**Invaders in Jammu and Kashmir**

**ABSTRACT**

Kashmir conflict is multi-dimensional and one important dimension is its genesis. There are confronting stances on resons of landing of Indian forces in Jammu and Kashmir. The purpose of this paper is to examine the background of the conflict along with the role of different parties. This research is very helpful for researchers, scholars and academia to understand the actual basis of the conflict.

**Keywords:** Princely State, Kashmir Conflict, Invasion, AJK, IOJK, Dogra

**Introduction**

At the time of partition of the sub-continent, Jammu and Kashmir was a princely state. It is located in South Asia, surrounded by three nuclear states China, Pakistan and India. Kashmir is United Nations-recognised disputed territory which is divided into three administrative areas. Valley, Jammu, Ladakh and Kargil are under the occupation of India, Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan are under the administration of Pakistan whereas Shaksgam tract and Aksi Chin are under controle of China. India claims that tribal invasion in Kashmir was the reason for landing of Indian forces whereas people of Kashmir and Pakistan claim that Kashmir freedom movement was started before the creation of Pakistan and that violation of 3rd June partition plan by India created this conflict. In 1947, the major parties involved in Kashmir were Indian National Congress, All India Muslim League, Maharaja Hari Singh, National Conference, Muslim Conference, Lord Mountbatten and the Boundry Commission. It is necessary to find the real context of the issue because it has political and legal implications for conflict.The focus of the research is to analyse the primary and secondary sources available about the genesis of conflict and draw conclusions.

**ROLE OF BOUNDARY COMMISSION**

On 3rd June, the Partition Plan, Boundary Commission was established, to divide the province of Punjab. A British lawyer Sir Cyril Radcliff was its chairman. The adjoining district of Punjab with Kashmir has Muslim majority. India has no access to Kashmir without this route. Under the “Notional Award” in the first schedule of Indian Independence Act, the entire Gurdaspur district with a 51.4 % Muslim majority has been assigned to Pakistan. The Radcliff had departed from the Notional Award and gave Muslim majority area to India and provide her a route for Kashmir.

Victoria Schofield describes the role of Mountbatten in this unfair award. According to her “Mountbatten himself had made connections between Jammu and Kashmir and the award of Boundary Commission. Kashmir, he said, “was so placed geographically that it could join either dominion provided part of the Gurdaspur, were put into East Punjab by the Boundary Commission.[[1]](#footnote-1)”

Christopher Beaumount, Secretary to the Punjab Boundary Commission, admitted in a statement that Mountbatten did manipulate the boundary award in India’s favor and persuade Radcliff to change his mind about Ferozpur and Zira.[[2]](#footnote-2)

Radcliff himself thinking that award is not fair. He wrote to his stepson three days earlier, “and there will be roughly 80 million people with a grievance who will be looking for me. I do not want them to find me.[[3]](#footnote-3)”

**ROLE OF MOUNTBATTEN**

 Louis Mountbatten was appointed as viceroy of India in March 1947. He has close friendship with Nehru. Nehru was close friend of Edwina Mountbatten. Mountbatten visited Maharaja Hari Singh on June 17,1947, he asked Nehru for an memorandum on Kashmir .Nehru argued that State of Jammu and Kashmir must join to India. The visit of Mountbatten was just to agree Maharaja for accession of State with India. Mountbatten had delayed the boundary commission announcement to provide favor to India; moreover he pressurized rulers of Indian States to accede with India. Mountbatten called a special meeting of Chamber of Princess on July 25, 1947. Twenty five of the major ruling princesses attended the meeting, along with 74 princely states representatives. In the meeting, he discussed the states futures: theoretically they could choose to accede either Pakistan or India, but many of states were geographically linked India and should, therefore, accede to India.[[4]](#footnote-4) Mountbatten tone was remarkably pro-Indian, and he summed up in concluding remarks: “I have no doubts that this is in the best interests of the States ,and every wise Ruler and wise Government would desire to link up with the great dominion of India on basis which leaves you great internal autonomy.[[5]](#footnote-5)

Mountbatten mostly relied on V.P. Menon, who was close to Sardar Patel. Stanley Wolpert writes, “Patel was to use V.P. Menon most effectively in convincing all but three of South Asian Princes within India’s territory to accept life pensions and signs agreements merging their states into the dominion of India by mid August.”[[6]](#footnote-6)

Mountbatten was playing in the hands of Nehru. Nehru told everything about Kashmir to Mountbatten. The Kashmir tragedy was created by personal relations, there was a special relationship between Nehru and Lord and Lady Mountbatten.Mountbatten was last viceroy of India from British Government but his all conspiracies were against Muslims, Pakistan and in favor of India and Congress.

 **ROLE OF CONGRESS**

Indian National Congress was claiming that it is a secular political party, but in fact it was protecting the interests of Hindu community. The leadership of Congress was against the creation of Pakistan and Two Nations Theory. Among the princely states Kashmir was very important due to its strategic position and water resources. Kashmiri Muslims were struggling against Dogra regime and for their political rights. They are on the Platform of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Nehru was very much interested in Kashmir. Meanwhile N.Gopulaswammy Ayyangar, a bigoted Hindu, an orthodox Brahmin was appointed as the Prime Minister of Kashmir. The popularity and unity of Muslim Conference was causing him sleepless nights. The leadership of Congress was also planning to intervene in the Kashmir. According to Alastair Lamb, “Already in 1946, according to Colonel Webb (writing in July 1946), Jawaharlal Nehru had developed a definite policy for the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir once the British had departed. Under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah it was to be made in toe and anti-Pakistan (whatever shape Pakistan might eventually assume) zone to the north of the Punjab”[[7]](#footnote-7).

The conversion of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference into National Conference was also planned by Congress. Sheikh Abdullah’s interests have been changed and he was hungry of self projection and interests. After the announcement of partition of Sub Continent, Congress had speed up her activities to achieve Kashmir.In early May 1947 the President of the Indian National Congress, Acharya Kripalani, called on Maharaja Sir Hari singh in Srinagar, in an attempt to persuade him of the wisdom of acceding to India After that Mountbatten visited Kashmir. The Sikh rulers of Princely States of Kapurthala, Faridkot and Patiala also visited the Maharaja Hari Singh , and their objective was the establishment of some kind of independent Sikh entity.

 The Prime Minister of Kashmir Ram Chand Kak was a hurdle for accession to India.The leadership of Congress was interested in the removal of Kak and release of Sheikh Abdullah from jail. The objectives of visit of Gandhi was very well elobrated by Alaister Lamb

“Mahatma Gandhi was in Jammu and Kashmir for a few days at the very beginning of August 1947, arriving in Srinagar on the 1st of that month. The British records do not suggest that he held political conversation of any significance with anyone who mattered in States politics; and is no evidence that he was asked to do so by Mountbatten or any of his staff. His own published correspondence with Vallabhbhai Patel, however, shows that he discussed with Sir Hari Singh the Possibility of dispensing with the services of R.C. Kak (who opposed accession to India) as Prime Minister of the State, and that he urged upon the Maharaja the wisdom of letting Sheikh Abdullah out of prison. He also met the leading member of the National Conference then at liberty, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, who told him that in his opinion, once Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues were free, the probability was that in any form of unrigged electoral exercise the vote in the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the existing franchise would be for union with India. Mahatma Gandhi, however, was very critical of the way in which the Muslim people of the Gilgit leased areas had been handed back to a Hindu Ruler (albeit rather theoretically as it transpired) without being first consulted.”[[8]](#footnote-8)

 The geo political importance of Kashmir was also a factor that was in the mind of Congress, moreover they were interested to weaken the future Pakistan. The Indian occupation on Kashmir was not a weak planning or reaction of tribal intervention it was a big game plane of Congress from the years. Alastair Lamb elobrated it with refrences as,

“Nehru’s Interest in Kashmir was largely emotional; there he saw his personal roots in Indian Civilization. Patel had a cold geopolitical approach to the future of the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir. It was the potential Indian outlet of Central Asia. In Indian hands it would severely curtail the future freedom of international action of Pakistan. More immediately, possession of Kashmir province would give India a direct access to the Pathan world, not only the fringes of Afghanistan but also the North-West Frontier province of Pakistan where Congress retained a peculiar influence in an area with a virtually total Muslim population; before independence there had been a Congress Ministry there. The possibilities for the exertion of pressure upon Pakistan, directed, if need be, towards it destruction, where manifold. Patel may, as we will see below, have seemed at times disposed towards some form of compromise with Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute, but he, far more than Nehru, also saw Kashmir’s value as a lethal weapon against Pakistan.

Vallabhbhai Patel had been in close contact with a number of prominent figure in the politics of Jammu and Kashmir since at least 1946; but it is only in September 1947 that the available records begin to documents his involvement with preparations for the coming Indo-Pakistani clash over the State’s future.

On 13 September Patel received a request from the Jammu and Kashmir Government for a military adviser in the person of Lt. Colonel Kashmir Singh Katoch, who was not only a serving officer in the Indian Army but also the son of the then Jammu and Kashmir Prime Minister, Major-General janak Singh, a relative of the ruling Dogra family of Maharaja Sir Hari Singh. The request was passed with approval to the Minister of Defense, Sardar Baldev Singh, and in due course Kashmir Singh Katoch was deputed to Srinagar where he undoubtedly played a significant part in the forthcoming crisis.

From this date onwards we have evidence of all sorts of Indian military aid being provided with Patel’s express approbation for Jammu and Kashmir of which the following are examples. On 28 September, at the urgent request of Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, Patel arranged for the provision of one civilian aircraft (from Dalmia Jain Airways, presumably a DC3) to run a special service between Srinagar and Delhi. By 1 October wireless equipment had been provided to assist all weather operations at Srinagar airport, to which supply flights could now begin to take in loads of arms and ammunition to the Jammu and Kashmir State forces from Indian stocks (which, so soon after the end of World War II, were indeed massive). Preparations were also at this time put in hand for more effective telegraphic communications between India and Jammu and Srinagar, and the road from the Indian Punjab border near Madhopur to Jammu was now being greatly improved by the construction by Indian Army Engineers of a pontoon bridge over the Ravi leading to Kathua.

Somewhere around the second week of October the decision was taken in from the Patiala State Army, at least on battalion of infantry and a battery of mountain artillery, were transported to Jammu and Kashmir (clues to this strange episode are to be found, among other places, in the writings of two senior Indian soldiers, Lt. General Sen and Major-General Palit). One infantry battalion was stationed in Jammu City, where it reinforced the Maharaja’s major stronghold; and a mountain artillery battery reached the outskirts of Srinagar airfield. It is possible, indeed probable, that at least another battalion of Patiala infantry was sent forward along the Jhelum valley Road to the neighborhood of Uri where it stood in reserve behind the 4th Jammu and Kashmir Rifles guarding the two major points of access to this road from Pakistan. Some of these men travelled over land; but it may well be that some also came by air. The Patiala troop movement, the evidence indicates, were completed by 18 October. Published Patiala sources, which have surely been heavily doctored to accord with the chronology of established Indian mythology, suggest that this intervention took place at the personal request to the Maharaja, Yadavindra Singh, by Jawaharlal Nehru.

In that the Patiala state Army was at this time legally part of the Armed Forces of the Indian Union, such a dispatch of units from its strength amounted de jure to direct Indian military intervention in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Patiala had formally joined India on 5 May 1947 as part of PEPSU (Patiala and Eat Punjab States Union), and, thereby, had handed over to new Delhi ultimate control of (and, as a corollary, responsibility for) both defense and foreign policy; but of course, what the odd Patiala unit did was unlikely to come to the formal notice of the Indian High Command, still British dominated. The Patiala Ruler was apparently only too willing to come to the aid of his fellow Mahajara; and he showed no interest in constitutional and diplomatic niceties. When India overtly intervened in Kashmir on 27 October, the Maharaja of Patiala lost no time in joining his men, some at least alteady in the field in Jammu and Kashmir.

There is some evidence that, by the beginning of the third week in October, Vallabhbhai Patel and his associates, including Beldev Singh at the Defense Ministry, had approved a number of other measures which involved a greater or lesser degree of direct Indian participation in the defense of the state. It is possible, for example, that Indian Army demolition experts had been provided (or promised) to prepare for the destruction of the bridges at the western end of the Jehlum valley road, notably that across the Kishenganga (over which ran the road from Mansehra), in the event of any incursion from the Pakistan side. Again, on 21 October (on the eve of a drastic escalation of the Kashmir crisis, as we shall see below) Patel was arranging for another Indian specialist, Shiv Sran Lal, to go to Srinagar to advise the Maharaja on the most effective ways of dealing with those Pathans whose more active intervention in Kashmir affairs was now being anticipated, possibly by exploiting their traditional tribal animosities. Shiv Saran Lal before the Transfer of Power had been Deputy Commissioner of Dehra Ismail Khan (in Pakistan since 15 August) and was a man exceptionally well versed in matters relating to the tribes of the North-West Frontier.

Quite as significant, perhaps, as these various practical measures was the interest shown by Patel and his colleagues (including Nehru) in the details of active politics in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In early October, for instance, Dwarkanath Kachru (Nehru’s confidential associate, as we have already seen, of whom more below in chapter VI) had been in Srinagar sounding out sheikh Abdullah’s party, the National Conference, on its attitude towards the State’s accession to India. Kachru warned Patel in no uncertain terms that unless something decisive was done by India, the State would drift by default into the orbit of Pakistan. Patel’s principle counter to this threat, it would seem, was his advocacy of the appointment of Justice Mehr Chand Mahajan as State Prime Minister in the place of Janak Singh. Maharaja, one of the two Indian members on the Radcliffe Commission, was an undoubted supporter of accession to India. The record leaves it clear that, at least in the eyes of the Indian Cabinet, his appointment (which took formal effect on 15 October) was intended to bring that accession about; and he was believed to posses the skill and determination to do what was expected of him.

The fact that senior politicians in New Delhi had decided weeks before 15 October that such an accession was essential to Indian interests is not open to serious doubt. A letter from Nehru to Patel, dated 27 September 1947, is by itself sufficiently clear evidence for this conclusion. As Nehru then declared; winter was approaching, and the Banihal Pass, that lifeline between Jammu and Kashmir Srinagar, would soon be snowbound; unless Maharaja Sir Hari Singh decided, or was obliged, to accede to India in the very near future, then Pakistan would take over the entire Vale of Kashmir as well as Baltistan and Ladakh. India therefore, must act quickly, in cooperation with sheikh Abdullah and his National Conference, to bring about the preemptive accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian Union.

During the first two weeks of October such Indian plans, either in process of execution of under contemplation, were being watched both by the Government of Pakistan in Karachi, whose sources of information were not always of the highest quality, and by those in direct command of the Punch revolt, the Government of Azad Kashmir, whose intelligence was potentially much better because of their close contacts with Srinagar”.[[9]](#footnote-9)

**PATEL TO HARI SINGH,3 JULY 1947, IN PATEL CORRESPONDENCE Vol.1,Doc. 34 P-33**

“I wish to assure you that the interest of Kashmir lies in joining the Indian Union, without any delay. Its past history and traditions demand it, and all India looks up to you and expected to take this decision.”

 On 1st August Gandhi arrived in Srinagar. During his meetings with Maharaja and Maharani he persuaded Maharaja to accede with India. Shahid Hamid Private Secretary to Field Marshal Auchinleck writes in his book, Disastrous Twilight, Great Britain, 1986, Page 273. “In reality it was to pressurize the Maharaja to accede with India.

**ROLE OF NATIONAL CONFERNCE AND SHEIK ABDULLAH**

National Confernce and Sheikh Abdullah’s role was very important to understand the genesis of the conflict. His role prior to 1947 and in 1947 was not Kashmiri nationalist but was pro congress. The first political party “All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Confernce” was established in 1932,[[10]](#footnote-10) Sheikh Abdullaha was its founder President.

In 1934, Sheik Abdullah left for India to renew his political contacts. He had a meeting with Nehru, which had forereaching consequences in the politics of Kashmir. Nehru was a shrewd Hindu political leader. The growth of a strong Muslim movement in a strategically important state Kashmir was not in the favor of Hindus. Yousf Saraf had rightly said, “To Nehru, the sub-continent was like a ring in which Kashmir valley occupied the position of gem[[11]](#footnote-11).”After this meeting Sheikh Abdullah changed his mind from Muslim Conference to National Conference. Many Pandits were also closely associated with Sheikh Abdullah. In 1939 “ All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Confernce was renamed ad “ All Jammu and Kashmir National Confernce”.[[12]](#footnote-12)

Pandit Nehru along with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrived in Srinagar on May 30, 1940. He toured Kashmir for ten days advised Hindus to join National Conference and strengthen the hands of Sheikh Abdullah. The National Conference was supported this time by Hindu money and resources. Hindu press also projected this tour and especially Sheik Abdullah.Annual Session of National Conference was held on 22-24 August 194, Sardar Budha Singh was re elected as president. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was also attended this session to develop more coordination between National Conference and Congress.

In 1942 Sheikh Abdullah left India to met Nehru. Earlier in 1936 Gopalaswami Ayyengar, was appointed as the Prime Minister of Maharaja Hari Singh. The appointment of Ayyangar was manipulated by Congress, because he was staunch Congressite at heart. His polices was anti Muslim and support Nationalist elements. On 19th July 1945, Nehru once again arrived in Kashmir.National conference had organized a *Daryai Jalus* to welcome him. He was accompined by Mulana Abul Kalam Azad,Abdul Ghaffar Khan,Abdul sammad Achakzai and Mr.Asif Ali. In a public meeting in Hazori Bagh,Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan Said:-

“Sheikh Abdullah is the gift of God. If you don’t follow him, you will be humiliated.”[[13]](#footnote-13)

 Sheik Abdullah was arrested by Dogra Government. Gandhi,Nehru and leadership of congress used their influence for the release of Sheikh Abdullah. At same time Chaudary Ghulam Abbas was also in jail but Sheik Abdullah was released for the support of Indian occupation in September 1947. Soon after Indian occupation on October 27, 1947, he was appointed as the Chief Executive of the Jammu & Kashmir.

he formed a militia by the name of Peace Brigade or National Volunteers or Kashmir Militia at Exhibition Grounds with headquarters at Palladium Cinema, Srinagar. There was a noticeable disappointment among population against & rejection of Sheikh Abdullah’s political decisions & policies of that time. The Peace Brigade was installed to crush the voices of dissent. In those terrible times, without media facilities, people used to listen to Radio Pakistan to keep themselves abreast with the developments that were taking place in the Indian subcontinent & J&K. The members of the Peace Brigade would enter any home, at will, drag its inmates, thrash & abuse them, and they molested many women. (Shabnum Qayoom’s Comprehensive History of Kashmir (2014) Volume third, page 189) They would break doors, window panes & damage household items. A reign of terror was let loose through these militia men especially on the people of the down town areas of the city. It was this Peace Brigade who got ex-PM of J&K, Ramchandra Kak tied to ropes, paraded half-naked on the streets of Lal Chowk & spit at by people (Nid e Haq: Memoirs of M M Isaaq (2014) pages 190-192) because he had a different political thought about Kashmir’s future. (Blazing Chinar, (2016) page 291). The Peace Brigade was managed by topmost leaders of NC under the command of Sheikh Abdullah. After talking over control of things, the Peace Brigade or National Militia spread out a reign of goondaism and terror in every part of Kashmir. Local police was mute spectators [for obvious reasons]. (Nid e Haq: Memoirs of M Isaaq, (2014) , pages 190-192). A number of leaders of the Muslim Conference including Aga Showkat Ali, Salam Shah Naqashbandi , Qureshi Muhammad Yusuf, Yusuf Buch & many others were exiled & hundreds jailed for dissent. Its President Chowdhury Ghulam Abbas & other top leaders were already put behind bars by Hari Singh.

The Peace Brigade came to be nicknamed as Khuftan Fakirs (translation: beggars/ vagabonds at night) by the people of Srinagar city because they had been raiding the families,even on suspicion of dissent inside, immediately at the time of Night Prayers which in common parlance of Kashmir is called Khuftan or Isha Nimaz. They had been chanting Hamla-Awar Hooshiar, Hum Kashmiri Hain Taiyaar. (translation: Beware raiders/kabail, we Kashmiris are ready to fight you back) They marched through the lanes & bylanes of Srinagar with fire-wood-dandas, Hatabs in Kashmiri, common wooden dandas, lathis, knives & axes to keep aggressors away from Srinagar & to ensure free movement of Indian army on the bridges & roads of Srinagar. (Blazing Chinar (2016) : Chapter: Medley of Internal Troubles).

Maqbool Sherwani, a NC worker from Baramullah, played decisive role in saving Srinagar  thwarted the advance of thousands of raiders (Kabail/tribesmen) from Baramullah, thereby giving valuable time to the Indian Army to land in Srinagar and prevent an ignominious defeat. (The Times of India, Who Changed the Face of War, dated 14-08-2015) How fanatically he was devoted to Sheikh Abdullah, writes M Y Saraf, can be gauged from the fact while he was nailed by tribesman, he continued to shout Sher-e-Kashmir Zindabad. (Kashmiris For-For-Freedom (2009, 2nd edition), Volume two, page 943).

Similar roles were played by them in Kargil, Ladakh, Handwara, Shalateng & Bandipora. (Nid e Haq: Memories of M M Isaaq, (2014), pages 200-203). All well known leaders of NC were a part of the Peace Brigade, though unarmed, in guiding Army to different parts of Kashmir immediately on their arrival at Srinagar airport on 27-10-1947. (Syed Mir Qasim, My Life and Times (1992 South Asia Books Publication) page 96; see also footnotes at page 178 of Nida e Haq).

The task of the Kashmir Militia that was deployed by Emergency Administrator in every mohalla of Srinagar was to protect Srinagar from going to Pakistan, to suppress voices against the accession, (Kashmir life 21-07-2014) & in doing so, it buttressed Kashmir’s accession to India (Andrew Whitehead). It may not go down well with many in Srinagar, but the fact remains that the city, led by the Sher-e-Kashmir and his deputy, Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad, arranged transport for Indian troops on their arrival in Kashmir. It also provided guides, harassed, humiliated and crushed dissidents, and dubbed them as snakes/Pakistani agents. (Kashmir Reader, 27-05-2014, Srinagar Wakes).

All these people were operating as a part of Kashmir Militia of Sheikh Abdullah. The Militia had a women-cell also, that was called Women’s Self-Defence Corpse, some of whom were well educated including Pandit women as well & some of these volunteer-women were sent to borders with army to boost their morale in fighting the aggressors/ Hamla-Awar. The Militia included ex-Muslim soldiers & policemen of Dogra administration. Many including women (A Mission in Kashmir (2007) by Krishna Misri (Zadoo) were trained by Indian Army to fight the aggressor with guns.

From 1947-1953 Sheikh Abullah as ruler of J&K crushed dissent through the militia of Peace Brigade or Khuftan Fakirs mainly in Srinagar city

Sheikh Abdullah was also responsible for the facilitation of Indian occupation in Kashmir.

**ROLE OF MAHARAJA HARI SINGH**

Maharaja Hari Singh was the ruler of Kashmir. The majority of Kashmiri population was Muslim and the Mahraja was Hindu. According to Partition Plan the state should be accede with Pakistan. Maharaja was using delaying tactics. There was resentment and uprising in Punch and Mirpur districts against the Dogra regime. Maharaja Hari Singh was using all his forces against Muslims. In June 1947, the Dogra Army started to disarm the Muslims and distribute weapons in Hindua and Sikhs. Maharaja was appointing most of his Prime Ministers and advisors from non-Muslims.His advisor were from Congress. On 12 August 1947, he offered both Pakistan and India for standstill agreement; Pakistan accepted it on 15 August 1947. After this standstill agreement he appointed his commander in Chief of Dogra army from in service Colnol of Indian Army.According to C.Dasgupta , “By mid September, he had decided to offer accession to India on condition that he would not be asked to institute immediate reforms, or in other words, to hand over power to Sheikh Abdullah. He appointed a new Dewan,Justic Mehr Chand Mahajan, and instructed him to secure an agreement with New Delhi in these lines.”[[14]](#footnote-14)

 The deployment of Patiala Forces in Kashmir before October 17, 1947 and massacre of Muslims in Jammu also prove that Maharaja Hari Singh was also responsible for the occupation in Kashmir.

**TRIBAL INTERVENTION IN KASHMIR.**

Some people are exploiting intervention of armed tribal people in Kashmir to justify Indian occupation in Kashmir. The people of Muzaffarabad, Punch and Mirpur districts have relations with the people *of Khyber Pakhtoon Khwa* (KPK) and Punjab. Many Kashmiri families took refuge in these Pakistani areas in 1800’s and early 1900,s. The formation of *Anjuman-e- Kashmiri Muslimanan* Lahore in 1866, *All India Muslim Kashmiri Conference* in 1908 and All India Kashmir Committee in 1931 are examples of the relation of Pakistani with Kashmir. These social organizations were working for the welfare of Kashmiri Muslims and also raise voice against the atrocities on Kashmiris.

 The involvement of RSS, *Akali dal, Sikh Jathas* and fundamentalist Hindus and Sikhs in Kashmir was started from January 1947. In January 1947 Akali Dal leader Doctor Harman Singh and RSS leader Master Tara Singh addressed a public meeting under the auspices of the Singh Sabha. They made highly inflammatory anti-Muslim speeches.

When Hindus and Sikhs started communal violence in Kashmir, the people of state had migrated toward Pakistan. These migrants tell the stories of barbarism of Hindus and Sikhs to local people. Naturally this creates an anti-Dogra environment. The Indian Government has deployed its forces (Patiala Forces) in September and early October 1947

“Maharaja had order the ethnic cleaning of Muslims from Kashmir. During September and October 1947, the Maharaja’s Dogra-led troops carried out a campaign of sustained harassment, arson, physical violence and genocide against in at least two areas Punch, right on the border with Pakistan and pockets of southern Jammu…….The Maharaja meant to create a buffer zone of uninhabited land, approximately three miles wide, between Kashmir and Pakistan. Muslims were pushed into Pakistan or killed. Hindus were sent other way, deeper into Kashmir. India would deny that any holocaust had taken place, perhaps because it had secretly providing arms to the Dogra side.”[[15]](#footnote-15)

C.B.Duke, the British Deputy High Commissioner in Lahore, went to assess the situation in the third week of October 1947, He saw around twenty burnt out villages along the Chenab River inside the Kashmir border, and noted that many of them contained the ashes of mosque-it was the Muslims who were suffering, he concluded[[16]](#footnote-16).

The official record of United Nations Security Council shows that there was open rebellion in Punch against the Dogra and Dogra forces were involve in the massacres of Muslims. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz , published a pamphlet “The Truth about Kashmir’, which tell the picture of these attrocties**.**“Restlessness was universal. In Punch, where thousands of demobilized Muslim veterans live, an open armed rebellion broke out against the Maharaja and his administration. The rebellion spread rapidly to the adjoining area of Mirpur, where was veterans also lived in large numbers. Instead of realizing what he had done, the Maharaja egged on by Congress leaders and his new counselors, dispatched the whole of the Dogra Army to quell the disturbances, or as one colonel put it, to reconquer the area. The army perpetrated unheard of atrocities on the people of Punch. Whole villages were burned down and innocent people were massacred. Reports reaching Srinagar were not allowed to be published in the Press. 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 23 October 1947.”[[17]](#footnote-17)

The situation in Punch was very critical; Dogra Forces had started atrocities against Muslim Subjects. Muslims were sending telegrams to Governor General of Pakistan for intervention. On 20 September 1947 All Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference send a telegram to Governor General of Pakistan on the situation of Punch. This telegram is in the official record of UN Security Council meetings No.234,1948 in page 250. "Atrocious military oppression in Punch. Public being looted and shot in random. Kindly intervene." Whereas the telegram of Muslim Conference *Malut Bagh,* dated 29 September 1947 is also on same record in page No.251. "Fire opened by the Kashmir Government since 9th and 10th of  Bhadon[around middle of September]. Our Muslim public loss estimated at 500 lives. Kindly intervene immediately."

The Deputy Commissioner of Rawalpindi was coming back from Srinagar, he send a report to Commissioner Rawalpindi on October 8, 1947. In this report he describe the situation of Punch, he writes, "On my way back from Srinagar on 8 October 1947, I came across a large number of women and children crossing over from the Punch side. They related stories of inhuman treatment and terrible atrocities on the part of the Dogra troops operating in the Punch area…"

The Dogra forces were crossing the border of Pakistan.

 “It is undeniable that later in October there was communal violence all along the Pakistan-Kashmir border, from Kathua to Bhimber to Mirpur, and beyond. It is also undeniable that Kashmir State forces did cross over the border into Pakistan proper on several occasions, and on one occasion penetrated six miles deep to virtually depopulates two [Muslim] villages near Sialkot. This was not merely a Pakistan concoction, but attested to by a British officer who went to the site. The alleged body count of over 17,000 corpses may be what he was told-it is unlikely that he personally did the counting, but the fact of casualties in the thousands is beyond reasonable doubt, if the British officer's report to the UK Deputy High Commission in Lahore was accurate. Telegram from UK Dy. High Commissioner in Lahore, 6 Nov. 1947.”[[18]](#footnote-18)

The Dogra forces had started the genocide of Muslims from August 1947. Ian Stephen the Editor of Statesman Calcutta and Delhi narrated these events as, “But in the Jammu Province, things went very differently. There, unlike every other part of the State, Hindus and Sikhs slightly outnumbered Muslims; and within a period of eleven weeks starting in August, systematic savageries, similar to those already launched in East Punjab and in Patiala and  Kapurthala, practically eliminated the entire Muslim element in the population, amounting to 500,000 people. About 200,000 just disappeared, remaining untraceable, having presumably been butchered, or died from epidemics or exposure. The rest fled destitute to West Punjab …. This writer talked about it early in the following month with Mr. Gandhi, deducing that, even more than the carnage in and around Delhi itself, it explained the despairing mood of that great teacher of ahimsa during his last few weeks of life.”[[19]](#footnote-19)

Jammu massacre reports were also coming from Muslim Conference. The President Muslim Conference district Jammu had send a telegram to Minister at Karachi on October 20,1947, which is in official record of UN Security Council as meeting no 243,1948 in page 252, which tells us the picture of Jammu, "Dogra military reinforced by numberless Indian Army plain-clothers, Sikh jathas, local and from abroad. Hindus and Rajputs, armed with modern weapons, launched wholesale massacre of Muslims of Ranbirsinghpura, Akhnur, Samba and Jammu Tehsils of Jammu District. Several thousand Muslims already ruthlessly butchered. Hundreds of women abducted. All moveable property looted and hundreds of Muslim villages burnt to ashes. Hostile forces, continuing killing suburban Muslims and burning Muslim villages from all sides, now converging on Jammu City and only one mile distant from it. Village Raipur, within Jammu Cantonment area, burnt. Muslims in City already hopeless minority and altogether unarmed. Fifteen thousand Muslims of Jammu City including women, children and cream of Muslim intelligentsia surrounded from all sides, helpless and in immediate danger of being ruthlessly killed. Muslim military disarmed and brigadier Khoda Bux, Jammu Cantonment relieved by Hindu Brigadier. If immediate help not made, all would be butchered. …."

Another telegram was received to Governor General of Pakistan on October 22, 1947 from city Muslim Conference Jammu, which is also in same record of UN on page 253 "Previous telegrams unheeded. Ten thousand Muslim refugees gathered Rosin factory Miransahib. All butchered by Dogra military, after assurance from Kashmir Premier for safety. Within fifteen miles radius of Jammu City, all Muslims including women, children, officials, killed. Number of killed over 40,000. Organized killing continues. Attacks on Jammu City Muslims started. Over 350 mosques burned. Bonfires Holy Korans made. Muslim officials and officers being hunted and killed."

The Maharaja of Kashmir was planning and executing the massacre of Muslims. Alastair Lamb describes this situation as, “There was indeed a civil war raging in Punch. In Jammu at that very moment the Maharaja was engaged in a series of massacres of Muslims which some observers have considered to have been the nastiest of all in the wave of atrocities which followed immediately upon the Transfer of Power: conservative estimates suggest over 200,000 deaths here between August and December 1947. These events, naturally enough, set hordes of refugees on the move into Pakistan………There is evidence that from the outset regular troops and police in the State service joined informally and covertly, but enthusiastically, in these atrocities which, some have estimated, eventually resulted in the death of at least 200,000 Muslims and drove twice as many into exile.

By the beginning of October the Jammu & Kashmir State authorities joined openly in this anti-Muslim policy by setting out to create along the State's border with Pakistan (in the region of Gujarat and Sialkot) a depopulated zone some three miles deep. Hindus here were evacuated. Muslims were either killed or driven across into Pakistan. On a number of occasions Jammu & Kashmir State Forces actually crossed over into Pakistan and destroyed villages there (well documented acts of Jammu & Kashmir State's "aggression" on its territory which Pakistan has signally failed to exploit in its arguments concerning the rights and wrongs of the Kashmir situation). Early in October British observers saw in one such village on the Pakistan side of the border no fewer than 1,700 corpses of slaughtered Muslim men, women and children. Before 22 October, a crucial date on the Kashmir story, the Pakistan authorities reported that at least 100,000 Muslim refugees from Jammu were being cared for in the neighborhood of Sialkot. The Government in Karachi might talk about negotiations, but there was a growing body of opinion in Pakistan, particularly in the Punjab, which argued forcefully for more direct action to stop the killing.”[[20]](#footnote-20)

Thousands of refugees from Jammu and Kashmir begun to pour into Pakistan. The Muslim of Jammu and Kashmir have close relations and links with Muslim of Punjab and North West Frontier (now KPK).The Dogra Government was establishing Muzaffarabad as a defense line. The Hindu and Sikh militants, RSS, Akali Dal and Dogra Forces were heavily deployed in Muzaffarabad. The Dogra Forces were planning an ethnic genocide of Muslims in Muzaffarabad on Eid Day. This plan was leaked by a Muslim member of Dogra Forces. A delegation of local people met with leaders of KPK and requested for help.

The *Pathans,* who had for month been hearing the tales of Sikh and Hindu outrage against their Muslim brothers and sisters in Punjab, were already gearing up for what they did best: making war. Thousand of *Pathan* tribesmen were raised by former railway guard Khurshid Anwar, describe by a British diplomat as a ‘complete adventure’, who had made a fortune during war, though as no one was clear to how. The tribesmen mostly *Afridi* and *Mahsuds* from the North-West Frontier tied a bright strip of cloth around their rifles, a sign of their oaths not to return home until they had avenged the death of Muslims in Punjab.[[21]](#footnote-21)

The tribal Lashkar was entered in Muzaffarabad on 22nd October and saved the lives of local Muslims. This misconception against the tribal Lashkar was created by India to justify her brutal acts and Occupation of Kashmir. Many local people were also fighting against Dogra and Indian forces with this tribal Laskhar.

India and National Conference jointly started propaganda against the tribal Lashkar to get support of the people of valley. Sheikh Abdullah himself admitted while addressing at Mazar e Shuhdah, on 13th July 1931“all the stories of killings and looting that were spread and narrated [by NC cabals]among the Kashmir masses have on an investigation been found totally baseless and unfounded. Don’t use cuss words against them because they (Pathans) were angels we had maligned them under compulsive situation”.

Sheikh Abdullah confessed before a well known Kashmiri poet Mehjoor in Jammu who later conveyed it to the publishers of Shabnum Qayoom’s said book. Ibid

Indian leaders were interested in Kashmir; they want to get Kashmir on every cost. The landing of Indian forces at Srinagar airport on 27th October 1947 was just a completion of occupational process in the cover of a fraudulent and fake accession agreement. Various acts of Indian leadership show their interest in Kashmir. Radcliff Commission awarded Muslim majority areas of Gurdaspur to India to provide her a route for Kashmir was a conspiracy of Mountbatten, Nehru and Radcliff.

The Maharaja has changed its political officials rapidly in three months or so before accession to India. The Prime Minister Kak, who was not in favor of State’s accession with India, was changed within ten days after the visit of Gandhi. General Janak Singh was appointed as Prime Minister.

A few days after the dismissal of Kak, the Maharaja has requested for India to loan Janak Singh’s son Lieutenant Colnol Kashmir Singh Katoch, to serve as commander in Chief of Kashmir army.

Janak Singh was replaced by Mehr Chand Mahjan, the member of Radcliff Commission from Congress as Prime Minister.

National Conference leader and Congress ally Sheikh Abdullah and his party leaders were released from jail in mid September 1947, but the Muslim Conference leaders were not released.

Indian leader’s correspondences also prove their interest in Kashmir. Sardar Patel own record and official papers indicate that India has concerned with the improvement of Kashmir transport , road and communication system and that by early October it was engaging serious discussion with Srinagar over supply of military stores. The letter of Patel to Baldev Singh dated October 07, 1947, Nehru’s letter to Patel dated 27th September and many other letters clearly show the Indian involvement in Kashmir before tribal invasion.

 According to Alastar Lamb India’s direct military intervention in the State before the accession was clearly a show that Indian Government had in fact made up its mind weeks before the accession. In state of Jammu & Kashmir, Indian forces were deployed in the early October. A battalion of infantry and a battery of mountain arterly of Patiala have taken the positions in Srinagar airport at least by 17th October 1947. White papers on Jammu and Kashmir published by Government of India page 04, shows that Uri encounter of Pushtun tribesman with the first Sikh regiment of Patiala was on 26th October, whereas India shows that her troops were landed on 27th October at Srinagar airport.

The Maharaja was playing a dual role, he had signed standstill agreement with Pakistan, but he was changing his political officials on demand of Gandhi and Nehru. Moreover he had appointed commander in chief of his army Colnol Kashmir Singh Katoch a serving officer of Indian Army.

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3. Alex Von Tuzelmann*, Indian summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire* (UK: Simon &Schuster, 2007), 248. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Louis Mountbatten, *Time Only to Look Forward: Speeches of Real Admiral the Earl Mountbatten of Burma as Viceroy of India and Governor –General of the Dominion of India 1947-48* (London: Nicholas Kaye Limited, 1949), 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
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17. official records of the United Nations Security Council, (meeting no: 534, 6 march 1951, pp.3-4:) [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Prem Shankar Jha, *Kashmir, 1947: Rival Versions of History*( Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 120-121.

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21. Alex Von Tunzelemann, *Indian Summer:The Secret History of the End of an Empire*(UK: Simon & Schuster Ltd, 2008)286-287. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)