

(REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION)

First Edition: 1965

Second Edition: 1990

Published By: Farooq Suhail
VERINAG
PUBLISHERS - MIRPUR
AZAD KASHMIR

Printed By: Shirkat Printing Press,
Lahore.

**THE KASHMIR
SAGA**

(REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION)

*SARDAR M. IBRAHIM KHAN
Founder - President of
Azad Jammu and Kashmir*

VERINAG
PUBLISHERS - MIRPUR
AZAD KASHMIR

CONTENTS

1. Preface

ii. Historical Background	9
iii. Political Consciousness	25
iv. Kashmir State -1947	38
v. Atrocities in Kashmir	47
vi. Background of Azad Kashmir Movement	56
vii. Beginning of Azad Kashmir Movement	71
viii. Sudhan Revolt	77
ix. Tribal People	95
x. And Kashmir Army	102
xi. Azad Jammu And Kashmir Government	115
xii. Difficulties - Causes of Failure	132
xiii. Security Council - 1948	138
xiv. U.N.C.L.P.	148
xv. Security Council 1949-1950	160
xvi. Sir Owen Dixon and Frank P. Graham	168
xvii. People of the Kashmir Valley	177
xviii. Kashmir's Ties with Pakistan	187
xix. Some Blunders Committed in Kashmir	198
xx. Accession issue of the State	211
xxi. Possible Solutions	223
xxii. Future Prospects	230
xxiii. Kashmir as a Country	239
xiv. Muslim Countries and Kashmir	243

PREFACE

In the preface to **the** first edition of this book, I with-held certain facts, which at that particular moment, I thought, could raise wild controversies I made a promise, in this preface, to the public that these facts will be disclosed at a later time. I had also promised that if not disclosed during my life time these facts will be disclosed after my death. I had promised. to make arrangements to that effect. That arrangement will now be not necessary. Because in this, second edition, I have given almost all those facts which at the time of first publication could not be made public. I am convinced of the truth of these facts~ and it is fair enough to the future generation to know what exactly happened in 1947 vis-a-vis the Kashmir issue. Kashmir problem is still as much important today as it was in 1947. The very existence of Pakistan depends on the solution of this problem. I have added a new chapter in this book - *Kashmir as a Country'*. This chapter gives a new line of thinking to the solution of this problem I leave it to the future generation of Pakistani and Kashmiri people to reconsider and review the whole problem in the context of modern trends and modern events that have taken place since 1947, including the separation of East Pakistan from Pakistan.

In any case, in my view, if Kashmir were projected as a country and accepted by the countries of the World and admitted into the UNO, this future Kashmir would be easily a mini Pakistan.

S.M. IBRAHIM KHAN

Chapter I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE State of Jammu and Kashmir is bounded in the north by the Russian and Chinese Republics. The independent Republic of Afghanistan lies to the north-west. On its southwest is Pakistan. A very small area in the south-east of the State has common boundaries with the Republic of India.

The State has an area of 84,471 sq. miles. There are only two plains in all this vast area. One is the valley of Kashmir, 84 miles long and about 25 miles wide with the summer capital, Srinagar, in the centre, and the Jhelum river running from east to west down the centre. The other is the Jammu plain, which is a continuation of the Punjab plains, divided to the east by the Chenab, and separated on the west from the hills of the Rawalpindi and Hazara districts of Pakistan by the Jhelum river. The Panjab range of mountains, averaging 14,000 ft. high, encloses the valley of Kashmir on its southern and western sides. The slopes of the Jammu plain are a continuation of the plains of West Pakistan.

The main Himalayan chain, with summits from 15,000 to 23,600 ft. runs north-west from the southern boundary of the Indian Hill State of Chamba, in an almost straight line near the Indus. A quarter of the States area lying to the south-west of this main Himalayan chain, is comparatively well-watered and supports as large a population as in its two plains. beyond the main Himalayan chain, the upper reaches of the Indus drain a drier and more barren broad belt of mountains culminating in the north in the high peaks of Karakorum, separating Ladakh and Baltistan from Sinkiang - a Province of Socialist China, and cut right through by the Hunza river near their western end, where they are continued in the Hindukush

running along the northern boundary of the State of Chitral, now acceded to Pakistan. The valleys of eastern Ladakh support a sparse population, but in the much lower valleys of Baltistan and the Dir Agency to the north-west, a considerable part of the population lives on agriculture. Southwest and west of Gilgit, the mountains do not attain such heights and are more broken. The climatic conditions of the country vary from the arctic cold in Ladakh district to the extreme heat of the West Pakistan plains. Tropical heat is experienced in Jammu Province. The Kashmir valley enjoys a temperate climate during summer but is very cold in winter. In early November, the Banihal Pass on road to Srinagar from Jammu becomes snow-bound, and throughout the winter months is not open to any traffic. In the Frontier Districts, extreme cold prevails throughout the year. The deep narrow valleys in Kashmir and Dir, however, are hot and damp.

Since this book was first published in 1965, a significant event has occurred. This event has made a tremendous effect on the geographic position and on the political aspect of the state of Jammu and Kashmir; namely, a road has been constructed from the Frontier Province of Pakistan right up to T-Iunza, -Khanjarab and beyond into China. Formerly this used to be Silk Route between China and Indo-Pak sub-continent. The trade was carried on by means of animals. It would take weeks and weeks together to cross this Silk Route from China to India, a distance of 500 miles or so. Now that this new magnificent road has been built by the assistance of China, a new trade has been opened between China and Pakistan. This road has given great importance to the region of Gilgit and Ladakh and, consequently, to Jammu and Kashmir state.

When Pakistan was constructing this road, India raised serious objections because, according to India, the State as a whole constitutionally belonged to India and, therefore, revolutionary changes in this area would affect Indian position. Monumental construction of the roads has given importance to the region and a new relationship has happily developed between Pakistan and China.

A question now has been raised in the Pakistan press and in the political circle that Northern Provinces of the state, namely, Gilgit, Ladakh and Baltistan be either annexed to Azad Jammu and Kashmir State or to Pakistan. The question of a part of the state acceding to Pakistan does not seem feasible, and if it is done, it is going to effect very badly Pakistan's cause in United Nation, In my opinion these Northern Provinces of Jammu and Kashmir State should go to Azad Jammu and Kashmir because they are a part of Kashmir State and have been so through ages. These areas should be governed by the appointment of a Governor and the Legal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and High Court should extend to these areas so that the people of this area also benefit from an organised judicial system. It is a question which yet has to be debated and decided. Only a very strong Central Government of Pakistan can be in a position to solve this matter one way or the other. In the meantime the area is governed by Military and Civil administration with wide autocratic powers. This position jeopardizes the peoples rights in this area. It must be said that a lot of credit is due to its people and their ancestors who fought for freedom, along with the rest of Kashmiries in 1947. Rainfall is scanty in the frontier regions, but in the rest of the State it varies from 30 inches to, 65 inches a year. From the point of view of area, the State of Jammu and Kashmir is the largest in India and Pakistan. Its area is slightly smaller than that of Great Britain. The area of the former Indian States of Mysore, Travancore, Jaisalmeer and Bikaner, all put together, is equal to **the** area of **Jammu** and Kashmir State. The area of Jammu and Kashmir is again equal to the **area** of Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Austria and Albania, all put together.

The population of the State, according to the Census Report of 1941, was 40, 21,616. The following figures based on the Census Report of 1941, give the composition of the main communities in different Provinces of the State.

Name of Province	Total Population	Muslims Non Muslims.
Jammu Province	19,81,433	1245,676
Kashmir Province		17,28,705
	1,13,227	
Frontier Districts		2,84,478
	14,385	

This population has now increased to one crore people (**10 millions**).

Thus it is evident that the population of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is larger than that of Iraq and almost equal to that of Switzerland. The main religions of the people of the State are Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism. It will be observed from the statistics given above, that, in 1941, the Muslims formed a Majority in all the provinces of the State. They constituted 77.11 percent of the total population of the State, the Hindus being 21.12 percent and the Sikhs 1.64 percent. There are some 40,000 Buddhists in Eastern Ladakh, but the population of Ladakh as a whole, including Baitistan, is predominantly Muslim. The annual increase in population has been estimated at a little over one percent.

We now understand that India has allowed its non-Muslim people to increase their population in the State with the result that ratio between Muslims and non-Muslims has been badly affected. It is feared if this sort of policy continues for a long time and no plebiscite is held within the state, within a reasonable time, the whole complexion of population will undergo a terrific change and Pakistan's cause and the cause of the Muslims in this state will be irreparably damaged.

In race and culture, the people of Jammu and Kashmir State vary according to the region in which they live. The people of Ladakh and Baltistan have typically Mongolian features. Their culture and language are different from those who live in Gilgit or in the

valley of Srinagar itself. The people of Gilgit,
though akin in their features to the people of

Ladakh and Baltistan, have markedly different characteristics. Their language is different from those who live in Gilgit and in the valley of Srinagar or those who live in the Province of Jammu.

The people of the valley of Kashmir speak "Kashmiri language which is different from rest of the State. They have a different dress and follow slightly different customs. The people in the rest of the State, namely the whole of Jammu Province, including Poonch, are closely akin to the Muslims of West Pakistan.

The Hindus of ancient times were never good historians. There is, therefore, no reliable historical material relating to the Hindu period in all parts of India. However, with the ancient land of Kashmir this is not the case. Record of our past has been preserved in a famous book called "*Raj Tarangini*" by the prominent historian Kalhana who lived in the first half of the twelfth century AD.

The Hindu kings ruled over Kashmir for over four thousand years. During this long period of history, twenty-one dynasties came to power one after the other. An account is given about the kings of this period, but most of it appears to be of a conjectural nature.

It is not possible to describe precisely the social or economic conditions of the people of the Kashmir during the earlier parts of the Hindu period except that the governments in those days were based on absolute patriarchy. The quality of every regime depended on the personal traits of Raja. It does not fall within the scope of this small book to go into its detail.

The most famous king of Kashmir was one Raja Lalitaditya (715-752 A.D). It is related that when he ascended the throne, the State of Kashmir was in a disorderly condition. He restored peace and normal conditions and established a strong Government. After doing this, he started on a wide conquest of other countries. It is told that he went as far as Central Asia and returned to his country via Tibet after an absence of twelve years from his seat of Government

It is obvious that the life of the Hindu Kings, generally speaking, was very simple. Most of them were absolute monarchs, peculiar to mediaeval times, but this did not prevent some of them from looking after their subjects very well. They realised that their lives were closely associated with the people of their country, and many of them were not infrequently drawn from amongst their people. Huan Tsiang, the great Chinese traveler, who visited Kashmir in 617-53. AD. found the people in the State prosperous and happy. He narrates that some of the adjacent territories of the State were subject to the rule of kings of Kashmir.

In spite of the simple times of those days, the people were advanced in their culture and in many other walks of life. Their progress was striking enough even for this modern age. We, of the present generation, can and should take legitimate pride in the fact that our earlier ancestors evolved a philosophy of their own which was profound and popular. This philosophy was characterized by absolute monism, a depth of fine originality which has been universally acknowledged.

Between the years 1310 A.D. and 1553 A.D., Kashmir was ruled by local Muslim kings. Between 1515 AD. and 1718 AD., the State was ruled by Mughal kings and between 1718 A.D. and 1819 A.D., by Afghan Governors. This would show that Kashmir was under independent Muslim rule for more than five hundred years. In the beginning of the fourteenth century political changes occurred when a Tibetan Prince fled from his country and took shelter under the king of Kashmir. After living in Kashmir for several years he took advantage of the unsettled conditions and came into power himself, while the king of Kashmir was absent in Kishtwar. Subsequently, this Tibetan Prince embraced Islam. After that the government of Kashmir passed into the hands of those who were alien in birth and in culture. These Muslim Sultans ruled Kashmir for more than a century and a half. The most famous, and still very well known even to the average Kashmiri today, was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, otherwise known as Budshah (the Great Monarch). During the reign of his predecessor Sultan Sikandar, a large number of Kashmiri Pandits left Kashmir and settled in

the Punjab and elsewhere in India. During the reign of Zain-ulAbidin Budshah, many industries were introduced: for instance, paper-making, sericulture and shawl-manufacture. He became extremely popular among all sections of the people, including Hindus, because of his tolerance.

Akbar the Great conquered Kashmir in 1586 AD. During the whole Mughal occupation of Kashmir, it was governed by governors appointed by the Mughal Emperors from time to time. The Mughal occupation of the country was marked by the prevalence of peace and happiness. But as soon as the Mughal Empire started crumbling, after the death of Aurangzeb, conditions became very unsettled again.

In 1750 A.D Ahmad Shah Durrani invaded and conquered Kashmir. The country thus passed into the hands of the Afghans. Their rule in Kashmir is known as very harsh. Tales of religious persecution, devastation and rapine are still told in every household throughout the valley of Kashmir. During this period people in general, and Hindus in particular, must have suffered because of their misrule.

The Sikhs succeeded in wresting the valley of Kashmir from the Afghan rulers in 1819. The Afghan Governor was defeated and Kashmir passed into the hands of new masters from the Punjab . From 1819 AD. to 1846 AD. Kashmir remained under the rule of Sikhs. The change of this rule made no difference at all to the lot of the people. Maharaja Ranjit Singh and other Sikh rulers after him had neither time nor the inclination to look into the administration of this new Province of the Sikh kingdom. They always sent their governors

to rule for them in Kashmir. William Moorcraft, who visited Kashmir in 1824 A.D., wrote; 'The Sikhs looked upon the Kashmiris as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh was punished with a fine by the Government from sixteen to twenty rupees of which four were paid to the family of the deceased, if a Hindu, and two if he was a Mohammanadan.

According to Moorcraft, the people were everywhere in a miserable condition and they were subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression.

Some of the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, like Ahmad Shah, Akbar and Jehangir, did great things for this unfortunate land. The Mughals brought back as much peace and prosperity to the country as they could. Akbar built the wall round Hari Parbat. Jehangir and Shah jehan were very fond of the valley and paid frequent visits to it. Some of the gardens round the Dal Lake are a standing monument of the good work of the Mughals. In our times, and probably in all times, visitors from all over the world will see these monuments as great marks of a great age in the history of Kashmir.

Benbow, who visited Kashmir during the reign of Aurangzeb, was pleased to see the conditions then prevailing everywhere. He was particularly impressed by the industrious habits of the people and he appreciated the shawl of Kashmir which was manufactured in those days. -

In 1819 AD. Kashmir came under the Punjab Government. Sheikh Imam muddin was appointed as Governor. His rule continued upto 1846 AD., when the British took over the State. It was not until November, 1846 AD. that Maharaja Gulab Singh was brought into Kashmir with the aid of British troops. During the five centuries of Muslim rule, Islam won the greatest part of the people to its fold. The piety and learning of Syed Ali Hamdani made such a great impression on the people that a large number of them embraced Islam.

Jammu Province has a different history.

From the twelfth up to the fifteenth century, the Rajas of Jammu, who held sway over Dogra country (round about Mansar and Sarvansar Lake), remained under the suzerainty of the Ghauri dynasty of Afghanistan and they got Jagirs from the Afghans. After 1554 A.D. they accepted the suzerainty of the

Mughal Kings, during this period Rajauri was under
Baja
Ikram Ullah Khan of Rajauri. Bhimber was under Raja

Azimullah Than of Bhimber, Mirpur was under Dewan Ghulam Ali and Haider Ali Khan Ghakhar of Mirpur. In 1770 AD. the Sikhs attacked Jammu, and it had, perforce, to accept the suzerainty of the Lahore Government. Ghulam Singh's father got the Jagir of 'Andwara' from the British Government in the Jammu Tehsil. Later on Ghulam Singh's father entered the service of the Punjab Government. In 1809 A.D. Gulab Singh entered the service of the Sikh Army as a trooper. In lieu of his good military service, he got a Jagir in the districts of Jhelum and Sialkot. In 1820 AD. Gulab Singh was made the Raja of Jammu and his two brothers were given the principalities of Poonch in the north-west and Ramnagar, north-east of Jammu.

Poonch has a typical historical background.

From the end of seventeenth century up to 1837 A.D. Poonch was ruled by the Muslim Rajas of Loran in Tehsil Haveli. It then fell into the hands of Raja Paiztalab Than of Rajuri to whom it was handed over by the Punjab government. Poonch was included in the transfer of the hilly country to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846. Before this transfer, Poonch was considered a district of Lahore. Maharaja Gulab Singh granted Chibal, Poonch and other ilaqas to Jawahar Singh and Moiti Singh, sons of his brother Dhian Singh. The Raja of Poonch had to present to the Maharaja of, what is now known as Jammu and Kashmir, one horse with gold trappings. The Raja of Poonch was not to effect any administrative changes in the territory of Poonch without previous consultation with the Maharaja of Kashmir. Poonch was converted into a Jagir by Maharaja Hail Singh in 1935-36 by bullying the Raja of Poonch into submission.

The Dogra Maharajas found it extremely difficult to establish their Government in Poonch. It refused to accept, ipso facto, the de jure sovereignty of the Dogras. Poonch had, therefore, to be conquered by them. During this regular conquest the Dogras met with stiff armed resistance. When ultimately, by sheer strength of arms, Dogra sovereignty was firmly established, they picked a number of leaders from the people and had them flayed alive in public. For the people of Jammu and Kashmir the places where these horrible crimes were

committed against humanity Will always remain as unique memorials to the cause of freedom.

In a repetition of history, it was these self-same people who first rose in arms against the Dogras in 1947.

The history of the beginning of the Dogra rule would be considered incomplete without a mention of the infamous Treaty of Amritsar which was concluded between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the British authorities in 1846 A.D. By the terms of this treaty the Valley of Kashmir was sold by the British to Gulab Singh. When this treaty was concluded between British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, the territory that was surrendered to Maharaja in lieu of seventy-five lakhs of rupees was only the valley of Kashmir. Poonch was never a part of this infamous agreement. Therefore, ilaqa of Poonch had to be re-conquered by the forces of Maharaja Gulab Singh. These forces of Maharaja perpetrated unheard of atrocities on men and Women. Relevant portions of the Treaty of Amritsar read as follows:-

Article 1.

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever in independent possession to Maharaja Ghulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the River Indus and the westward of the River Ravi including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the provisions of the article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article 3.

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing article, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees (Nanak Shah I) ~ fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty and twenty-five lakhs on or before the 1st October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 9.

The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10.

Maharaja Gulab Singh will acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cash-mere shawls.

According to the Treaty of Amritsar, the district of L-Iazara went to Gulab Singh, but this was, later on, exchanged for Mandir, Dadhi, Kathua and Suchetgarh in the L'unjab.

It will appear that the Treaty of Amritsar does not mention anything pertaining to the internal administration of the State. Gulab Singh, It seems, was given a free hand to deal with matters as he chose. In later days the British Authorities themselves regretted the handing over of Kashnir to an Indian Prince. It seems that when the Treaty of Amritsar was concluded, the Englishmen who were dealing with the matter, had not the slightest notion of the strategic and other value of the valley of Kashnir. They found the Amritsar arrangement inevitable, because during that time L'unjab politics were in a fluid state and the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan were unsettled. To them it was an advantageous disposal of ICashmir. In any case they thought Gulab Singh was a good ally in the North. Drew wrote-

"One great objective which the Governor-General had in view when he made this arrangement for the Jammu and Kashmir territories, was to lessen the force of Sikhs by establishing on their flank a power independent of them and inclined to the British. This objective may be said to have so far succeeded that, on the next and final trial of strength between the Sikhs and the British, Gulab Singh's

aid was withheld from the nation to which formerly belong his allegiance".

It will, of course, appear that the treaty does not even mention of a British Resident in Kashmir, and when the matter of appointment of a Resident was taken up by the British, the Maharaja resisted. Ultimately, in 1851 A.D. the Maharaja had to agree to the appointment of a British Officer. Finally, after a lot of controversy over the matter, the Resident was appointed.

"The Maharaja did not achieve his ends by methods which were always beyond criticism. He did not hesitate to resort to the tricks and stratagems which would, in ordinary life, be considered dishonourable. He was trained in a hard school, where for ages inhumanity and treachery were all considered part and parcel of politics".

During the early period of the Dogras, the people of Kashmir suffered much misery. Though the Amritsar Treaty gave outward peace to the people and they were rid of the Pathan and the Sikh misrule, this peace, probably, helped the upper class of people. The Hindus consolidated their position and started growing rich at the expense of the general Mussalman masses. So far as the general masses were concerned, no economic or social progress was possible. The land was in a sorry condition during the period of Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh. The taxes were arbitrary and exorbitant. Revenue was collected in kind and sepoys were deputed to collect it, in advance, at the time of harvesting. Since these sepoys were themselves not regularly paid, one can imagine the misery and havoc they worked on the villagers. There were strange taxes. To quote 'one instance, there was a tax on the sale of horses which amounted to fifty percent of the purchase money.

Every Department was full of corruption and the burden of it all fell on the poor peasant. All officials, particularly the revenue officials, were corrupt to the core. Since the revenue official could collect money in this inhuman manner it was respected in upper society because money gave it position.

Therefore, the question of exercising any check on him was

never contemplated.

But the biggest disgrace that will be associated with the Dogra rule was the obnoxious system of forced labour termed 'begaar'. The State Officials, by law, could force anyone among the villagers into forced labour, namely, 'begaar'. Poor and helpless people were miserably dragged, like slaves, out of their homes and against their will, to carry loads over long distances. They were neither paid nor were they given any ration during this labour. They had to carry their own dry bread with them to sustain them. This system continued right up to very recent times. Dr. Arthur Never described this in the following words: "I was at Islamabad striving to fight an epidemic of cholera by sanitation, and noticed that coolies were being collected from the surrounding region, each with his blanket, spare grass shoe, his carrying crutch, and light frame of sticks and rope in which to carry the load upon his back. And I was present at the great concourse on a green meadow in front of mosque when a sort of farewell service was held for those starting on this perilous journey. Loud was the sobbing of many, and fervid the demeanour of all, as led by the Mulla, they intoned their prayers and chanted some of their special Ramzan penitential psalms. Even braver men than the Kashmiris might well have been agitated at such occasion when taking farewell of their loved ones!~ Who would till their fields? What would happen during the long absence to their wives and children? To what perils would they themselves be exposed to in

the snowy Pass of hilly Gilgit district?"

Knight has given a graphic account of this system in pathetic language. He says:

"An enormous transport service is needed to supply the garrisons on the North Frontier with grain; and the Kashmir authorities have been utterly careless of the comfortj and even of the lives of the unfortunate wretches, who are dragged from their homes and families, to trudge

for months over the wearisome marches on that arid country. They fall on the road to perish of hunger and thirst, and, thinly clad as they are, are destroyed hundreds at a time by the cold on the snowy pass. When a man is seized for this form of 'begaar' his wife and children hang by him, weeping, taking it almost for granted that they will never see him again. A gang of these poor creatures, heavily laden with grain, toiling along the desolate range between Astore and Gilgit, on a burning summer day, urged on by a Sepoy guard, is perhaps as pitiable a spectacle as anything to be seen on the roads of Siberia. But these are not convicts and criminals, they are Mussalman farmers, harmless subjects of the *Maharaja*'.

The 'begaar' system worked great hardships, which have been described in the very forthright language above. But one of the hardships was that people were forced to this 'begaar' at a time when the villagers were most needed in their fields. Thus the crops badly suffer from their absence. When a revenue official would sweep down in a district to collect men for 'begaar', he would collect money by granting immunity to those who paid him. Whenever it was known that an official was to visit a particular village for this purpose, all male members of the village would run away and hide themselves to save themselves from this tragedy. One could go on quoting instances which would move even the hardest of hearts as to how the subjects of the Maharaja of the State of Jammu and Kashmir suffered under his most uncivilised and barbarous system of forced labour.

During the great famine of 1877 A.D. thousands of people died of starvation and the whole country-side was totally mined. Whatever may be said about the causes of the famine, the responsibility for the loss of lives that ensued lies on the shoulders of the Dogra administration. Unfortunately, the famine was followed by a terrible earthquake in 1885, as a result of which a large number of people died. Nobody could or

would look after these miserable creatures who died under the debris of collapsing houses. Nor was there any money to finance

any relief that could be given to these people.

In consequence of these two calamities, namely the famine of 1877 and the Earthquake of 1885, a large number of people of the valley died in their homes, and most of those who left their homelands to seek shelter elsewhere, died on their way travelling to the Punjab and other areas of India. On the whole Indian sub-continent almost every other city and village contains the people having their origin from the valley of Kashmir. From Calcutta to Peshawar in the sub-continent, Kashmiri Mohallas separate these settlers from the rest of the population. In these separate Mohallas the Kashmiri people have lived on trade and commerce through ages. They made Kashmiri Shawls and Kashmiri Carpets and they travelled through vast Indian continent, most of the time on foot, to sell their products. In fact the cities like Lahore, Amritsar, Delhi, Allahbad later on produced, out of these Kashmiris, great leaders and lawyers and doctors. Some of the people who once migrated in a miserable condition from the parts of Kashmir, like Allama Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal, contributed greatly to the independence movement of India. To mention some of the leaders Jawahar Lal Nehru and his father Moti Lal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din and the family of Nawab of Dhakka top the list.

The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir ruled in a most autocratic manner. His word was law. More often, the Maharaja had incompetent officers. He himself scarcely came into contact with the people or their problems. The impact of the outside world made no impression on the social, economic and educational problems of the people. At one lime they were not even allowed to read newspapers. To submit even legitimate demands of the people to the Maharaja was tantamount to sedition and entailed exile from the State. For small sins of this nature, a number of people were actually exiled.

During the War of 1914-18 a large number of State people went abroad to serve the cause of the Allies in Iraq, Iran and in France. When these soldiers came home from abroad and after seeing things for themselves they realised the great difference in their lives at home.

In this context it must be mentioned that the State of Poonch, district-wise contributed a large number of soldiers to the British Army. These people as soldiers traveled throughout the British empire. They got disciplined, they got new culture on their own. Thus in the wars of 1914 and 1939-45, Poonch made a great contribution to the cause of the British. In return these soldiers became very much alive to their miserable condition at home and they were easily made ready to go into battle against the forces of the Maharaja and then to the Indian forces in their struggle for freedom that began in 1947. That struggle is still continuing and the state of Jammu and Kashmir is still to be liberated. In this movement of liberation the people of Poonch will always play a crucial role. The soldiers who came from the war fronts, after the second World War, made a far reaching contribution in 1947.

After the last war, which concluded in 1945, things have completely changed in the State. The soldier, who came back this time, was no longer so docile as to submit easily to 'begaar'. He was defiant and almost in a mood to revolt. When he realised during 1947-48 that his kith and kin would be butchered by the Dogra rulers for his act of treachery, the soldier revolted against the Dogra regime throughout the State. What shape the revolt took will be described in the following pages.

Chapter II

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

When, at the beginning of the present century, to the people in the Valley of Kashmir came political consciousness, the first thing that the Mussalmans in Kashmir realized so keenly was the fact that, in the State Services, they were not represented at all. Since there was a dearth of educated State subjects for the civil services, the State had to recruit people from outside. And the outsiders so entrenched themselves in the services of the State, that they practically monopolized all positions of any consequence. At one time, the Kashmiri Pandits, who were the only educated community in the State, agitated against this foreign usurpation of almost all important services in the State. During this particular period of political development, the Muslims of the State naturally welcomed their brethren from outside, because no State Muslim of any qualification was available to hold any important appointment in the State. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz in his book '*Inside Kashmir*', describes the position

thus: "At the beginning of the present century a new problem confronted the people; that of facing the outsider who had occupied every position of vantage in the administration of the country. From these early times the struggle for the rights of the people living in the State against outsiders took a definite shape. While the masses were groaning under the unbearable load of taxes and crushing economic poverty, the upper classes felt displeased and resentful because of this foreign domination in every branch of administration. The feeling of resentment which was running underground for centuries, found an outward expression, though it was not yet directed against the Ruler or his administration as such. Representations were

made to the Government of India, who, in a letter to the Kashmir Durbar at the close of the last century, sent instructions that in the matter of State employment, natives of Kashmir should be given preference over the outsiders and that this principle should be strictly adhered to.

The agitation by Kashmiri people against the outsiders continued till 1912 AD., when the definition of '*State Subject*' was formulated for the first time.

During this period what was taking shape was another factor. The Muslims of the State were getting equally aware that, because they also lacked education, they could not possibly secure representation in the State services. They, therefore, began clamouring for measures for the making up of their deficiency in the matter of education. This demand they persistently pursued till 1916, when Mr. Sharp, the Educational Commissioner of the Government of India, visited the State and examined the Muslims' demands and grievances. He made certain recommendations to the State but they remained unimplemented and no serious notice was taken of them.

In 1924 Lord Reading, who was then Viceroy of India, visited Kashmir. Muslims of the State submitted memorandum to him demanding due representation in the State services, and the abolition of the system of '*Begaur*'. Surprisingly enough, this memorandum, which also contained a number of other grievances, was signed by some Jagirdars and two Mir Waizes. The committee, which was appointed to examine these grievances, however, reported that there was no substance whatever in the demands. And some of those who had signed the paper were promptly exiled from the State. The position remained unchanged till 1929 when the state again began seething with discontent. Sir Albion Banerji, one of the Maharaja's cabinet ministers, seriously deplored the existing state of affairs and resigned his membership of the Council of Ministers, a post he had held for over two years. Before leaving the State, Sir Albion made the following statement to

The Associated Press which later on became historical. It

ran thus: "Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many

disadvantages, with a large Mohammedan population absolutely illiterate labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the Government and the people, no suitable opportunity for representing grievances and the administrative machinery itself requires overhauling from top to bottom to bring it up to the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present little or no sympathy with the people's wants and grievance?.

On the subject of public opinion at that time he said:-

'There is hardly any public opinion in the State. As regards the press It is practically non-existent with the result that the Government is not benefited to the extent that It should be by the impact of healthy criticism".

The people of Jammu Province were comparatively better off, as they enjoyed greater political freedom. They organized a party known as the Dogra Sabha, membership of which included practically all the pro-government retired servants. About the Dogra Sabha, Pundit Prem Nath Bazaz, in '*Inside Kashmir*', on page 92, says : "In the name of the people the Sabha protected the interests and safeguarded the rights of the upper class Dogras. It was most loyal body so that even the Government servants were allowed to join it. Having found out that Dogra aristocracy wanted more voice in the administration of the State the rulers had allowed the existence of this organisation to act as a safety-valve to evaporate and discharge any dangerous agitation that might otherwise go underground. When during the twenties of this century, the signs of

discontent became visible in the upper classes of the people of Kashmir, the organization was extended to that province as well".

In the province of Kashmir all political activity was banned. Nevertheless, despite this ban, a number of young men, graduates of the Muslim University of Aligarh, forms a reading room known as the '*Patch Kadal* Reading Room. In this room, people collected and discussed the state of affairs existing at that time, particularly the question of the representation of Muslims in the State services. This is of some interest, because it was these Reading Room men, with education from the Aligarh University, who started political conscjousn~ in the real sense.

It is said that on the 11th September, 1930, the young men of the *Patch Kadal* Reading Room sent their representatives to *meet* the Council of Ministers. Included in this deputation was Sheikh Muhammed Abdullah, who had returned from Aligarh University with an M .Sc.. degree. All the members of the Council of Ministers of the Maharaja's Government were present, including the Prime Minister, Mr. Wakefield when he explained to this body, the principle governing the Constitution of the Recruitment Board, and also tried to convince them that the Recruitment Board was there for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of educated people. His arguments, however, did not convince this body of representation, and the grievances took firmer root in the minds of the educated and hastens formation of political parties, both in Kashmir and in Jammu.

In the Province of Jammu, a similar body, known as the

Young Men's Muslim Association had come into

existence, with almost the same objects in view.

Towards the end of 1930, the Jammu and Kashmir groups became aware of each others' activities from reports in the Punjab Press. They started approaching each other to organise themselves into an *All Jammu and Kashmir Organisation* Prem Nath Bazaz, while tracing this political development says: "We have seen that

educated Muslim young men were
dissatisfied and were making preparations to get their
grievances redressed. They were now trying to organise
themselves on an all-State basis, or at any rate, the
Young

men living in the two capital cities of the provinces were joining hands to make a move. It is doubtful whether any of them was at this stage thinking in terms of a revolution or even a drastic change. Most of them were anxious to get a big slice in the Government services and some of them might have been anxious to ameliorate the lot of the poorer classes, such as peasants. A few intelligent men desired small constitutional reforms. But all of them knew that a spontaneous mass-rising unknown in the annals of the State would take place very soon in spite of them. Little did they know that historical forces had already prepared a field and they were tools in the hands of time to work a change in the political conditions of Kashmir which they could not imagine or dream about.

It was inevitable that this cooperation between the two parties in Srinagar and Jammu would culminate in the formation of a regular political party. Throughout this period popular feeling in Kashmir had found expression in many upheavals and finally In 1932 the first Muslim Conference was held in Kashmir. One of its foremost aims was to demand enforcement of agrarian reforms in the State. The ensuing agitation was put down by the Maharaja with the help of the British Army. It is worth noting that, although it did not bring about the reforms, it set out to achieve the 1931 agitation, it strengthened the Kashmir's movement for constitutional Government for the people of the State, and the setting up of Legislative Body.

In this movement the two bodies that showed great interest in the Punjab were the Ahrars and the Ahmadis, Thus when, in 1931, an All Jammu and Kashmir State agitation started against the repressive policy of the Government, the *Majflis-i-Ajzrar* took up the Cause of the Muslims of Kashmir and sent a large number of volunteers to support this agitation, but they were imprisoned in Punjab. A Ic

Kashmir Committee was formed, under the chairmanship of the head of the Ahmadia Community, to help and support this agitation for political rights of the people in Kashmir, I may quote here Bazaz:

"Evidently Ahrars and Ahmadis could not and did not join hands. Both worked mostly independently of each other. This produced an inevitable rift and a constant setback in the progress of the movement. We shall discuss that at its proper place. For the present we must only say that. the outlook and the activities of both the parties produced a highly communal atmosphere inside the State. Even the Punjab politics were gravely affected by it subsequently, when the movement assumed enormous proportions.

Desides there were Muslim politicians belonging to the All India Muslim League and the All India Muslim Conference (which was still functioning then) as also certain eminent statesmen, owing no party affiliations, who interested themselves in the affairs of the State. At the first beat of drum all of them, became active and alert. Their communal and religious sentiments were roused and, though they did not take a prominent part as did the Ahrars and Ahmadis, yet their contribution was by no means negligible'.

The Hindus generally, and the Dogras particularly, had always been against this movement. The Hindus thought that, if the Muslim political movement succeeded, and, as a result, a popular Government came into existence, they would be deprived of their vested interests. They were mainly jagirdars, and upper Hindu class, who were extremely reactionary, and opposed to this movement. They were against any such agitation as would ultimately result in the Government passing into the hands of the majority - the Muslims. Similarly, in the Valley of Kashmir all the Hindus, with the exception of a few Kashmiri Pandits, were opposed to this movement. Since Kashmiri Pandits formed the bulk in the State services, they reckoned that Muslim Government, if it came into power, could deprive them of their positions for a representative Government.

The Muslims of the State wanted to act, but they could not have their activities publicised because there were no press facilities available. Even if there were, It could not have published anything against the Government. Ultimately

therefore they had to arrange for the necessary publicity outside the State and, in due course, articles started appearing in the Lahore newspapers, like '**Inqilab**' and '**Zamindar**'.

The Reading Room Party had, in the meantime, enlisted the sympathies of two Mir Waizes of the State. One of them was Maulana Ahmad Ullah Mir Waiz of the Jamia Masjid, who died in 1931 and was succeeded by Maulana Yusuf Shah, the present Mir Waiz of Jamia Masjid, now virtually an exile in Pakistan.

In 1931, certain events took place which gave opportunity to this Reading Room Party to organise themselves. Incidents that took place interfered with the religious freedom of the Muslims of the State. An agitation started for the redress of grievances. Mr. Wakefield, the State Prime Minister, advised the Muslims to send a few representatives to Srinagar, where, along with other representatives of the Kashmir Muslims, they would be afforded an opportunity to present themselves before His Highness to submit their demands. How this movement got an electric momentum is related in the following words:

At the end of the function, when the meeting had already been adjourned and the leaders had left the premises, an ugly-looking, short-statured Pathan, Abdul Qadir by name, obviously excited by the environments, delivered an inflammatory speech vehemently denouncing and abusing the Hindus and the Hindu Raj, before the gathering which was dispersing. This Pathan belonged to the North-West Frontier Province and had come to Srinagar with a European visitor as his cook. Abdul Qadir was arrested on 25th of June for his speech, which was considered seditious".

On 13th July, 1931, while Abdul Qadir was being tried in the Central Jail, a large crowd gathered and demanded entry into the jail to hear the evidence against him. When the State authorities refused this request the crowd forced an entry into the building, with the result that the police had to open fire, killing and wounding many people. The 13th of July is,

therefore, observed by the people of Kashmir as
'*Martyrs Day*.

Following this incident a Commission headed by Mr. B.J.Glancy, was appointed to report on the actual state of affairs leading to the agitation. The Glancy Commission, while submitting their recommendations to the Government, made a number of suggestions for introducing reforms, but only a few of them were implemented. Nevertheless a State Legislative Assembly was then convened,, and the first political organisation, as has already been mentioned, thus came into being. This **account** has been summed up by "Bazaz:" During the summer of 1932, soon after the

Glancy Report

was published, the Muslim leaders felt that to safeguard the interest of the Mussalmans - which by now were no more than the interest of the upper and middle classes -the establishment of some organisation was necessary. The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was, therefore, founded. Its first session was held at Srinagar **on** the 15th, 16th and 17th October, 1932, when thousands of Muslims attended it. Obviously, both Yusuf Shahis and Abduuahites had by this time reconciled themselves with the upper class ideology. Although the Conference was primarily a function of the Abdullah Party, **Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah** willingly participated in its deliberations. The Mir Wait did not, however, take any share in the subsequent sessions of the Conference as the personal differences had become acute with the passage of time.

The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference remained in existence till June, 1938. It held six annual session in all. The first, second, fifth and sixth session which were held at Srinagar, Mirpur, and Poonch and Jammu respectively, were presided over by Sheikh Muhammad Abullah. The third session was held at Sopore under the presidency of Mian Ahmad Yar, while

the fourth session was held at Srinagar with Choudhri Abbas in the chair'.

In 1938 Sheikh Abdullah and Ch. Ghulam Abbas agreed to alter the political structure of the Muslim Conference by calling it a National Conference, the ideology of which was identified with the ideology of the Indian Congress. The resolution of the

Working Committee, which met in Srinagar in June, 1938, was as follows:

Whereas in the opinion of the Working Committee the time has now come when all the progressive forces in the country should be rallied under one banner to fight for the achievement of responsible Government, the Working Committee recommends to the General Council that, in the forthcoming annual session of the Conference, the name and constitution of the organisation be so altered and amended that all such people who desire to participate in this political struggle may easily become members of the Conference irrespective of their caste, creed or religionTM.

There were a number of people, however, who dissented from this 'decision in 1940, primarily in Jammu Province. The old Muslim Conference, with its ideal of working for the amelioration and betterment of the Muslims of the State, was revived. This became necessary, because Hindus were not liberal enough to see the liquidation of the autocratic rule of a Hindu Maharaja. Though **Shekih Abdullah** continued to be the head of the National Conference Party right up to 1953-55, till he was dismissed and arrested, he always experienced difficulty in working with Hindus, especially on any ideology which could go against the Dogra Raj. Therefore, even the National Conference continued to be considered a virtual Muslim Organisation. It was given to **Sardar Gohar Rehman** and others to revive the Muslim Conference. This revived Muslim Conference was ultimately joined by Choudhry Ghulam Abbas who had in the meantime left the National Conference. This body then identified in ideology with the Muslim League programme in the indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

In 1947 Sheikh Abdullah's Party started a '*Quit Kashmir*' movement, on the pattern of the '*Quit India*' movement launched by the Indian Congress. It was aimed against the ruling family of the State which was given an ultimatum to quit the country, and leave it to be governed by its own people. The '*Quit Kashmir*' movement, however, petered out fairly soon. Sheikh Abdullah was tried for treason, found guilty and sent to jail.

Meanwhile, the Muslim Conference continued its political activity, and speedily gained strength and popularity, it went on agitating for responsible Government in the State. In June 1946, the Muslim Conference passed a resolution, directing Muslim to prepare themselves for action if they wished to gain their objectives. The annual session of the Muslim Conference which was to be held in October, 1946, was banned by Government and all prominent members of the Conference, including its President, **Choudhry Chulam Abbas**, were imprisoned. Though deprived of many of its prominent leaders, the Conference fought the elections for, the State Assembly in 1947 and captured 15 out of the 21 elective Muslim seats in the Legislative Assembly. For the remaining six seats, the nomination papers of the Muslim Conference candidates were rejected, with the result that those seats were not contested. The National Conference, however, boycotted the elections.

In 1947, the British Government announced its plan for the future of the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent. Paramountcy over the States was to cease on the appointed day, the 15th August 1947, and the States were to be left free to decide to which dominion they should accede. But the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir was not able to decide on the issue of States accession. On Pakistan Day, the Muslim Conference demonstrated, unequivocally, in favour of accession to Pakistan. On the 19th July, 1947, it formally decided to accede to Pakistan by a resolution in the following words:- -

- (1) This meeting of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference Convention expresses its satisfaction and congratulates the Quaid-i-Azam for his achievement.
- (2) The people of the Indian States expected that they would walk shoulder to shoulder with the people of British India in the attainment of freedom. On the partition of India the people of British India have obtained independence but the announcement of June
- (3) 1947, has strengthened the hands of the Indian Princes and unless the Princes respond to the call Of the times, the future of the people of Indian

states is very dark. There are only three ways open to people of Jammu and Kashmir State:

1. To accede to India or
2. To accede to Pakistan, or
3. To remain independent.

~The Convention of the Muslim Conference has arrived at the conclusion that keeping in view the geographical conditions, 80 per cent Muslim majority out of total population, the passage of important rivers of the Punjab through the State, the language, cultural and racial, economic connection of the people and the proximity of the borders of the State with Pakistan, are all facts which make it necessary that the Jammu and Kashmir State should accede to Pakistan”.

This resolution further emphatically demanded of the Maharaja that he should declare internal independence, accept the position of a Constitution head of the State and form a Constituent Assembly. It also demanded that the departments of Defence, Communication and Foreign Affairs should be acceded to Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This Convention, the resolution continued, makes it clear that, if the Kashmir Government ignores this demand and advice of the Muslim Conference under some internal or external influence, and decides In favour of accession to the Indian Constituent Assembly, the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir shall oppose this move tooth and nail.

This convention of all Jammu and Kashmir Muslim

Conference was held on 19th of July, 1947 at the residence of the author. This fact has a background of its own. When the leaders of Muslim Conference wanted to hold this convention they tried to get a

place for its venue, but failed. The reason for it was that forceful organisation of the National Conference, in the valley itself, and, particularly in Srinagar city was opposed to it. So much so that, even a house boat could not be secured (or holding the convention of Muslim Conference. Therefore, this author had to evacuate his family from his house, in *Aab-e-guzzer* part of the city, for holding this

36

convention. This is how this convention was held at the residence of the author. Some people did not realise the gravity of the situation that existed then and some people grudge that the historical convention took place at the residence of the author. Some people even today do not see eye to eye with the idea of this nature. They fail to realise that the author of this book had made supreme sacrifice in the Interest of the Conference and the cause of Pakistan by placing his residence at the disposal of this convention. The Jammu and Kashmir Government and its agencies did not appreciate such a move. On the contrary, the author had to run the risk of the safety and security of his life to hold the convention at his own residence.

There were other political parties in Jammu and Kashmir State which may be mentioned. Besides the Muslim Conference and the National Conference, the principal political parties in the State were the Kashmir Socialist Party, the Parja Parishad Party, the Kashmir State Pandits Conference the Communist Party, the Kashmir Democratic Union and the kisan-Mazdoor Conference.

The Kisan-Mazdoor Conference based on the Kisan/Mazdoor population, was particularly well-organised in the valley of Kashmir and was in favour of accession of the State to Pakistan. Its President was later imprisoned by the Abdullah Government for his pro-Pakistan activities. The Kashmir Democratic Union was formed with, more or less, the same objects in view. Its leader, Prem Nath Bazaz, has always believed that the accession of the State should be decided by the free will

of the people, the majority of whom wishes to accede to Pakistan. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz was imprisoned in 1947 and served his sentence under Sheikh Abdullah's Government for 3/4 years. and when ultimately released, he was exiled from the State. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, one of the foremost leaders of the State, thinks progressively and really wished to work for the betterment of the masses of the State. Though he is himself a Kashmiri Pandit and comes of a reactionary class, he is probably the most advanced of all Kashmiri leaden in his political views.

The Praja Parishad is a party which believes in the ideology of the RSSS. It favours the separation of Jammu, or at least Hindu areas of Jammu and Ladakh, from the State and its accession to the Indian Union. No other political party wishes the division of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Only very recently Sheikh Abdullah, then Prime Minister of India-held Kashmir, has admitted that units of Jammu province will get local autonomy on cultural basis, when a constitution is framed by his Constituent Assembly.

Chapter III

KASHMIR STATE - 1947

AUGUST 1947 ushered in an extraordinary event unparalleled in history of the Indo-Pak sub-continent, an event, which probably and in more ways than one, will effect the future course of history throughout Asia. This was the granting of independence to India and its partition into two countries -

BHARAT AND PAKISTAN.

The movement for Pakistan has a brief but unique and glorious history. I have no intention of going into that history, nor am I qualified to do so. In this movement for the creation of Pakistan, the personality of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah is, at least to the writers mind, *very nearly as miraculous as the achievement of Pakistan itself. Seldom, in our times, has one man fought against so many, with such meagre resources, and with so much courage and determination.* In pre-partition India there was perhaps not a single Muslim whose life had not been affected, one way or another, by the actions of one man - Jinnah - during the years 1937-1947.

The desire for a free and independent Muslim State had deeply influenced Muslims, wherever they were, whether in small or large number. There were very few people outside the Indo-Pak sub-continent, who seriously believed that Jinnah would be able to accomplish the partition of India into two separate dominions. It was indeed a great surprise for Muslim countries to see the emergence of Pakistan on the 14th of August, 1947, as was to us the birth of Indonesia. In fact, Indian propaganda, particularly in Egypt, always showed Jinnah as an agent of the British and also made out that he was never serious about his demand for Pakistan. The creation of a very large consolidated Muslim State, all along the border of Jammu

and Kashmir, gave the Muslims of the State a completely new hope and an entirely different outlook on life. [Thirty-two lac Muslims in the State of Jammu and Kashmir](#) had, for very nearly one hundred years, lived a life of slavery and bondage. They had patiently suffered insult, injury and servitude. They had borne the worst forms of coercion and tyranny. They had, at the point of bayonet, been subjected to indignities, religious intolerance and Hindu fanaticism. The people of Kashmir had, in short, lived a miserable life under the autocratic rule of Hindu Maharajas of a reactionary and bigoted Dogra dynasty. Under the Dogra rule, Muslims had been subjected to political segregation, economic inequalities, educational disadvantages and step-motherly treatment in every walk of life. It is possible that, but for the impetus given by the establishment of Pakistan, the Azad Kashmir Movement in October, 1947, might have been impeded and delayed, but it was bound to come one day. It is inconceivable that by sheer force of arms about four million human beings could be kept under an autocratic and inhuman rule indefinitely. Just across the borders of the State, the entire sub-continent of India was undergoing a huge political and psychological revolution, which was, steadily but surely, shaking the mighty British Empire. The people of Jammu and Kashmir- State could not have remained unaffected by these happenings in India.

In India, the struggle between the Congress and Muslim League became so sharp, that Muslims, perhaps for the first time since the advent of British rule, became really politically alive, very much united and systematically organised. These objectives, incidentally, were not so much the result of the efforts of the Muslim League, with due deference to that body, as of the policies so foolishly pursued by the Congress Party and the Congress Ministries, particularly in the minority Provinces of India. For this reason, the Muslim League gained its following and strength more in the Muslim minority Provinces, The demand for the State of Pakistan thus, slowly but

surely, came to be accepted as an article of faith by Muslim in these Provinces. By a strange irony of fate, the Muslims in these Provinces later had to make supreme sacrifice for their, ⁴loyalty to a political ideal. Similarly, in Kashmir State,

though the Muslims were in majority, they lived under a thoroughly hostile rule of the Dogra dynasty. The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir very soon realized that their emancipation may well be within sight, especially after the achievement of Pakistan. Naturally, therefore, the Pakistan Movement gathered a terrific momentum there. So much so that, the use of the Pakistan slogan, within the State was treated as seditious by the Maharaja Government.

As the establishment of Pakistan became more and more a reality, the Maharajas Government became increasingly aggressive. The State authorities resorted to more oppressive and coercive methods, developing into sheer bullying in Poonch, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad Districts of the State, which now form a part of Azad Kashmir. Following a change in the State Governments' policy the RSSS—a militant Hindu organisation—began to make its influence felt in all parts of the State. The RSSS had established its headquarters in Jammu city and had organised branches everywhere. In the city of Jammu, secret training in the use of arms had started on a very large scale. The State authorities were also in possession of information that arms were being smuggled from two directions—Kathua and Muzaffarabad and use of arms was regularly taught to these men. Training in the use of arms was imparted to the members of the RSSS in the training schools established for this purpose by the Hindu Mohasabha in Jammu. News of all this activity and preparation spread panic among the Muslims, particularly in the districts of Kathua, Jammu, Udhampur and parts of Riasi, where Muslims were in minority.

What really alarmed the Muslims most was the movement of Dogra troops, who were being spread out in the districts of Poonch, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad—all along the Jhelum River. In Poonch troops were posted all over the district. The writer will refer to this subject in some detail elsewhere. Then a cunningly devised posting of all Muslim officers in the Dogra Army betrayed the evil designs of the authorities. Movement of the State troops indicated the real intentions of the Government. Brigadier Sott, Chief of Staff of the Dogra Army—not unnaturally, expressed his apprehension on this score. He—later refused to be associated with these dispositions and with

the wholesale transfer of Muslim Officers. These actions were, in themselves, ominous and forebode serious trouble - possibly a general massacre of the Muslim population of the area. I am told that Brigadier Scott also did not agree with other similar policies of the Maharaja. Under these circumstances, Brig. Sott had no option but to quit the State in a not very agreeable manner. Similarly, another British Officer, the Inspector-General of Police, was forced to resign from his post and leave the State. They were soon replaced by Dogra Officers, who belonged to the Maharajas family. These new officers were known, to be lacking in administrative ability. Their views about the Muñalmans very clearly indicated what was going to be the future policy of the State Government, vis-a-vis its Muslim subjects. It was thus in a very tense atmosphere, surcharged with all manner of rumours, that an historical Convention of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference took place in the house of the writer at Srinagar. No less than two hundred leaders and workers of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, drawn from all parts of the State, participated in this Convention. Almost all the members of the Muslim Conference group in the Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly were present to take part in these discussions. Finally, after long and very serious deliberations, the Convention decided in favour of an unqualified accession of the State to Pakistan. There was, however, a large group of workers, headed by Choudhry Hamidullah Khan, the Acting President of the All Jammu and Kashmir Conference, in favour of the State remaining independent of both India and Pakistan. It should be said, on behalf of the - Independence' group that they adopted this course on the strength of the best advice available to them from the MI-India Muslim League. The writer has never been able to ascertain the truth of this fact, not even from the Quaid-e-Azam himself. That the decision of accession to Pakistan was, however, to become historic and was later proved so. In 1948, when the Kashmir case came up before the Security Council, this decision of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was cited as proof that the Muslims of the State, who formed an overwhelming majority of the population, wanted accession to Pakistan. In fact, the decision to accede to Pakistan was welcomed by the mass of the

Muslim population in the State, no matter to what political party they belonged. Even the members of the Abdullah National Conference were in full agreement with the Muslim Conference members that ultimate decision regarding accession of the State must be left to the people of the State themselves. The National Conference leaders, however, qualified this with the proviso that only a State Constituent Assembly, properly convened, could decide the issue. The Muslim Conferences view was that, since Muslims formed majority in the State, and were, one and all, in favour of Pakistan - a fact which could, if necessary, be ascertained by a plebiscite - therefore, the State should ipso facto accede to Pakistan.

This decision was formally conveyed to the State Government of the Maharaja, as well as to the All-India Muslim League authorities in India. This Convention was held in July 1947.

Before the leaders and workers dispersed, their top leaders, including the Acting President of the Muslim Conference, secretly met again at the house of the writer to consider especially the serious situation existing in Poonch, which caused the Dogra regime much anxiety for a number of reasons. First, the communal situation in the Punjab was disturbing, and since Poonch was adjacent to the Punjab, it was bound to be effected by what was happening there. Secondly, it was agreed by all who were conversant with the State affairs that it was only from Poonch that a serious and effective challenge to the Dogra Government could originate and flourish. The situation was equally disturbing for us. The Kashmir Muslims knew that if the people of Poonch were once effectively suppressed it would become difficult to launch any anti-Dogra political movement.

Having carefully considered this most ticklish problem, we assured the workers from Poonch that, in case any of them was arrested anywhere, we would immediately counter by launching a movement, from the Centre, on the Pakistan issue. To mark this solemn occasion, the Holy Quran was brought in and every one present touched the Holy Book to make sure that nothing would deter us from implementing the promise we had

made. The writer remembers the solemn and secret nature of the ceremony. The event that followed this meeting were both swift and dramatic. None of us could comprehensively assess the situation. Poonch was soon after placed under Martial Law and all kinds of outrages came to be perpetrated on the people in the name of law and order. None of us could think clearly enough to provide an answer to these happenings in Poonch. The writer knew that on his shoulders rested great responsibility. He was prepared to do his best so long as he knew what was in the best interest of the people.

Soon after, we started to organise Muslim Conference in Srinagar. Our chief difficulty was funds, collection of which is always an unpleasant job. Some of our Pakistani friends came forward to help us but they were very few. The result was not very encouraging. The writer was a practising lawyer, he could not afford much of his spare time. Even the Muslim Conference was divided into two groups. Everything was possible, but who could bring the leaders to one place? Some of our Pakistani friends did make sincere efforts to bring about this unity, which was the most desirable thing~ Since differences were not ideological but personal, everybody was jockeying for position.

Suddenly the Government of Kashmir decided to lift the ban they had hitherto imposed on Sheikh Abdullahs National Conference. Some of the Nationalist leaders came out of their hide-outs and started their activities in public. Informal negotiations were already started with Sheikh Abdullah while he was still in prison in Jammu. Arrangements were undertaken to bring Sheikh Abdullah from Jammu to Srinagar. It was still doubtful whether Sheikh Abdullah would whole-heartedly support India, because his party followers would not have backed any decision on the accession issue made in a hurry. After meeting some of the Nationalist leaders in Srinagar, the writer was of the view that the best of the Nationalists were not necessarily anti-Pakistanis.

The political atmosphere in Srinagar was changing every hour since that fateful August 1947. The then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, Pandit Ram Chand Kak, had gone to Delhi to meet the Viceroy as well as the Congress leaders.

He also had an interview with Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Au Jinnah. After coming back from Delhi, Pandit Kak advised the Maharaja, the writer was told, to remain neutral for the moment and sign a standstill agreement both with India and Pakistan. Pandit Kak also advised him to let Pakistan operate the Postal and Telegraph services. He then went onto advise the Maharaja to ultimately find out the wishes of his Muslim population on the issue of accession. If the Muslim population, being the majority in the State, wished to accede to Pakistan, he should then accede to Pakistan. To this advice the Maharaja did not abide. He asked his Prime Minister to resign. which he did. The Premiership of the State was handed over to General Janak Sing, a close friend of the Maharaja and also a near member of his family. Since then the Maharaja received top leaders from the MI-India Congress, including Mahatma Gandhi, and the president of All India Congress. The visit of these Hindu leaders to the State made It quite evident that an intrigue was going on with regard to the accession of the State to India against the will of the people.

These intrigues perturbed the Muslims of the State. In Poonch the methods of repression and coercion became more pronounced. Political arrests started and the Dogra Army started a persecution campaign which is mentioned in detail elsewhere in this book.

Warrants of arrest were issued against me. It was made quite clear that in no case would! be allowed to enter Poonch.

On 14th August, 1947, when Pakistan was declared, a grand dinner was arranged to celebrate the occasion by all the friends of Pakistan. A large number of Pakistanis and other guests attended this dinner. At this function I made a speech in which the issue of accession was dealt with in all its aspects. The Maharaja himself was requested to let the people of the State decide the issue, or at least, no decision of such paramount importance be taken without consulting his Muslim subjects. These proceedings were duly conveyed to the Maharaja. After this speech it became quite clear that for me to stay in Srinagar any longer, without being arrested, was not possible. It was known **to** all Muslim Conference leaders, as well as other

Pakistani friends, that the writer's arrest in Srinagar would be useless and would serve no purpose, in that the writer would have only to rot like so many others in the jails of the Maharaja. The Poonch people would be persecuted and an otherwise good movement, which had already started in Poonch, would fizzle out. It was, therefore, considered most essential that the writer should reach the people of Poonch and start whatever he could against the impending unwise step of the Maharaja.

When the writer eventually reached Lahore Railway Station, after his escape from Srinagar, what he witnessed there was a small Qayamat, doomsday. A mass of humanity, in which were wounded women and children, was streaming into Lahore. These women told horrible tales of cruelty, butchery and inhuman treatment meted out to the helpless Mussalmans across the border in India. Five to seven million of human beings were ruthlessly pushed into Pakistan. In fact, one could hardly imagine that any Government could exist against this unexpected deluge of humanity. When I went to see the refugees camp at Walton, the largest camp in thore, the smell of congested humanity reached me at a distance of half a mile. All the train services having gone topsy-turvy, the Pakistan Army dispersed all over South-East Asia, the Baluch regiment fighting a huge battle single-handed, one could hardly hope of the survival of Pakistan. Perhaps, only once in his life, that great man, Quaid-e-Azam, was broken in spirit. This was some thing that had come to pass against his anticipation. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, who had specially come to Lahore in connection with the influx of refugees, unfortunately, lay in his bed because of heart trouble. None seemed to be there to proclaim the existence of Pakistan.

To add to all this, one could witness, to one's shame and honor, in the streets of Lahore, shameless and fearless loot of shops and houses

going on. The Hindu and Sikh population left in Lahore, and probably in all parts of the Punjab and the Frontier Province, was no doubt subjected to great hardship though not quite similar to the one experienced by the Mussalmans in the East Punjab. Only a future historian will be able to present both sides of the picture in a dispassionate

manner. This certainly was a very sad picture of Pakistan about the end of August.

Against this background, I could scarcely conceive that this great country of Mussalmans across the Jhelum river could be of any assistance to the helpless and thoroughly trapped people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Though prospects seemed so bleak, the writer was convinced that, if any assistance could be available, it was only from the people of Pakistan. It is easy to convince one man of a particular situation, but to convince all the men who walked up and down Anarkali in Lahore was a very hard job. No two persons seemed to agree on one thing. There was hardly any organization of the people with which one could discuss such a

Chapter IV

ATROCITIES IN KASHMIR - 1947

As events in India moved fast and Pakistan seemed a much nearer possibility, the State administration became more nervous. In this sheer nervousness, it resorted to aggressive actions against Mussalmans. In Jammu Province a militant Hindu organization, the Hindu Mahasabha, was given positive encouragement by the State Hindu officialdom. As this attitude of the State authorities became manifest, tension and mistrust among the public increased in equal measure. Despite this atmosphere, Mussalmans, who had lived a life of misery for a long time, started talking differently and more defiantly. The 'Pakistan' slogan, which was once seditious in the State, came to be openly discussed in private and in public, even by the employees of the State. Reading the League paper 'Dawn' was accepted by the Government as no offence.

On the **3rd June, 1947, the British** The Muslim Government announced its plan for the officers of the State, future of the Indo-Pakistan Sub- however, Continent. Paramountcy over the States who ceased on the appointed day, namely **the** subscribed **15th** August 1947, and the States were to this to be left free to decide to which paper, were Dominion they should accede. At the put on a same secret black list. Some of the prominent Government

servants, nevertheless, expressed their candid views on Pakistan without much censure from the Government. But later on, as things completely changed, all pro-Pakistan officers were either imprisoned or persecuted. It so appears that regular lists were scrupulously kept by a secret staff of those Muslim officers whose tendencies were pro-Pakistan. Some of these officers, who were trapped on the occupied Kashmir side, had to pay a very heavy penalty for their views at the hands of the Maharaja's Government.

time, the Crown Representative advised the rulers of **the** States to take into consideration economical faclurs, geographical contiguity, the wishes of their people and other factors, in arriving at a decision vis-a-vis accession. As this position crystallized, a regular wooing of Jammu and Kashmir State started under a well thought-out plan. A series of visits were arranged by the Hindu leaders of India to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Mahatma Gandhi visited the State on 1st of August, 1947 and had a long interview with the Maharaja. His visit was closely preceded by that of Kriplani. the Congress President. It is a fantastic undertaking to try and make us believe that these visits were without any purpose. Hindu leaders, in all probability, told the Maharaja of the consequences and dangers of the State's accession to Pakistan. They may have given him a warning that, in case of accession to Pakistan, the Dogra regime would suffer liquidation. What, perhaps, really convinced the Maharaja was the argument, then so strongly put forward by the Hindu leaders, that Pakistan itself would not be able to survive economically, and otherwise, for more than six months.

Simultaneously, the Maharajas policy of accession to India by means of achieving complete elimination of the Muslims of the State, began to be put into operation. Repression and massacre of the Muslims by the Sikh and RSSS armed gangs, assisted by the Dogra police and Army, started in early September 1947. Muslim refugees, mainly from Jammu, began to cross over to Pakistan in their hundreds and thousands in search of asylum. Repression of Muslims in the State increased in intensity from day to day.

Realizing the consequences of a hasty step the Maharaja approached both India and Pakistan for conclusion of a standstill agreement with two Dominions, as they then were. India demurred, while Pakistan accepted the offer and the standstill agreement with Pakistan came into force on the 15th of August 1947. Pakistan thus stepped into the shoes of the pre-partition government of India and acquits lawful control over the **Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications of the State**. In pursuance of this agreement, the Pakistan railways continued to operate the small railway in the State while

Pakistan personnel took over its Postal and Telegraph services. Pakistan was entitled to, and, in due course, would also have assumed control over defence services and foreign relations of the State. Usually, standstill agreements are a prelude to a full-scale accession and almost everyone in Jammu and Kashmir expected that the conclusion of a standstill agreement with Pakistan would fructify into the final accession of the State to that Dominion.

But the Maharaja, in conjunction with his Hindu advisers, had hatched another plot. Recent experience had shown that even majorities could be liquidated successfully if persistent and vigorous attempts were made on the 'right lines. A number of instances could be quoted from the East Punjab States in **this** respect.- If complete elimination of the Muslims could be effected in the State, it would open the way for the Maharaja to accede to the Dominion of India, with which his sympathies certainly lay. In pursuance of this plot, the Maharaja sent out invitations to and provided free entry into the State for the RSSS and Sikh murder gangs. They began to pour into the State by the middle of August 1947. In the meantime the **standstill agreement** was signed with Pakistan to avoid the suspicion of the Muslim population of the State. Under the camouflage of this agreement, the Maharaja was playing for time to create the necessary conditions which would furnish him with a plausible excuse to ask the government of India to send their troops into the State if the people of the State revolted against such a move.

Another very significant event that took place in July 1947, was a secret meeting of a number of Rajas and Maharajas of the Kangra Valley in Srinagar. There are good reasons to believe that in this meeting a conspiracy was hatched in collaboration with the Rashtrya Sevak Sang at Amritsar to carry out a wholesale massacre of the Mussalmans in the State, beginning with Poonch where they expected stiff resistance. This had to be carried out systematically with the active assistance of the Dogra Army. With this end in view, the Dogra Army Units were posted in the most strategic places, for instance, all along the Jhelum river in Mirpur and Poonch Districts. To post Dogra

the RSSS were supplied with arms and ammunition, and the State Hindu officers were sent to give them proper training in the use of arms.

The Sikhs, meanwhile, started migrating from the former Frontier Province via Muzaffarabad into the Valley of Kashmir. It was definitely reported to the State police that huge quantities of arms and ammunition were secretly imported into the State by these Sikhs through Muzaffarabad. In fact, it was later on discovered that huge dumps of arms and ammunition were collected in Muzaffarabad in a Guidwara by these Sikhs. A similar dump was also created round-about the city of Baramula. It may be mentioned here that the Sikhs had quite a good hold in these two districts. Since the refugees from the Frontier Province came, some with real and some with imaginary tales of attacks on them, a good deal of tension and fear was spread in the area. Muslims in these two districts were an unarmed and helpless lot. There is no actual proof on this point but I had grave misgivings that the Sikh community was busy importing arms from the former Frontier Province into State, with some nefarious design in mind. In fact, they were very aggressive in Baramula. Sot-ne Kirpan attacks had already taken place in that district during the months of July and August 1947.

In other parts of the State, particularly in Poonch and Mirpur and all the districts of Jammu Province, Muslims were in imminent danger of being rounded up and butchered by the Dogra Army. This was certainly no small apprehension and this tragedy did take place in Udhampur, Kathua and Jammu in September, October and November 1947.

In Poonch people were already semi-armed and militarily very well trained and were ready to meet even a planned military attack on public life. By September, 1947, the Dogra Army started a regular campaign of terror to frighten these people into submission or force them to fly to Pakistan. Loot, rape and general terror by the Dogra Army resulted in a regular revolt in Poonch on October 6, 1947. On the 22nd of October 1947, Tribal people came to the aid of the people of Muzaffarabad. A regular fight with Dogra troops ensued, resulting in a complete

Army contingents on all bridges and ferries on the Jhelum river was a part of the same plan.

The revolution, which started in October, 1947 in Western Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh, and eventually spread throughout, would not have been ignited so rapidly, except for the brutal treatment which Dogra soldiers meted out to the people. It needs a book to give in detail the tales of horror which reached the writer in Murree during the months of September, October and November of 1947. All local Sikhs and Hindus had played the unworthy role of spies to the Dogra troops, though the primary duty of this Army was supposed to be to protect the honour, life and property of the subjects of the States who contributed with their hard-earned income to the maintenance of this very Army. Dogra soldiers, having nothing in common with the local people, and also having the stupid idea that the Dogras were the ruling race, resorted to loot, rape, desecration of sacred places and [burning of the Holy Quran](#) without least compunction. About all these happenings, the writer sent from Murree an urgent telegram to the Maharaja. And requested to take steps to put an end to what was happening in Poonch and elsewhere. It is needless to say that it went unheeded.

Complete panic prevailed all over Jammu province. Though Muslims were a sixty per cent majority in Jammu Province, the districts of Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur had a Hindu majority. These districts are either inhabited by Rajput - Dogras or Brahmins who are staunch Mahasabhites, and extremely conservative in their outlook. Under the State laws, these Hindus could keep arms of every kind without licence. Every Hindu in these parts was armed with some weapon. The atmosphere across the border, in the Punjab, was rampant with communal frenzy. Murders were taking place on a vast scale and law and order had so completely broken down that even the Boundary Forces could not do anything in the matter. It was learnt that during this period the Sikhs and the RSSS had been transferred from Amritsar to Jammu. The RSSS started their activities openly with a licence from authorities. A plan was made to completely wipe out the Muslim population in the city of Jammu and districts of Jammu Province. **All** branches of

roust of the Dogra Units. The Tribal people, assisted by locals, reached the outskirts of Srinagar on or about 24th/25th of October 1947.

Earlier in June, 1947, the people of Poonch started a 'no tax' campaign. This arose from the fact that as soon as the Maharaja secured direct control over Poonch, as a result of his successful suit against the Jagirdars of Poonch, the Maharaja imposed on this district all the numerous taxes enforced in the rest of the State. The people of Poonch resented this heavy imposition of taxes and started an agitation which the Maharaja tried to put down by force. A Press note issued by the Maharaja's Government on September 12, 1947, said-

'On August 24, 1947, a large and highly excited mob collected in the west of Bagh Tehsil, and on the 25th, disregarding all efforts to persuade them to disperse, carried on to Bagh town when they reached the number of some five thousand, which swelled considerably during the next two days. These mobs were armed with weapons of various patterns, such as axes and spears and a variety of others.'

On August 26, 1947, these mobs clashed with the State Forces. The Dogra armies started Bren-gun firing on this huge crowd of 5,000-and more with the result that hundreds of people were either killed and/or wounded. The reports of these brutalities reached Pakistan and were extensively published in the Pakistan Press.

As on the 24th and 25th of October 1947, the tribal 'Lashkar', assisted by locals, reached the outskirts of Srinagar. The Maharaja, Han Singh, finding his safety impossible, fled from Srinagar. How this evacuation was effected is a very interesting story. I am told that all the petrol supply was taken over during the hours of darkness by some army officers who issued petrol only to those who were running away. The Maharaja himself collected all his luggage, money and jewellery and loaded them on lorries to make his flight from Srinagar. During the night when lorries and other vehicles were not available any more a huge caravan of tongas' started

53

for Jammu on a two hundred mile trek. All Hindu officers, and whatever was left of the Government machinery were shifted to the other side of Banihal Pass, leaving Srinagar city in chaos and confusion.

We have it on good evidence that on reaching Jammu and also on his way Sir Hari Singh himself gave orders to his troops and police to kill every Muslim found to save the Dogra Raj from destruction. These instructions, he left at Batood and Kud on his way to Jammu. In Jammu itself arms were distributed to Rajputs and Brahmins, on some occasions under the supervision of the Maharaja himself. Once on his way back from Kathua during this period, when the Maharaja, saw the dead bodies on the road, he showed heinous satisfaction on this gruesome scene. -

In Jammu city Muslims assembled from outer districts to save their lives. The large number of Muslims, who poured into this Hindu-dominated city, made the job easier for those who had already planned for their wholesale massacre. The shooting of Muslims started in broad daylight in Jammu. Muslims' electric supply lines were cut. Their water supplies ceased, and, above all, their rations were stopped. Headed by Mian Nasir-ud-Din Ahmad, these Muslims put up on stiff resistance with whatever arms they could get hold of. If they had received the arms that later on the receipt of their frantic cries for help we managed to send them, they might have saved their lives and given a good account of themselves.

In the midst of this fight, a proclamation was issued by the Dogra Government asking the Muslims to surrender, and guaranteeing safe custody across the border into Pakistan. Accepting the *bona fides* of this proclamation, Muslims surrendered in good faith. They were then asked to assemble on an open piece of land so that lorries would be able to convey them to Pakistan. As many as sixty lorries were loaded with women, children and old men. These sixty, and, a day after, more lorries were taken into the wilderness of

Kathua Jungle. Sikh, Dogra and Brahmin armed gangs were let loose on these innocent women and children and an unparalleled butchery was perpetrated. Very few of these people escaped to tell **U,pir**

woeful tale in Sialkot - a city in Pakistan. All these happenings were taking place in full view of the Indian Army which had **by** then entered the State. The responsibility of these killings squarely lay on the shoulders of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India, who was duly informed about all this beforehand. **It** must be said, to the credit of Pandit Jawahar Lat Nehru, that he candidly admitted his responsibility. Sheikh Abdullah himself had taken over the administration of the State. Therefore, he also cannot be morally absolved of the responsibility of these heinous crimes committed on innocent women and children.

From the Province of Jammu, particularly from the districts of Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur, no less than three lacs of refugees poured into Pakistan, while large gatherings in Miran Sahib and Ranbir Singhpura (a Tehsil of Jammu District) camps were machine-gunned in cold blood. Three lacs of Muslims in these areas were supposed to have been annihilated. The rest took refuge in Pakistan. The way Pakistan treated them is a very well known story. They are still the sacred trust of Pakistan. These helpless Jammu and Kashmir refugees still patiently - wait for return to their homeland. But is the day for their return any nearer now than it was when they entered the country of their refuge?

What had happened in Jammu had its natural repercussions in what is now And Kashmir, or those parts of Kashmir which, by that time, had been liberated. The atrocities committed by the Dogra troops in these parts of the State, and also by spying of the non-Muslims, had bred a feeling of hatred against the Sikhs and the Hindus in the minds of the Muslims. As soon as the news of the carnage of Muslims in Jammu reached these parts, the random killing of Hindus and Sikhs took place here too. In some places innocent women and children were subjected to maltreatment and the male population was murdered. There can be no justification for such actions. No retaliation on our part against innocent people here could make any difference to the lot of the Muslims who had been trapped in different parts of Kathua, Jammu and Udhampur districts. On the other hand, if we could treat the Hindu population better, our fight for freedom would have

risen much higher in the eyes of future historians. As **it** was, it seemed humanly impossible for any agency to control these things.

What our tribal brethren did on their way to Srinagar has been exaggerated **by** the other side. An exaggerated and untrue propaganda is made by Indian Press and Radio. I leave it to the future historians to bring to light the true facts. Nonetheless, I have no hesitation in saying that what happened in Muzaffarabad on or about the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of October, 1947, was bad enough, and I saw the whole thing with my own eyes. There could not have been any justification for a killing of that sort. The fault does not at all lie with the tribal fighters; and the whole blame goes to those who were leading them.

The And Kashmir Government had numerous difficulties, but it certainly did its best to organize camps for the non-Muslims. Some of the camps existed for 3 to 4 years. One camp at Muzaffarabad existed as late as 1950-1951. Those people who have since been evacuated to India, will bear testimony to the fact that, under all circumstances, we did our best for them. In the beginning what we could do was not, very effective. **I** quote only one instance to explain this. During the month of November, 1947, I went to Mirpur to see things there for myself. I visited, during the night, one Hindu refugee camp at Ali Baig -about 15 miles from Mirpur proper. Among the refugees I found some of my fellow lawyers in a pathetic condition. I saw them myself, sympathised with them and solemnly promised that they would be rescued and sent to Pakistan, from where they would eventually be sent out to India. In Azad Kashmir no big refugee camps could be maintained because of obvious difficulties. After a couple of days, when I visited the camp again to do my bit for them, I was greatly shocked to learn that all those people whom I had seen on the last occasion had been disposed of. I can only say that nothing in my life pained my conscience so much as did this-incident. The shame and horror of it, has never left my **mind**. What those friends would have thought of me. Those who were in charge of those camps were only dealt with but that certainly is no compensation to those whose near and dear ones were killed.

Chapter V

**THE BACKGROUND OF
AZAD KASHMIR MOVEMENT**

THE Budget Session of Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly for the year 1947 was held in March-April. This was the first Session of the Assembly in which I participated, after being elected a member of the State Assembly in January, 1947. This being the Budget Session, it was, as usual, a very busy one.

Fortunately, or unfortunately, it fell upon me to bring together all Mussalman M.L.As into one Muslim Conference group in the Assembly from different parts of the State, but there were others who, though not elected on the Muslim Conference ticket, did believe in the Muslim Conference ideology. They willingly Joined the Muslim Conference group.

During this Session speeches were made in the Assembly, expressing the apprehension about the activities of the Praja Parishad Party and the RSSS in the State. It was clearly pointed out by the writer that a semi-military organisation was being built up in certain parts of the State, with the intention of killing the Mussalmans. This apprehension was converted into a reality in IJdhampur, Jammu and Kathua. It was also very clearly pointed out, during these speeches, that the Dogra Army was resorting to high-handedness in the districts of Poonch and Mirpur. These speeches, of course, were noted down, but no action was ever taken on them.

During the month of April, 1947, Maharaja Han Singh toured the State frontier areas of Manawar, Bhimber, Mirpur, Kotli, Poonch, Rawalakot and Nowshera. Like Pandit Nehru on his tour of the North-West Frontier Province the previous October, the Maharaja saw **that** almost all Mussalmans were in

favour of Pakistan. He was specially impressed and alarmed by a great gathering of about forty thousand men, almost all ex-servicemen of the British Army from Sudhnuttj and Bagh Tebsjl of Poonch, assembled to greet him on April 21, 1947 at Rawalpindi.

During this tour the Maharaja gave clear instructions to his non-Muslim officers to aid the Hindu and Sikh population wherever it was possible to do so. Later on the Maharaja ordered more troops into these western districts of Jammu Province. A Mirpur-Poonch Brigade had been formed with headquarters at Nowshera, and in the summer of 1947, another separate Brigade composed purely of non-Muslim troops, Dogra-Hindus, Gurkhas and Sikhs. was formed as Poonch Brigade Garrison which had hitherto been kept in the main centres, were to be in all small towns, central villages, and at bridges and ferries and other key-points.

After the March-April Assembly Session had ended at Jainmu, the writer visited his own constituency of Poonch and, particularly, Sudhnuti and Bagh Tehsils. These two Tehsils of Bagh and Sudhnuttj bordered on Pakistan from end to end. I genuinely warned the people on way from Jammu to Poonch of the coming ominous events. I had thoroughly realized by this time that a conspiracy had already been hatched and the RSSS and Dogra troops, in cooperation with each other, were going to be a part of that conspiracy. I, therefore, urged the people to get organised politically. In my private meetings I disclosed to the people the dangers that lay ahead of them. I told them that they may be completely annihilated by the Dogra troops after being rounded up. I asked them to get prepared militarily to meet effectively such a danger. In order to give people courage I made very strong speeches. These speeches produced the necessary effect, and people generally got courage, became defiant, and started organising themselves exactly on military lines. These preparations remained secret throughout, though the Hindu population of this area got alarmed by my speeches and sent irresponsible telegrams to the Maharajas Government. in the meantime, while I was still at Rawalakot, one night some wandering people appeared in the villages of Rawalakot area from the Punjab. This alarmed the

logm troops stationed them. The Commander of these troops, in desperation, attacked some of these villages in order to arrest those people. During this incident Dogra troops arrested and beat innocent Mussalmans, and molested women in a village very near to Rawalakot town, The next day I called a very **big** meeting of the whole area, and twenty thousand people collected to hear my speech which I delivered in most 'seditious terms. **I** emphasizej upon the people that Pakistan - a Muslim State- was going to be established along the border of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and in any case the Mussalmans of Jammu and Kashmir cannot remain unaffected by this great event. They, therefore, should take courage and meet all insults from the Dogra troops with courage. From that day a strange atmosphere took the place of the usually peaceful life in these parts.

After this speech I had a long meeting with the Wazir of Poonch at his request. The Wazir of Poonch told me, during this meetings, that he had no power to deal with mailers which affected the Army. He only pronthed to send the whole case of Rawalakot to the higher authorities He, nevertheless promised that he wouJd obtain the dismissal of the Subedar who led the army contingent into the village for this raid.

I then left for Srinagar with my famUy. As soon as I reached Srinagar, I contacted all the Government agencies with regard to the situation obtaining in Poonch but everybody seemed to think that whatever was happening in Poonch was my own creation. **A** restrictive order was served on me towards the end of June, 1947, and warrants of arrest were issued on August 20, 1947. Before those warrants could be executed I escaped to Pakistan.

Pakistan was declared to have come into being on 14th of August, 1947, and eversin~ the whole atmosphere changed in the State. On August 15, 1947, Srinagar, the centre of all activities, gave ample proof of its being pro-Pakistan. Processio~ and meetings were arranged in all parts of Srinagar. Pakistan flags were flying over at least fifty per cent of the buildings and houses. All house-beat owners were flying the Pakistan flags and the Jhelum river presented a fortifying

sight. Though Sheikh Abdullah's party was yet indecisive on the issue of Pakistan, this pro-Pakistan demonstration obviously made them extremely uncomfortable. Forced by events and suddenly changing circumstances, even Sheikh Abdullah's party men were forced to speak in favour of Pakistan, because the public in general leaned in that direction. As a matter of fact some people were so sanguine as to believe that, as soon as Sheikh Abdullah came out of prison he himself would declare accession of the State to Pakistan.

The majority of the Muslim Conference leaders were in jail. Those who were outside were not united internally though they were all agreed on the issue of Pakistan. The masses were ready for a furious drive in favour of Pakistan but Muslim Conference leadership was not at all equal to the task.

Agha Shaukat Ali, the then General Secretary of the Muslim Conference, was on parole for a fortnight from Srinagar Jail. He went round to meet some of the Pakistani friends whose advice we needed ever so much. The task was really very big and any good advice from the Muslim League leaders was not available. None of us was so ripe in experience as to clearly visualize the implications of Pakistan and natural repercussions of it on State politics. We did not want to bungle the situation by taking risks or unnecessarily precipitating the matter. Some of the Muslim League leaders, who visited Srinagar in those days, contacted the Nationalist leaders instead of Muslim Conference leaders. Somehow, Muslim League leaders were impressed **that** Sheikh Abdullah's organisation was comparatively much weaker in Srinagar and throughout the valley of Kashmir. As has been pointed out, there were a number of leaders in Sheikh Abdullah's party itself who believed in accession of the State to Pakistan as a natural consequence of the partition of India. Jammu Province and Poonch, however, were much better organised, so far as the Muslim Conference was concerned. These areas were absolutely decided on the Pakistan issue. In Poonch things moved very much quicker than one expected. Nothing could have possibly arrested the march of events there.

Assemblies of more than five persons were prohibited by an order of the District Magistrate at the end of July, 1947, but, in fact, the control of Poonch had already passed to the State troops, who now had posts and pickets at all keypoints. The arms deposited by the Mussalmans with the police by the orders of the District Magistrate were handed over to the Military. They distributed these arms to local non-Muslims and to Sikhs, originally from Hazara, who moved during the summer into the Bagh area and Poonch itself, after being trained and organised in Muzaffarabad.

This alarmed the Mussalmans. They started taking whatever measures they could to defend their hearths and homes. In the villages, in August, 1947, some leading men particularly ex-Servicemen, began to collect money to buy arms from tribesmen of the former Frontier Province, because it had now become absolutely clear that only by force of arms could they remove the Maharajas oppressive army occupation and save their own lives. There were others who crossed to Pakistan to escape arrest or to leave their families at a place where they could live safely and honourably while they themselves could take up the fight against the Dogra Maharaja.

During these days a very big meeting of Mussalmans was held in front of the mosque at 1-lajira, Poonch. It was addressed by Muslim preachers and also by a local Sikh, Khazan Sing of Arunka, who declared that, the State being overwhelmingly Muslim should join Pakistan and that the Muslim authorities should treat the Sikh and Hindu minorities fairly as they wished to remain in their homes in harmony with their Muslim neighbours. In this meeting they passed resolutions asking for a responsible Government right of free assembly, release of political prisoners, accession to Pakistan and abolition of all recently imposed taxes by the Central Government at Srinagar.

A column of troops was sent from Poonth via Hajira to march through Rawalakot to Bagh where stronger agitation was in progress. To protect their friends of the Bagh area, who sent messengers asking that the troops should be held up, the

villager of lChai Gala attempted to block the road and prevent their passage to Rawalakot. They had no arms, only woodmans axes, which every man carries in these hills, but the Dogra troops fired on them and killed three and wounded many more before they cleared the trees and boulders blocking the road and marched through.

There were a number of clashes between the Muslim ex-Servicemen of Poonch and the Maharajas Hindu troops. Captain Baiwant Sing, in charge of the Dogra troops at Bagh, agreed that the Muslim demand for accession to Pakistan was legitimate. lie sent a Muslim official of the State to pacify the crowd, which eventually held a meeting and camped outside Bagh. Next day, however, there was more trouble and fighting broke out when the Dogra pickets around Bagh opened up with rifles and bren-guns on the Muslim crowd encamped below, causing heavy casualties.

Dogra troops sent out their patrols to the neighbouring Muslim villages. One patrol was sent to surround a nearby village, the centre of agitation against the Dogras and the Muslim villagers were threatened with extinction if they did not deliver up the local Muslim Conference leader, Khadim l-lassain Shah. To save them he surrendered himself and was taken to Bagh. Before they killed him, the Dogra officer asked him what he wanted. He replied~ 'Freedom and Pakistan". On this he was bayoneted through his chest!

Reinforcements continued to arrive from Poonch through Rawalakot. Pandit Ramchandra Raina, a decent Kashmiri Hindu, who was a revenue officer in Poonch, was sent to tour the troubled areas to seize weapons and to pacify the people. But the civil officials were now powerless. Poonch had, since July, been given up to the unrestrained control of the non-Muslim occupying forces, who received secret orders from the Maharaja and his Dogra chiefs. There were, however, some Hindu civilian officers, who positively encouraged the Dogra troops to stamp out the popular movement and clear the country of all the inhabitants who demanded self-government and Pakistan.

Immediately after the Bagh firing, columns of troops, accompanied **by** bands of armed Sikhs and civilian Hindus aided by non-Muslim villagers, were sent out through the country-side to search and plunder villages in a most merciless and random fashion. In most cases the unarmed Muslim male villagers abandoned their villages when the troops and armed bands approached, remaining bidden in the nearby forest till they had passed. The civilian armed bands and local non-Muslim villagers assisted the police and army in their loot and arson. Women were raped mercilessly. The writer was told of an incident where a girl of thirteen was raped by ten soldiers and she ultimately died of this.

It was then so clear to all of us that the Maharaja was bent on joining India in total disregard of the wishes of eighty per cent of his people and that resistance to his plan of accession to India would be ruthlessly crushed. This meant the expulsion from their homes or the slaughter of a million Muslims living in a broad belt of territory along Pakistan borders, from Muzaffarabad to Kathua.

One of the best commentaries on the Pakistan Movement in Poonch is that of Sheikh Abduflah himself. As reported by the Associated Press of India, under the date-line. New Delhi, October 21, 1947. Sheikh Abdullah said: 'That the present troubles in Poonch, a feudatory of Kashmir, were because of the policy adopted by the State. The people of Poonch who suffered under the local ruler, and again under the Kashmir Durbar, who was the overlord of the Poonch ruler, had started a peoples movement for the redress of their grievances. **It** was not communal.

~The Kashmir State sent their troops and there was panic in Poonch. But most of the adult population in Poonch were ex-Servicemen of the Indian Army, who had close connection with the people in Jhelum and

Rawalpindi. They evacuated their women and children, crossed the frontier and returned with arms supplied to them by

willing people. The ICashmir State Forces were thus forced to withdraw from certain areaC.

The story of this rising has been described by a Hindu leader of ICashmir, Pandit Prem Nath Baiaz, In the following words~In Poonch, where thousands of demobilised Muslim

veterans ol' the Second World War live, an open armed rebellion broke out against the Maharaja and his new administration. The rebellion spread rapidly to the adjoining areas of Mirpur where, also, war veterans lived in large numbers. Instead of realising what he had done, Maharaja Hari Singh egged on by Congress leaders and the new Counsellors, despatched the whole of the Dogra army to quell the disturbance, or, as one Rajput colonel puts it, to reconquer the area'. The Army perpetrated unheard-of atrocities on the people of Poonch; whole villages were burnt down and innocent people massacre& Report reaching Srinagar were not allowed to be published in the press, and no official reports were issued to allay the fears of the public. This happened in September and the tribesmen did not enter the State before the 23rd of October, 1947

In Srinagar itself the Dogra Government became more and more insecure because of the events in Poonch. Larger contingents of troops were sent from Srinagar. As the information of the movement of troops reached us we became more nervous, and, it was only too evident that the whole of the State appeared to be ready for a large-scale disaster. Somehow the State authorities came to be quite convinced, probably on the basis of good evidence, that I was wholly responsible for the events in Poonch. On one occasion Thakar Janak Sing, the then Prime Minister, during an interview, pointed this out very clearly to a deputation which met him to discuss the events in Poonch. I was a member of this deputation. Even at this stage I gave him the solemn guarantee of complete peace and order in Poonch, provided all troops were withdrawn and Poonch district was left functioning under normal civil administration. This seemed to him a very intriguing advice.

I was served with an order by the Government through their Chief Secretary, not to leave Srinagar under any circumstance. If I remained in Srinagar the Government will have no objection. My entry into Poonch was in any case, considered undesirable. Warrants for my arrest were placed with the border authorities in Kohala, Banihal and 1-laji Fir Pass. In the meantime, information about the events in Poonch reached me daily. Every new day brought a more urgent and fervent appeal from the people of that district to do something about the matters. Poonch being my constituency, my moral and other responsibilities were so great that I eventually did gather the courage to do what I actually did and came to the timely rescue of an otherwise lost but brave people.

On or about the 20th August, 1947, I and Agha Shaukat Mi, the General Secretary of the Muslim Conference went to meet some of our Pakistani friends and advisers. We were looking for solid advice and reliable information on all matters that confronted us. These Pakistani gentlemen were holidaying

- Culmarg. They were in possession of solid facts and gave us good advice. The next meeting was held at the house of the late Dr. Mohammad Din Tasir in Srinagar

We had a long meeting with these gentlemen and discussed with them the existing state of affairs in Kashmir. We appraised them of the conditions existing in Poonch. These gentlemen were of the opinion that, unless there was some counter preparation, there was a genuine apprehension of Mussalmans being exposed to the danger of complete annihilation. They had come to this conclusion, in all probability, on the basis of some information that they had in their possession and their views were confirmed by the facts that were placed before them. It was with these gentlemen that we had another meeting in Srinagar at the house of late Dr. M.D. Tasir. It was suggested in this meeting, that if I had to get arrested at all, it must be done in Rawalakot, my home place, where easily twenty to thirty thousand people would have followed me into the jail, making the situation extremely difficult for the Government. The Wazir of Poonch had informed Srinagar authorities that my entry into Poonch would

not be desirable and my arrest anywhere in that area would entail a major crisis for the Government.

During this meeting it was also decided that, in the meantime, I should leave immediately for Pakistan, in order to re-enter Poonch to head the movement there. All-Jammu and ICashmir Muslim Conference, sent me a letter of authority in Pakistan, which I produce below-

SRINAGAR,
I7FH SEPTEMBER, 1947.

%y dear Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, We have started the civil disobedience movement here, and I have addressed a number of mass meetings. I may be arrested at any moment. Therefore, in consultation with the available members of the working committee, I am constrained to appoint you as my successor.. As such, you will be perfectly competent to receive and deliver goods on behalf of the Muslim Conference. You can negotiate with any party or organisation. and arrive at any understanding you deem fit and proper. The Muslim Conference will be bound by your acts and words. In my and my colleagues' opinion, you are utterly worthy of the trust reposed in you. I hope and trust you will, as usual, discharge your heavy responsibilities with zeal and enthusiasm, and our community will surely profit by your able guidance. You will please appoint your successor whenever the prospect of your arrest arise.

May God bless you,

Yours sincerely.
(Sd) HAMIDULLAH KHAN,
Acting President,
All-J,&K, Muslim Conference.

NB.-- It may please be noted that, as long as jam not arrested, you are, even now, quite competent to act on my behalf outside the State.

Sdf- HAMJDuLLAH KHAN.

I was to escape to Pakistan accompanied by Agha Shaulcat All A day for escape was also Fixed. This fact was to be kept

dead secret but somehow the Government came to know all about it. The next day, early in the morning, before we could make the first move, Agha Shaukat Ali was re-arrested and taken back to jail. When Irtachaibs hour t 7 o'clock in the morning, it was being closely watched **by** the police and Agha Shaukat Ali had already been delivered to the jail authorities.

The moment I learnt about it~ I decided to disappear, I **did** not attend the courts and spread the story through **my** clerks that I had gone to Islamabad for a day to attend a case. The police rushed to Islamabad as foolishly as they did so many other things. The whole day I kept away from my house because there was a twenty-four hour watch on my movements. Today it seems like a miracle that all arrangements for my escape from Srinagar were complete by the end of that day. Two persons were responsible for this arrangement. One was Sultan Hasan Ali Khan of Boi District Hazara and the other Raja Abdul Hamid Khan of Muzaffarabad, one of my colleagues.

I would like to mention here a small incident. Before my escape, we had a meeting at Dr. M.D. Tasir's place. Dr. Tasir, who had a real sense of humour, suggested quite seriously that I should escape wearing a 'Burqa.' This suggestion I at once turned down. **It** would be a disgrace if I was caught **by** the police in a burqa. Owing to the fact that such suggestion was put forward, the rumour, somehow, got around that I actually escaped in a ~burqa. Dr. Tasir himself, in an article which he published in 1948, contradicted this.

The day I escaped from Srinagar, my little son, Javed, was running a high temperature. One of our friends, Dr. Noor Hussain, volunteered to look after him. I told my very credulous and simple wife that I was going to Lahore and would be back soon. The same friends who were responsible for my escape, also arranged for accommodation in a house-boat for my last night in Srinagar.

In the morning of August 25, 1947 while Srinagar Police looked for me in a dreary drizzle, I reached Domel

(Muzaffarabad) without any incident. The journey from Srinagar to Abbottabad was without an incident of any kind. I learnt later on that a warrant of arrest was lying with the Customs Officer at Domel. There was no search of my taxi. In my taxi there happened to be two vagabond-friends of the taxi driver, who were running away from Srinagar courts. Though I had paid for the whole taxi, they made themselves comfortable in it by the courtesy of the taxi driver. On reaching the other side of the border, I was told that they were running away from the Police. I did not, however, tell them that I was myself travelling for a similar reason.

While in Abbottabad I learned to my grief and extreme sorrow that in Tehsil headquarters of Bagh the Dogra Army had opened fire on a crowd of ten thousand people. This certainly was a declaration of war on the people and left no doubt in my mind that people of Poonch were faced with a major catastrophe. Unless some outside help reached them in good time their life and security were exposed to grave risk.

Sitting in my hotel in Abbottabad, I wrote not less than one hundred chits in my own hand to different people in Poonch area. In these I asked the people not to lose courage and to prepare to defend their homes at every cost. In these chits I conveyed to them that I was busy trying to get them the necessary arms, though at that moment I did not have the slightest idea as to what I could do for them in concrete form. There was, however, a strong belief in my mind of solid help either coming from the Government or the people of Pakistan. These chits, it seems, did reach their destinations safely, though the Dogra security arrangements were fairly stiff. When, in the mad fury of a mob, in the chaos of thought and action, people paused and took stock of what they had, they found that they had very little.

In the meantime the Dogra Government issued orders to the following effect:

- (a) Confiscation of all arms;
- (b) Clearing of Pakistan Border areas;

- (c) Empowering of the Dogra Army to shoot any person suspected of 'subversive' activities; and
- (d) I'oonch and Mirpur districts to be placed under Martial Law.

Against this background, I reached Lahore on 28 August, 1947. On the Lahore Railway Station, complete chaos prevailed. I paid Rs. 15 to get a tonga to reach my hotel in Anarkali. Normally, it should have cost me a rupee. I carried letters for Mian Amir-ud-Din, who was the Mayor of Lahore at that time. Through the good offices of this gentleman, I tried for a meeting with the Quaid-e-Azam, who was then the Governor-General of Pakistan, in order to place before him the Kashmir case. The Quaid-e-Azam himself did not wish to meet me because he did not desire, in any manner whatever, to be associated with anything that was happening in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at that moment. Accompanied by another friend, Mr. BA. Hashmi, a friend of the Srinagar meeting, I approached Raja Ghazanfar Ali Ichan, the Central Minister of Refugee and Rehabilitation, with the object of arranging a meeting with Quaid-e-Azam. Raja Chazanfar Mi Khan failed to contact the Quaid-e-Azam. As a matter of fact the whole atmosphere was so uncertain and everybody felt so awkward to approach the Quaid-e-Azam that no one possessed enough courage to draw the attention of the Pakistan's Governor-General to ICashmir affairs and save so many Mussalmans from disaster. Pakistan herself was most tragically gripped **by** the problem of the influx of refugees. Complete chaQs seemed to take possession of everything. Most well-wishers of Pakistan doubted if Pakistan could exist another couple of months.

For a full period of one week I went round seeing the people in Lahore. Every dawn brought mc new disappointments. There was not a ray or glimmer of hope. There was hardly any Newspaper editor whom I did not meet. The Press were quite prepared to do their best, and, in fact, they did their best as the movement actually started But nothing disappointed me more than the streets of Lahore. The sun rose dyer Lahore and went down with the same mechanical precision. Every hour, every day for me in Lahore was the greatest agony a human being could possibly undergo.

I was completely disappointed, tired and exhausted. All avenues of hope had been explored, and I was thoroughly dismayed with everything—people, streets, tongas, other noises and limitless thoughts. The noises of Lahore seemed such an unreal drudgery. People seemed so selfish. Could not they possibly realise that all business and trade was useless? Could not they visualize that a whole nation was faced with the threat of virtual annihilation? All these thoughts rose and fell like waves of the sea in my mind who had no second person to share the secrets of his mind.

I decided to pack and return to the scene of the tragedy. Keenly conscious of the great duty which nature had so suddenly and prematurely called me to perform, equally conscious of my failings and limitations, something still worked within my mind like a volcano. With all the disappointments and failures lodged in my heart, I wanted to see, before leaving Lahore, the Editor of the Pakistan Times—a daily of Lahore. I started for the office of that paper while my bedding was being packed in my hotel. As I was passing the 'Nila Gumbad' area a car stopped near my tonga. and a gentleman asked me to come down from the tonga and get into the car. I accompanied him to Model Town, where he was going to see the bungalows of his Hindu friends just to make sure that they were safe. The journey from that point in the city right down to Model Town and back, could have taken hardly an hour or so. Within this short time I was able to convince my friend of the impending tragedy of the people of Kashmir. I did not really believe that he could do much. But I would have told this story to anyone who had lent me a sympathetic ear. This friend, strangely enough, promised to do his best but he insisted that he should make sure about things for himself. He, therefore, proposed to proceed to Srinagar. To any proposal which could help the cause in any manner I could have no objection. I told him that I was proceeding to Murree where he could always contact me if he so desired.

It seemed that he did consult quite a number of people before arriving at a definite decision. From Murree he collected his wife and went to Srinagar with the pretext of his wife's

diagnosis about some disease. After remaining in Srinagar for about a week or so he came back to Murree to have a conference with mc. To my entire satisfaction and relief, he agreed with me on all points. He realised the urgency of the matter and also the risks Mussalmans were exposed to if no outside assistance was extended to them in good time. I really do not wish to go into details of what happened after that but I must admit that this gentleman did his best with deep sincerity and honesty of purpose. He did his utmost to advance the cause of the movement which, later on, came to be known as the And Kashmir Movement. This gentleman was no other person than Mian Iftikharuddin of Lahore, a great leader in his own right. He died in 1960 or so. The echo of this movement rose out of the high hills of Kashmir and rang round the world and is by no means finished yet. The gentleman mentioned gave up his association with the movement when he accepted a Ministry in the Punjab.

Chapter VI

**BEGINNING OF AZAD KASHMIR
MOVEMENT**

I stayed in Murree and made it my base, if one may borrow an army expression, where some sympathisers loaned a number of rooms in a hotel. In that hotel much was said during the dark hours of night and nothing was done or said during the long hours of the day. The Punjab Police, Intelligenc Department, though quite vigilant, probably did not know much about the whole thing. For the work which I had undertaken Murree was a very convenient and congenial place. One could have all the information from Srinagar every day and also easily contact Muzaffarabad, Poonch and Mirpur. From Murree one could easily establish contacts with people in Poonch along the Thelum River during the night. During the day Dogra Army soldier regularly patrolled all the possible routes of communication.

Not quite single handed, I took the decision to resort to arms in defence of our lives, honour and property, and to prepare the people for it. Before taking this most crucial decision, I did not consult my colleagues, because I did not have the opportunity to do so. The decision was not taken just overnight. I collected some sympathetic army officers of the State before whom I placed the whole situation. These officers, at great risk to themselves and other advisers, calculated all the pros and cons of the whole matter. A number of conferences were held. Maps were studied and all other possible loopholes were foreseen. By the advice of these really great friends we were able to chalk out a scheme by which Mussalmans could be saved and an effective resistance could be put up to Dogm troops and their satellite, the RSSS. Here I must mention that the question of tribal people coming to our assistance was neither

visualised nor contemplated at this stage of planning. On the other hand, when I got the information that tribesmen were prepared to come to our assistance, it was a pleasant surprise to me.

After making the difficult decision to resort to arms we got busy with the collection of weapons of all sorts. A secret collection of Muzzle Loaders was started, and with these Muzzle Loaders we collected gun-powder and lead from all over the I'unjàb. A small factory was started in village Basian in the Tehsil of Murree, where lead was converted into bullets. During October nights, these things were transported across the Jhelum river. All arms that could be had in the district of Rawalpindi were collected. **It** had become easier now, because the story of the atrocities of Dogra troops had spread all over the Punjab and some of the refugees from Bagh had already crossed the

Jhelum river into Pakistan, where they were camping in the Tehsil of Murree. Even the burning of villages in Poonch could easily be seen from the high hill of Murree. About this time a strong protest was lodged by the Government of Pakistan with the Maharajas Government about the atrocities committed by the Dogra troops on Poonch Mussalmans.

In Murree I was able to mobilise, most effectively, public opinion in our favour. We were able to raise some funds which we sent to the Frontier Province for the purchase of 'drawl or one shot rifles. This method, though it had a small beginning, made huge progress in due course of time. Very soon it became possible to find ways by which we could collect a large number of rifles. Before these rifles could be distributed it was made sure that an organisation existed which would utilize this material to the best of our advantage.

In Murree a unique service to our cause was rendered by the local Tehsildar at the risk of his job. It was in his house that we were able to collect the 'stuff . Then during the night, in an extremely well-guarded manner, the 'stuff was despatched on mules to the banks of the Jhelum river. On the banks of this river, on both sides, awaited parties who had prepared

- Raja Suiwn Maqsood.

'shinas -- inflated goat skins -- for the transportation of arms and ammunition across the river. In this, otherwise most risky and dangerous enterprise, the Tehsildar, not only risked his job but also his life. All this 'business was to be a hush-hush affair. The police were never taken into confidence. Once we were caught red-handed on this side of the Jhelum river. We completely denied any complicity in the matter, though some others were hauled up. The loss of valuable arms was sustained with a heavy heart.

The area of operation was mainly divided into two large sectors, Muzaffarabad to Bhimber, and Bhimber to Jammu. Gilgit was left out, because the Gilgit organisation was separate. The Dogra Army Muslim Officers, raising a local rebellion, had established an administration of their own. This was effectively arranged with officers who were posted in Gilgit by the Dogra Government. Each sector was given a separate quota of rifles for operation and placed under an Army Leader. Similarly, different leaders were put in charge of different sectors to provide the necessary political link. Before the whole scheme could operate in an organised and effective manner, we needed an army to fight an army. That mere armed crowds could not possibly achieve much was realised in the very beginning. It seemed, therefore, that the *sine qua non* of the whole plan was that a peoples army be organised. It could only be effectively done in Pakistan and probably in Mirpur, though Muzaffarabad was also organised. Mirpur failed to provide the immediate need because the Dogra troops had not done that much damage in Mirpur as they had done in Poonch, and, moreover, Poonch had no less than 80,000 discharged soldiers from the old Indian Army. The bulk of the Azad Army was consequently raised from Poonch. For this purpose, during the month of September, 1947, I crossed the Jehlum River a number of times during the nights on a 'shina - with the help of some of our great men, who later so heroically laid down their lives during the fight that ensued. Most of them are no more amongst us today but each of them played a unique part in the early days of our liberation movement. No matter how much is said in their praise, words surely cannot sum up their great deeds of personal bravery and heroism. We hope that