal and a fresh vigour He along

with his team of loyal workers introduced reforms and ameliorative measures with far reaching results What ever has been achieved is not inconsiderable What he aims at is nothing less than that what has been put in the preamble to the New Kashmir Constitution —

> to raise ourselves and our children for ever from abyss of oppression and poverty degradation and superstition from mediaeval darkness and ignorance into the sunlit valleys of plenty ruled by freedom science and honest toil

The reforms introduced will go a long way towards achieving this noble ideal

9521 Agrarian Reforms

The foremost achievement of Abdullah's Government is in the field of agrarian reforms New Kashmir envisages that in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as in the rest of India one of the major tasks of any national Government should be the organization of agriculture on a modern and rational basis and provision for the peasant of a higher standard of living It therefore enunciate the basic principles of its Agricultural plan as —

(1) Abolition of landlordism— A privileged class itself doing nothing but living on the labours of others

(2) Land to the tiller— to satisfy the land hunger of the landless peasant and ensure the efficient working of the land

(3) Co operative association — to eliminate waste increase production economize labour root out destructive competition and pool local resources

These are the aims of the plan The popular Government has lost no time in implementing them as will be evident from the following —

95211 Abolition of Jagirdari

As the first step towards the abolition of landlordism all jagirs have been resumed It has removed a vicious anachronism of land relationship with all its concomitant socio economic evils In material terms it has meant a saving of Rs 6 21915 a welcome addition to the public

treasury in these days of accute financial stringency Along with this the jurisdictional Jagir of Chenani (with an area of 94 sq miles and a population of 12,000) that typical sp cimen of mal administration and autocrati rule has been taken over Lately Krolop Jagir with an area of 4 sq miles has b en taken over and merged with the Jammu Province

All Mukarraries i e cash grants given to individuals in lieu of jagirs or for some sp cific ervice ordinary or political have b en resumed The total amount thue saved from the public treasury by the resumption of such cash grants is Rs 1 77 921

95212 Towards Land to the Tiller

All lands to Jagirdars on Illaqadars including or hards granted to them as r sidential units and *Khud kasht* lanas have reverted to th Government

All buildings and other structures standing on such lands scheat to the Government th owner having the optien of removing the material of such structure within one year

All this land released from the possession of the Jagir dar will now be available for the former of the jagir village He will have the right to bring under cultivation as much land as h e poss ses at present under his own holding

All cultivable waste at pres nt lying fallow will belong to the p ople preferably to the landless agricultural labourers and petty farmers

These areas estimated to bring under plough b tween six and eight lakh kanals of cultivable land and expected to yield nine to tw lve lakh khirwars (A khirwar is eighty two s ers) of foodgrains are being distributed according to plan

Sheikh Abdullah stated on March 19 1950

Our basic policy is that *actual tiller must become the owner of the land*

95213 Tenancy Reforms

By the Tenancy Amendment Act passed by th Gov rnment last year th share of the landlord holding agricultural a ea of mor than 100 kanals has been fixed at not more than one fourth of th produce in case of *Abi* crops and one third in the case of *Khushki* crops Prev

iously the landlords used to collect between one half and two-thirds of the total produce The total produce of fodder will go to the tenants in case where the landlord does not provide agricultural implements seeds and cattle to them The fiction of *Khud kasht* (cultivation of the land by the proprietor) has been done away with It has been estimated by the Government that about 15 lakhs of people would b nefit by the various reforms in this direction

95214 Stay of Ejectments

All ejectment proceedings pending or to be started or instituted against tenants in any Revenue Court have been stayed for one year It provided relief to tenant farmers and stopped all tenancy litigation

95215 Moratorium on Non-Commercial Debts

Moratorium on all non commercial debts owed by agriculturists weavers boatmen artisans and craftsmen manual and factory workers was declared for one year to *afford immediate relief to the hard-hit poor classes*

95216 Grow More Food

National self sufficiency in essential food stuffs is what the present Government aims at It is towards this end that the Government has decided to bring all Khalsa waste lands and areas under the control of military farms and *Rakhs* (excluding certain grass growing areas) under cultivation During 1948 one lakh kanals of Government waste lands were permitted to be cultivated A further area of 83 583 kanals was allotted to landless agricultural labourers *It is hoped that a still more allotment between* 20 000 and 30 000 kanals will be made in the near future Government has sanctioned a huge sum of Rs 70 0 0 for agricultural developments of military *Ka rs* and farms

The mechanised cultivation has been introduced by the Government in certain areas of the State Two big tractors at the cost of Rs 3 000 have been purchased by the Government and several water lifting pumps for irrigating dry lands have been procured

95217 Fighting Food Deficiency

The following food stuffs were imported into India during 1948-49 —

	Mds	Sr	Ch
Rice	61 136	38	8
Wheat	54 928	0	0
Atta	9 847	24	12
Total	1 25 912	23	4

This high priced imported grain was supplied at a concession rate to the people and the Government had to incur a loss not less than Rs 2' 24 260 on this transaction alone The Government is importing 37 000 tons of food grains from India This stuff is being supplied to the people at a r bate involving a loss of over Rs 80 00 000

95221 Tehsil and District Councils

With the change of power into the hands of the popular leaders the democratization of services and other basis of Government was necessary It was essential to associate representatives of the rural population with the administration of their country to ensure greater co operation between the people and the Government officials With this object in view Tehsil Councils have been set up in every Tehsil with the National Conference Tehsil President as its Chairman the Tehsildar as its Convener and a maximum of five others as members These councils shall supervise generally the execution of Government orders in conformity with the Government policy

95222 Election of Zaildars and Numbardars

The revenue posts of Zaildars and Numbardars have been thrown open to election Previously the posts were hereditary It is significant both politically and psychologically People rightly feel that they are actively associated with the administration of their country It has given them a new dignity and a new sense of prestige They are no longer dumb driven cattle

Panchayat Raj

Election has also taken place in panchayats of the state The panchayats have been given free hand to deal with the problems of the villagers They have been authorised even to decide their cases Thus *Panchayat Raj* has been stablished in the rural areas of the state

95223 Co-operative Societies

Co operative Societies of artisans have been organized and Co-operative Consumers Societies have been set up which are playing the part of distributing agencies for the sale of essential commodities such as cloth sugar oil etc Government has advanced a loan of Rs 10 lakh to the Co operative Banks for the exclusive purpose of distribution of civil supplies to the people both in the urban and rural areas

Recently a Co operative Farm has been started at a village called Gopalpora in Tehsil Badgam It is an experiment of course, first of its kind in co-operative farming It is bringing under cultivation Khalsa area on co operative lines

A Co operative Training School has been set up for training the candidates into efficient Registrars Inspectors Sub Inspectors etc There are at present 240 Co-operative Societies with 27 000 members in the State

9523 Relief and Rehabilitation Work

With the invasion of Kashmir thousands of poor refugees began to pour into the State To cope with this gigantic task a separate department was at once set up for relief and rehabilitation of refugees and for others who were victims to the unforeseen natural calamities like fire flood etc The relief rendered was tremendous

The Kashmir Government has resettled lakhs of refugees throughout the State Nearly one lakh refugees out of whom 80,000 were Muslims have been resettled after November 21 1948 in the areas of Poonch Haveli and Suran

About 1 00 000 refugees (70 000 Muslims and 30 000 Hindus) have been resettled in the areas of Rajouri and Bhimber Indian forces have helped 1 20 000 refugees from Pakistan occupied areas to resettle up to March 20 1949 in the areas of Poonch and Mendhar

There are nearly one lakh Hindu and Sikh refugees in Poonch who have poured in from Pakistani Punjab Muzaffarabad all the disputed areas who still await resettlement

The areas relieved from the enemy occupation were supplied with all sorts of amenities of life such as implements seed food stuffs house etc all and are

tion To enable them to earn their livelihood ploughs bullocks and hand looms were supplied to them free of cost About 7 2/7 poplars 38 635 c ft and 4 514 scantlings of timber were distributed among the fire sufferers The fire sufferers of Tehsils Badgam Baramulla Uri Khas were advanc d a loan amounting to Rs 2 74 000 in Sawan 2005 For the shelter of the homeless about 1 380 houses were constructed and 132 are under construction The total amount spent on the feeding of r fugees encamped in the city and the muffasils uch as Sopore Bandipora etc comes to about Rs 2 09 564/2/3 Loans amounting to Rs 1 7 800 were distributed among the displaced people of Rajauri Chingas Naushehra Sunderhand and Chumb for con truction of houses etc upto the end of May 1949 In this liberated area about 9 000 maunds of maize and 2 500 maunds of paddy were distributed among the cultivators for seed purposes More than 7 000 maunds of food grains are being distributed every month to the refugees in the Naushehra area

Education of the refugees male and female was not neglected Schools fully equipped with books writing material etc were started within refugee camps Students were exempted from payment of tuition fee and other incidental school charges Vocational training centres both for male and female were started The health of the refugees was greatly cared for sick children and nursing mothers were supplied milk worth Rs 13 365 free of co t

Relief to Flood Sufferers

In the summer of Samvat 005 flood affected more than 271 villages comprising a population of 12 1361 in about five tehsils of the Valley The Government in order to mitigate the distress of the people sanctioned a huge sum of rupees five lakhs as a relief to the flood sufferers Out of this sum 1 70 lakh was reserved for distribution as gratitous relief and Rs 3 30 lakh by way of interest free loans

9524 Revival of Trade and Industry

Pakistan s ecot omic blockade and then their invasion brought the whol industrial and e onomic structure of Kashmir to pieces The Government has done everything to revive trad and industry An emergency Trade Union was started with a loan of one lakh rupees from the

Government Simultaneously an emporium was established at New Delhi with the Union as its feeder More recently arts emporiums have been established at Srinagar Simla and Bombay with the idea of finding markets and customers for Kashmir goods Silk industry was expanded Sericulture industry is making steady progress As a measure towards raising the standard of life of the worker working in the State Silk Factory an ex gracia bonus equal to 1/6th of his total earning was given to him Government is thinking of affording relief to the labourer by establishing Provident Fund and enhancing his daily wages An experiment to nationalise the handloom industry of the country is under way A small beginning has already been made in this respect

To help import and assist exporters trade agencies have been established at Amritsar and Pathankote Due to Government efforts imports and exports this year has exceeded all previous figures

9525 Transport and Communications

Pakistan invasion paralysed the whole transport system of the State A large number of vehicles which used to ply between the Punjab and the State were detained at Rawalpindi and Garhi Habibullah To cope with the situation a Government Transport Organization was set up to build the transport system The Government acquired a fleet of nearly 500 trucks to replenish the thoroughly paralysed transport system of the State These trucks have been plying between Pathankote and Srinagar in all types of weather and have carried thousands of maunds of goods to and fro Workshops to serve the Government trucks have been set up in Jammu and Srinagar and many petrol pumps installed

The Telegraph and Telephone Department did not lag behind Communication lines were damaged by Pakistan invasion These lines were restored and set in order Telegraph and Telephone system of the State was connected with India at Pathankote Telegraph control telephone connections were set on the line joining Srinagar with Ladakh and the western frontier district Wireless sets were provided for broadcasting stations

9526 Public Works Department

Far reaching achievements were achieved in the field of Public Works —

(i) Besides the aerodromes at Srinagar and Jammu even other air strips have been constructed at various places in the State

(ii) Construction and improvement of roads (widening surface metalling etc.) has been undertaken and executed in record time. Improvements have been effected on the B C Road and the J V Road (from Srinagar to Uri) at a cost of nearly Rs 10 lakhs

Other construction and improvement works undertaken include —

(a) Repairs and improvement of bridges

(b) Construction of huts and Refugee Relief Centres

(c) Housing accommodation for Army and Army Transport Home Guards and Militrya Camp Works

(d) Restoration of canals damaged in Jammu Province

(e) East Kashmir Valley Irrigation and Sindh Valley Canal Projects. Thes are estimated to cost Rs 41 lakhs

(iii) Dining Hall at Qazigund for the convenience for the personnel of Jammu and Kashmir Transport was constructed at the cost of Rs 28 000

(iv) Restaurant and Garages at Srinagar Secretariat were built at a cost of Rs 57 300

(v) Forty Garages for Government trucks were constructed at a cost of Rs 69 200 which were subsequently turned into stores and new Garages were constructed in the S P College premises at an estimated cost of Rs. 86 000

The estimated cost of all kinds of works so far undertaken totals nearly Rs. 2·5 lakhs out of which over 0 00 000 rupees have already been spent

9527 Information and Broadcasting Services

The new Government reorganised the old Publicity Department Two separate Departments one at Srinagar and the other at Jammu were set up Two Radio Stations have been set up in the cities of Jammu and Srinagar to cater for the tastes and needs of the local population Jammu has a medium wave transmitter of one Kilowatt while Srinagar has one short wave and one medium wave transmitters both of 1 Kilowatt each The people are thus kept fully informed about all events which affect them The educative value for the broadcasts in the local languages is great In order to extend this service to the common men both in the city and the village community listening-posts have been set up numbering 100 in Kashmir and 14 in Jammu- all this was done in a brief period of eleven months time

For benefitting the illiterate masses a visual publicity organization was set up in December 1948 and as a result three film units were established at Anantnag Baramulla and Shupyan These units have been showing films of educational political social and entertainment and recreational type

9528 Arms Act Repealed

Before setting up of the Popular Government the National Conference had been agitating for some years for the repeal of Arms Act under which a very invidious distinction had been made between Rajputs and non Rajputs Almost the very first act of the Cabinet was to repeal the Arms Act All persons can keep and bear arms and selection to the Defence Services will be strictly on merit

95291 Anti corruption Drive

A campaign against corruption nepotism and favouritism has been launched by the Popular Government To effect this an Anti Corruption Organisation was set up The Anti Corruption staff will have the authorities under the Public Servants Enquiries Act to inquire into all complaints of corruption and misbehaviour against Government servants Those found guilty are liable to imprisonment extending to 7 years

95291 Educational Reforms

In spite of the war nation building activities have not been lost sight of A great step towards the expansion of education was achieved by establishing a University The first series of examinations under its auspices w re held in May 1948 A few primary chools have been started and the status of many other schools has been raised Expert Advisory Committees have been formed for the efficient working of the public libraries in the State A T xt book Advisory Board und r the Chairmanship of the Hon ble Prime Minister undertook a heavy task of bringing out 4 00 000 text books for school children under Covernment supervision Arrangements for bringing out an educational Journal is under way A committee of educational experts has been instituted for building an educational code Differ nt plans of educating the masses are under consideration It is being p oposed to set up 40 soc al educati n centres It has also been decided to impart education in the primary standards in the Kashmiri language The development and the organi ing of cultural activities like folk art music and dancing are being looked after Kashmiri script is being developed on the Persian script and a training course has been provid d for teachers to learn it The Government presses are being moderni ed

95292 Local Self Government and Public Health

A committee under the chairmanship of Maulana Mohd Saeed Masoodi General Secretary of the National Con f rence has been set up to consider what further powers be grant d to the Municipal and other local bodies for making them fully autonomous and representative

Earnest efforts are being made to improve public health A training centre for nurses has been start ed to augment the pau ity of nurs s A well stocked library has b en provided in the Stat Hospital in Srinagar to enable the staff to k ep themselves acquainted with the latest dev l pm nts of medical sci nce A Doctor s club has also b started for th m To examin medical orrange ments for sutal arsas a Sp cial Medibal Committee has been recently appoint d

95293 New Kashmir Final Objective

This is the record so far of the first Popular Ministry in so short a time The achievements of Abdullah's Ministry can be the envy of any Government It is a triumph of Sheikh Abdullah The people of Jammu and Kashmir are sure to achieve their final objective—New Kashmir—under the inspiring and self sacrificing leadership of their beloved leader *Sher i Kashmir* Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

CHAPTER XIV

ARCHITECTS OF NEW KASHMIR

971 Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah popularly known as *Sher i Kashmir* is the Architect in Chief of New Kashmir. He is the father of the movement which has brought emancipation to the 40 lakhs down trodden masses of Kashmir. In fact the history of the freedom movement in Kashmir is nothing but the biography of Sher i Kashmir. It is he who has made history in Kashmir. The growth and evolution of his mind and spirit mirrors and reflects the growth and evolution of the national movement for freedom of Kashmir and of the people of Kashmir at large. To understand him is in short to understand Kashmir.

Family and Education

Born in 1905 in Saura a village not very far from Srinagar in an ordinary middle class family he was a posthumous child. Young Abdullah had no attraction towards his ancestral occupation of shawl trade and chose school instead. His brothers five in number and his kind and gentle mother helped him though at a great cost for they were in no way rich in this ambition of his. He was sent to school matriculated from Srinagar passed his Intermediate Arts from Jammu and graduated in 1927 from a College in Lahore. It was here that he received his first shock at seeing the acute economic distress of the Kashmiri Muslim labourers driven by want and poverty to earn money by casual labour in the plains. The sight left its lasting impression on his young and sensitive mind. How could he rest while thousands of his brethren were living in this abject poverty. He must work for them *lift them raise them*. Consequently he formed a union of Kashmiri coolies in Lahore in 1927 while still a college student. This is significant because it shows the way Abdullah's mind worked. His mind began to wander. Books could not sooth him. He applied himself rigorously to the study of economic and political problems of his

country in order to understand the underlying causes of the 'poverty amidst plenty'

From Lahore he went on to the Muslim University, Aligarh a renowned seat of renascent Islamic culture and learning, to take his Master's Degree in Science. The freer atmosphere of this place together with the corporate residential life of the University gave a fillip to his talents. His social conscience grew and developed. He began taking part in the various socio-political discussions and debates of the University and lost his stage fright becoming a familiar figure on the students union platform. New ideas gripped him. Aligarh afforded him the golden opportunity of listening to the eloquent and passionate speeches of such prominent Indian leaders as Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlu etc.

Master Abdullah

Back from the Aligarh University with an M.Sc. degree, Sheikh Abdullah had no difficulty in getting a job as a Science teacher in a Government High School. But a different role was destined for him. He soon became the centre of attraction of a small group of Muslim graduates who shared his ideas and views. In order to keep themselves in touch with each other they founded a simple reading room in Fateh Kadal where they met and discussed the problems confronting them. To ventilate the grievances of the people a poster campaign was started. Soon after the aid of the newspapers was sought and two newspapers were brought out from Lahore one after the other to voice the grievances of the people. It was time for him to come in contact with the people at large. He started addressing meetings and delivering speeches. A storm swept over Kashmir. People were out to end the oppressive autocratic rule of the Maharaja. Master Abdullah emerged as the leader of the struggle. He was arrested and released. Soon after he organized the Kashmir Muslim Conference and was sent to Jail again. A regular campaign for Responsible Government in the State began. People were awakened from their long slumber. There was a stir and a movement. So began the people's movement in Kashmir.

Idherent f Nationalis t

It is better to understand the background in which Muslim Conference came into existence Eighty per cent population of Kashmir is composed of Muslims They were st ped in acute poverty and ignorance They had lost all stamina and incentive for pro,ress They had lost all hope till Sheikh Abdullah came on the scene The Kashmiri Pandits were superior to their Muslim brethren in their educational qualifications Consequently they had a monopoly of the State Services It was historically inevitable therefore that in the beginning a political movement for the emancipation of the masses should be Muslim in name But though it was communal in name its policy remained national in essence Abdullah in his first Presidential address of the Muslim Conf rence in October 1932 said —

> We stand for th right of all communities Our country s progress is impossible so long as we do not establish amicable relations between the different communities

And again in an interview to a Press representative at Lahore in 1935 he ob erved —

> It shall b my earnest endea our henceforth to *shape the pol tical mo ement in the State expressly on the principles of the Indian National Congress* I am determined to purge my country of the bane of communalism whatever be the obstacles in my way

It was due to Sheikh Abdullah s persistent endeavours that the Muslim Conference was chang d into the National Conf rence throwing its door open to all irrespective of their caste creed or religion Since then an increasing numb r of Hindus and Sikhs have been activ ly associated with the National Conference and all its activities

Since 1931 onwards, Sheikh Abdullah has braved many storms and has been imprisoned several times The National Conference under his inspiring leadership grew from strength to strength and acquir d a mass following The year 1944 saw the Conference adopt a full fledged socialistic programme embodied in its official pamphlet *New Kashmir* It represents Sheikh Abdullah s concep tion of a mod l State in which democratic and responsible Gov rnment is only a means to an end—the raising of the p ople through freedom from all forms of economic

exploitation It was an all sided advance along all avenues of human activities regulated in a democratic manner on a country-wide scale All this is characteristic of Abdullah s young leadership

'Bagi Abdullah

In 1946 the movement had another leap forward It launched '*Quit Kashmir*' movement a logical corollary of 'New Kashmir slogan Sheikh Abdullah went ahead of the Congress and the States People s Conference and challenged the autocratic rule of the Maharaja with the revolutionary slogan The 'Quit Kashmir agitation is yet another key to the thought processes of the man who led it' He was imprisoned along with his co-workers Situation worsened and Sheikh was released in the autumn of 1947 He again made an appeal for Responsible Government in the State The Indian situation had materially changed The decision of the British to divide and quit created new problems Abdullah wanted the question of accession of Kashmir to be solved by the people themselves after they were free

Premier Abdullah

But the tribal invasion in October 1947 saw Sheikh Abdullah appointed as the Head of the Emergency Administration Following this an Interim Government was set up in March 1948 with Sheikh Abdullah as its Prime Minister The way he has implemented the promises of New Kashmir speaks volumes of the sincerity of the man He has ushered in a new era in the history of Kashmir

Master Architect

A grave and meditative face shining eyes sympathetic endearing and heartening smile—Abdullah is the Hero of the people A well built and sturdy constitution has helped him to weather many a political storm He is unassuming informal frank and friendly to talk to He is as brave as a lion but as gentle and mild as a lamb Leadership has come to him naturally rather it has been thrust upon him His name is a household word in Kashmir His picture decorates thousand of homes in Kashmir He is a matchless orator both in Kashmiri and Hindustani and the magic and eloquence of his message sways the hearts of

the millions Wherever he goes a royal reception awaits him His sincerety suffering and sacrifice evoke a heart felt and deep respect nay veneration from the people He prefers to remain human and shuns idolization He loves and adores people and people love and adore him There is grand simplicity about him This is the secret of his popularity

In the Foot steps of Gandhiji

So far as his political views are concerned Sheikh Abdullah is a strong nationalist Now and again he has denounced Jinnah s two nation theory in vehement and unambigous terms He stands for progressive democratic socialism as is evident from New Kashmir In fact he typifies youthful radical scientific socialist materialistic (not atheistic) progressive industrial revolutionary India He stands for secular democracy He is not a clever politician in the ordinary sense of the word Believer in personal freedom and dignity of the human personality Abdullah has a keen sense of enduring human values In fact he is one of the vital minds of our generation

But through all this we must not forget that Sheikah Abdullah is a deeply religious man His inner self is profoundly spiritual But it has not made him bigoted and narrow minded it has made him tolerant to all creeds and communities In this he resembles his beloved leader and teacher Ghandiji

We might end this brief account of Sheikh Abdullah with the words of Mahatma Gandhi which he spoke in another context and about another man for they are as truly applicable to Sheikh Abdullah as they are to the man about whom they were said —

In bravery he is not to be surpassed—who can excel him in the love of country ? if he has the dash and the rashness of the warrior he has also the prudence of a statesman A lover of disciplin he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome *He is undoubtedly an extremist thinking far ahead of his surrounding But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point He is pur as the crystal he is truthful beyond suspicion The nation is safe in his hands*

972 Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi

Next to Sheikh Abdullah Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi is the most popular figure in Kashmir these days His name has become a household word now a days He is Abdullah s trusted second in command He has worked and suffered for his chief giving him his unstinted and unqualified devotion and loyalty

Trusted Deputy

Born in July 1907 in no affulent circums ances he has risen to be the first Deputy Prime Minister of the first Popular Government of the Jammu and Kashmir State from the humble beginnings of a school teacher and later as an employee in the local branch of the All India Spinners Association solely by dint of his self sacrificing unselfish and hard work He always kept his country first It was the betterment of the masses that he aimed at always and every time He is known for his daring nature and defying spirit He like Mussolini believes in living dangerously But it is bottom rocked by a strong sense of discipline While merely a school boy he liked throughout the length and breadth of Kashmir scaling the mountains of Ladakh and Skardu His fighting spirit is very well illustrated by his ceaseless struggle against autocracy and Kakistocracy Recently at the time of the Pakistan sponsored invasion he rose to greater heights as a man of action and few words It was he who kept the morale of the people high keeping a vigilant and strict eye on the fifth columnists who were out to create chaos and disorder He went from street to street from mohalla to mohalla organizing and keeping people united

He has been imprisoned four times during the last 18 years He served his longest and most difficult term of imprisonment in 1931 when he was kept in Reasi Sub jail for 16 months He has battled the State to de several times In 1935 he worked underground During Quit Kashmir movement he left his motherland and led the movement in exile from India mobilising the entire Indian opinion in favour of Kashmir It was after 17 months in exile that he returned home triumphantly

Man of Action

Frank and outspoken fearless and full of courage unassuming yet conscious of his inner strength Bakshi is essentially a man of action He can oftener be seen with a *danda* in his hand moving amidst the crowd in big public mass meetings arranging and ordering them Being a strict disciplinarian himself he can brook no indiscipline and daily dallying tactics He is no lover of formal governmental routine and red tapism He believes in quick but right action It is his tremendous organising capacity that has kept the structure of the State intact at a time when the whole Government had collapsed and was non existent He is highly esteemed by all his colleagues together with his chief In fact *Bakshi is to Abdullah what Sardar is to Nehru*

673 Maulana Mohammad Saeed Masoodi

Maulana Mohammad Saeed Masoodi popularly known as Maulana Sahib is the brain behind the National Conference If to day National Conference is the best organised th most powerful and the most popular political party of the State the credit entirely goes to Maulana Mohammad Saeed He has been adorning the most responsible dignified and coveted *gad* of the General Secretary of the National Conference for th la t eleven years

Oriental Scholar

Born in 1905 in Muzaffarabad in no prosperous conditions he received his early education at home under the loving and wise guidance of his simpl god fearing mother The education he received was mainly religious the reading of the Quran and other scriptures He was sent to no regular school and therefore received no regular instruction

It was at the age of 19 that he left for Lahore and joined the Oriental Colleg there It was her that he passed several examinations in Urdu Persian and Arabic Soon after he returned home and had no difficulty in getting a job of a teacher in Muzaffarabad High School After this he worked as an Arabic Lecturer in P W College Jammu and S P College Srinagar respectively This brings us near 1930

Beginning of Political Life

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah appeared on the scene He organized a band of educated Muslim youngmen who shared his ideas and ideals He started addressing meetings and delivering speeches A storm swept over Kashmir The great mass uprising of 1931 took place and it found Maulana Saeed in the thick of the struggle He was fired and inspired by Sheikh Abdullah His future career was decided It was to work for the national regeneration of the people of Kashmir

He was arrested in 1931 for his so called subversive political activities and sentenced to two years imprisonment but he was let free only after four months Shocked by the inhuman conditions prevailing in the prison (Central Jail) and other prison evils Maulana Sahib resorted to hunger strike which lasted nine days for getting these conditions set right He met with a good measure of success

1932 saw Kashmir Muslim Conference come into existence Maulana Saeed was made Secretary of the Reception Committee of the Conference which was first of its kind in the State Sheikh Abdullah was again arrested There was despondency and despair The young bloods of the Conference rebelled and formed a Young men's Muslim Association in 1933 under the leadership of Maulana Saeed for getting Sheikh Abdullah released The agitated and succeeded

In Exile

By this time Maulana was becoming prominent and the Government was keeping a very vigilant eye upon him Left with no alternative the Government had to exile him for one year in January 1934 for his seditious speeches He left his beloved land unwillingly and with a heavy heart and proceeded direct to Lahore Stayed there for some time and went to Simla delivering speeches against the autocratic and oppressive rule of the Maharaja It was only after four months stay that he decided to return to Srinagar to Srinagar for the need of the country as calling him It was after three weeks stay in Srinagar that the police was able to arrest him that also when he himself was open to redress a meeting He was sentenced to two counts one for delivering the said speeches and the speech against the Government

Brain Behind the National Conference

In 1937 Maulana Saeed was elected a member of the Municipality where he formed a Muslim political party The 1938 movement for Responsible Government saw him again in Jail After his release he was elected a member of the State Assembly from his home constituency with overwhelming majority Being a convinced nationalist Maulana had the proud privilege of moving the resolution regarding the conversion of the Muslim Conference into the National Conference in June 1939 He was elected its first General Secretary which post he has been holding ever since

In 1941 saw the arrival of Cossacks in Kashmir Moved by their bad plight and with humanitarian motives the National Conference tried to raise a relief fund for them But the move met with opposition at the hands of the Government It was intolerable Maulana raised his voice again was arrested tried but aquitted

Quit India and Quit Kashmir

He gave his whole hearted support to Quit India Resolution of the Indian National Congress and made speeches in its favour He played a prominent part in the Quit Kashmir movement He led the War Council which had the onerous duty of keeping the agitation alive when there was wholesale suppression and repression successfully for six weeks His health was failing as he had to work day and night in dark and dingy rooms far away from the shrewd eyes of the C I D He thought it better to present himself for arrest He did so and was sentenced to one and a half years imprisonment His statement regarding the Quit Kashmir slogan before the court ranks as one of the classic challenges to tyranny Historically literary and politically it is a master piece This time again he resorted to hunger strike lasting 11 days for getting adequate facilities and necessary allowances for detenues He left even drinking water He was removed to Badami Bagh Cantonment and then to Muzaffarabad Sub jail where from he was released only five days before the Pakistan invasion on Kashmir started

Liaison Officer

Emergency Administration was formed in October 1947 Maulana Mohammad Saeed was made the Liaison Officer in

Baramulla and Uri He laong with Brigadier Sen had the proud privilege of entering Uri first after it was re captured from Pakistani raiders

No Lust for Power

Simple in habits and dress Maulana Saeed is respected by all and sundry He is a man of faith integrity and strong convictio is Pious and noble he never thinks of changing his modest status in life He is not accustomed to seek for power by adapting his political or religious opin ions to the changing circumstances of the hour He knows the value of far nobler ideals in life than that of raising himself to a higher position in life He shuns power and publicity It is said that when the Interim Government was formed in March 1948 in Kashmir his name was pro posed for a ministership But he refused even begged not to oe burdened with this high post He thinks it his proud privilege to devote his energies entirely to the noble duty of improving the moral and material conditions of the people of Kashmir

Most Humane

In his private and personal life Maulana Saeed is patient humble and forgiving He is learned and scholarly He has equal command over Urdu Persian and Arabic He is a very eloquent speaker and forceful writer in Urdu

Essentially Maulana is a man of religion He ought to ha e been a religious preacher To him true religion and true politics is one and the same thing He is tolerant generous and charitable He has no money attract on Though he giv s his sympathy and love to all et all his serious thoughts are directed to God

Rightly has he been elected as the member of he Indian Parliament by the people of Kashmir

975 Sardar Budh Singh

Thin lean and grey haired simple and straight-forward khadar clad Sardar Budh Singh was the first man in the State to ise the banner of revolt against the autocratic and oppressive rule of the then Gover nor

First Fighter for Reforms

Sardar Budh Singh roused the cause of the down trodden peasants of Kashmir at a time when there was no political organisation in the State to voice their grievances

Though he held lucrative posts of a revenue officer and later Wa ir Wazarat in the State Government he spoke openly and daringly in the most radical language imagin able against the oppression then prevailing He was interned but his eal was unabated for he is a man of strong convictions *Kisans* and *Ma doors* were his first concern Though a high State official he humbl d himself to the position of a p tty Kisan in order to think and f el like him In fact he prides in calling himself a Kisan

Mahatma of Kashmir

He supported Sheikh Abdullah s movement even when it w as communal in name He was instrumental in converting th Muslim Conference into th National Conference in 1938 He was imprisoned in 1938 for or e year In the Quit Kashmir movement he was in the prison for full one and a half year along with Sheikh Abdullah He has adorned the *Gaddi* of the President of the National Conference the most coveted position not once but thrice This in itself speaks volumes of the tr mend ous popularity of this little self sacrificing man No greater honour could be done to man by a people Though deeply religious in outlook he is perfectly non sectarian Inspired by Gandhiji s ideals he mingled and ate fr ely with the Harijans inspiring them with a new vision of human dignity and social equality He took the vow of celibacy at the ag of forty five and he has adhered to it since then. It is for his saintly character that he is called by many a *Mahatma*

Though nearly 72 he has the vigour and energy of a youngman of twenty He shunspower and publicity I am for the masses this was what he told us The in terests and welfare of the oppressed and down trodden are safe in his hands He is rightly called the *Bapu of the Kashmir National Movement*

976 Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg

Mir a Mohd Afzal B g has been in the National Movement since its very inception He is the most active member of the National Conference as is evidenced from the fact that he has been a working committee mem ber continuously for the last 14 years

Most Zealous Worker

Mir a Beg was born in 1908 of a peasant family of

Anantnag District. He was educated in a local Mission School. After graduating from Srinagar he went for law and economics to Aligarh University in 1932. He was one of the leading figures of the rising of 1931. Soon after his return from Aligarh in 1934 he was elected as the General Secretary of the Muslim Conference. He played a great part in converting the Muslim Conference into National Conference in 1938. He was convicted to one year's rigorous imprisonmnet on two counts when the Conference launched its first movement for Responsible Government in the State.

Powerfull Parliamentarian

Known for his efficiency and argumentative powers the Conference chose him for the State Legislative Assembly. Since then he has been returned from this constituency unopposed not once but four times. In 1913 when the Maharaja appointed a Royal Commission on reforms in the State he was one of the two National Conference nominees on it. In 1944 Maharaja decided to take two popular ministers in his Council of Ministers. Again the National Conference choice fell on Mirza Beg till then Deputy Leader of the National Conference Party in the Assembly. He was placed in charge of the Public Works portfolio. But he had to work against unfair admirisirative non cooperation and indifference of the other Cabinet members and intolerable bureaucratic redtapist restriction. He still worked on till a debate on a constitutional issue which had remained a moot point between him and the Prime Minister crystalised the situation. Hence on March 17 1946 Mirza Beg resigned because he was given no opportunity to function effectively as put by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru. In the Quit Kashmir movement Mirza Beg threw himself again heart and soul in to the movement.

Released from the jail in October 1947 Mirza Beg was put in absolute charge of his district as the Emergency Officer during the Emergency Administration of Sheikh Abdullah.

He has the welfare of the poor peasantry at his heart. Rightly has he been made the first Popular Revenue Minister and elected a Member of the Indian Parliament.

977 Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq

Bald and bespectacled Mr Sadiq has shared Sheikh Abdullah s efforts and sufferings from the very inception of the National Movement in Kashmir He was the first man to respond to Sheikh Abdullah s appeal for funds in 19 1

Revolutionary Spirit

Political consciousness had come to Mr Sadiq while he was still in teens Even at the small age of twelve he preferred caning rather than to part with a locket of Gandhiji and Maulana Mohammad Ali At the age of 18 the daring exploits of Bhagat Singh thrilled him so much that he began to preach the cult of Bhagat Singh by secretly distributing hand written clandestine posters mentioning his brave deeds and teachings While in the College he had a fight with the Principal on the issue of having a student President of the College Debating Union The Principal had to yield Mr Sadiq was unanimously elected the President of the Union In April 19 0 Mr Sadiq led the first student s demonstration in the history of Kashmir which was held in protest against the arrest of Gandhiji

Active Work

He took an active part in the people s uprising of 1931 In 1932 he along with Mirza Beg served on the Riot Enquiry Commission After his return from Aligarh in 1934 with a law degree he became a Muslim Conference M L A In the movement of 19 8 for Responsible Government he was sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment He had the good fortune of presiding over the historic session of the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference in June 1939 at which the decision to convert it into the National Conference was taken In 1944 he was elected the Deputy Leader of the National Conference Assembly Party He guided the Quit Kashmir movement of 1946 from outside Kashmir after escaping from Kashmir As Development Minister he has got far reaching achievements to his credit. Though radical in outlook he is of a compromising nature

978 Kashyapa Bandhu

The most popular and beloved non-Muslim leader among the peasantry of Kashmir Pandit Kashyapa Bandhu *alias* Pt Tara Chand Bulbul popularly known as Bandhuji holds an eminent place in Kashmir s struggle for freedom Born in 1900 in Geru a small beautiful village 18 miles away from Srinagar in a peasant Kashmiri Pandit family he has risen to the position of the first Director General Rural Department in the popular regime

Born Journalist

Bandhuji began his career as a surveyer in the State Revenue Department wherefrom he was dismissed on the petty pretext of organizing the employees of the Revenue Department He left Kashmir came to Quetta and got a job in the Telegraph Department It was here that he came in contact with and was inspired by the Arya Samaj He resigned his job joined the Lahore Vedic Research Institute studied here for four years and later edited the *Arya Gazette* Lahore He took to missionary work as well and made his mark both as an eloquent speaker and a forceful writer He also interested himself in political and social upheaval that was slowly taking place in the wide Indian arena He was arrested for alleged complicity in Saunder s Murder Case for being associated with Sardar Bhagat Singh but freed after a few months internment

Great Social Worker

All this time Bandhuji yearned to return home The great rising of 1931 had awakened Kashmir politically from its age long slumber At the invitation of the *Yuvak Sabha* Bandhuji returned home He wielded his prolific pen to rid his community of the various chronic social evils and ills with tremendous success After a long period of nearly six years in the Yuvak Sabha during which period he did his best to make it a progressive body both politically and socially he discovered to his great sorrow that the Yuvak Sabha was not ready to keep pace with his radical and progressive outlook He also found himself stifled in its narrow and restricted sphere The thought of leaving it for good entered his mind a few and it has he parted company from it on the fundamental issues of widow marriage and [illegible]

grief his wider nationalist outlook received a crude shock owing to Muslim Conference s purely communal and sectarian outlook and programme A political party nationalist and with no restriction of caste creed and colour was th prime need of the hour He worked hard for it along with a number of his co workers His dream bore fruit with the establishment of the National Conference in June 1939 Since then he has braved many storms gone to prison several times and proved his usefulness not only to the Party but to the whole country He edited the *Khidm t* the official organ of the National Conference besides starting and editing his own papers He was interned during the Quit Kashmir movement also and acquitted a short while before the Pakistan s invasion on Kashmir

Beloved of village folk

Known for his simplicity and sincerity Bandhuji is a man of great for sight deep understanding and of revolutionising temperament Though calm and placid outside he is turbulent within His social outlook is progressive and even radical Politically he is one with his Chief Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah He does his work with a missionary eal silently and steadily His love for the village folk is proverbial Thinking high salaries to be an anachronism amidst prevailing poverty he contended himself with a petty monthly salary of Rs 100 only when he was offered a decent salary of Rs 600 P M There can be no greater example of self sacrifice He has been one of the prominent members of the Working Committee of the National Conference for many years He occupies an eminent position among the top ranking leaders of the National Conference

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SOME OPINIONS

The writers have collected very useful information about Kashmir and I am sure people will find it very interesting

DR. SYED MAHMUD
Minister of Development and Transport Bihar

It has been compiled with care and industry and it gives a full and detailed account of different aspects of the life and activities of Kashmir

K. G. SAIYIDAIN
Educational Advisor to the Government of Bombay
Ex Director of Education
Jammu and Kashmir State

It has indeed succeeded in giving an accurate and exact picture of Kashmir's past and present. Nothing and no aspect of Kashmir—geographical historical social economic and political has escaped the learned authors pen. The achievement of the book consists in not omitting to describe fully and critically the political awakening since 1931 together with Pakistan's inaction of 1947 along with all the subsequent events in their entirety which was the greatest need of the hour."

MOHAMMED SAEED MASOODI
General Secretary
All Jammu & Kashmir Nation Conference
Member of the Indian Parliament