

In The Name Of Allah

The Most Compassionate, The Merciful

Second Edition

August, 2016

THE KASHMIR CASE

BY

SARDAR MUHAMMAD ABDUL QAYYUM KHAN



Printed by: NUST Press

Published by



Kashmir Policy Institute

P.O. Box 184, Rawalpindi.

Tel: 051-4852241, Cell: 0345-5689198

E-mail: kpi.regd@gmail.com

Special Assistance by

Abdul Majeed Siddiqui

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Hasnat ul Hasnain Sheikh

Price Rs. 450/-

CONTENTS

Brief biographic Sketch	07
Foreword.	16

PART I

Autobiographical Notes

1.	Childhood and Early Youth	20
2.	Service and Travels	21
3.	Experience in the Foreign lands	22
4.	Title of Mujahid-e-Awal	23
5.	Declaration of 4 th October	24
6.	Arrival of Quaid-e-Kashmir	25
7.	I Join the Muslim Conference	26
8.	A Small Contribution	27
9.	Independent Party of Main Iftikharuddin	29
10.	My Role in the Muslim Conference	30
11.	Removal and Arrest	31
12.	My Role after Release	33

PART II

The Kashmir Case

1.	Islam in Kashmir	38
2.	Shah Mir's Dynasty	38
3.	Budshah	39

4.	Chak, Mughal and Afghan Dynasties	39
5.	Sikh Raj	40
6.	The Amritsar sale Deed	40
7.	The Dogra Regime and Freedom Movement	43
8.	The Muslim Conference and the National Conference	44
9.	Quaid's Visit	45
10.	Different Plans for Indian Freedom	45
11.	The Merger of States	46
12.	The announcement of the Transfer of Power	47
13.	The Accession of the States	47
14.	The Proposal of Kashmir's Accession to Pakistan	48
15.	Sheikh Abdullah's Stand	48
16.	Restoration of the Rights of States	49
17.	Differences about the Accession of States	50
18.	Geographical Considerations and Accession	52
19.	Quaid's stand on Kashmir	53
20.	Muslim Conference Resolves for Accession	54
21.	What is the Kashmir issue	56
22.	The Geographical Location and its Significance	56
23.	The Division of the Sub-Continent and Accession of the State	57
24.	The British Role	58
25.	The Right of Self Determination	59
26.	The Foundation of Accession to Pakistan	61
27.	Unshakable Determination of Kashmiris	62
28.	Clarification of a Misunderstanding	63
29.	Independence and Dar-us-Salam	64
30.	An interesting incident	66
31.	When and how the Kashmir issue came into being	67

32.	Indo-Pak Relations - The Past, the Present, the Future	77
33.	The only Solution	106
34.	To Sever the Roots	107
35.	Simplicity or Folly	107
36.	Kashmir shall become Pakistan	108
37.	The Deception of Independence	109
38.	A Dangerous Trap	110
39.	Kasher Desh	112
40.	Pakistan and Independent Kashmir	114
41.	Kashmiris living in Pakistan	116
42.	Worse than Bangla Desh	117
43.	An Opportunity for India	118
44.	The Economic Factor	119
45.	Hanging Sword	120
46.	The War of 1947	121
47.	Tribal Volunteers	122
48.	Attack via Jammu	123
49.	Independent Kashmir, Ayub Khan and Bhutto	123
50.	The 1965 War	125
51.	The Peoples Party and Azad Kashmir	129
52.	Their Government in Azad Kashmir	130
53.	The Kashmir issue in Britain	130
54.	Peaceful Solution	131
55.	Vale of Kashmir and its Youth	132
56.	India China War	132
57.	Pakistan and Super Powers	133
58.	Obstacles	133
59.	The Enemy Plan	134
60.	Ideologica' Injity	135

61.	Islamic Identity	136
62.	Internal Unity	137
63.	Islamisation	139
64.	Azad Kashmir a Base Camp	139
65.	Our Alliances	140
66.	Kashmiris are at War	141
67.	Developmental Activities in Azad Kashmir	143
68.	Venue of War	143
69.	Our Strategy	144
70.	The New Turn	144

PART III

Random Reflections

1.	Ch. Ghulam Abbas and the Pakistan Government	147
2.	Quit Kashmir Movement	148
3.	The Circumstances of 1955	149
4.	Odd Times of 1956	156
5.	All Parties Conference	170
6.	Ayub Khan and the Muslim Conference	171
7.	Defence Pacts of Pakistan	173
8.	Political Stability in Pakistan	174

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIC SKETCH
OF
SARDAR MOHAMMAD ABDUL QAYYUM KHAN
PRIME MINISTER OF AZAD KASHMIR

Birth and Youth

Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, the fourth Prime Minister of the Azad Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, who has also been President of the State of Jammu and Kashmir four times, was born in Village Ghaziabad, situated in District Bagh of the Azad Jammu & Kashmir State on April 4, 1924 in a middle class family inheriting strong religious and military traditions. He thus inherited both military acumen and deep religious affiliations which have been manifest in, and have rather dominated his entire career.

The birth place of Sardar Mahammad Abdul Qayyum Khan has acquired the popular name of Ghaziabad in recognition of the services which he and his colleagues of Islam rendered in the historic Jihad started by himself in 1947-48 which ultimately culminated in the over throw of the hundred-year-old well-entrenched Hindu-Dogra autocratic rule in Jammu and Kashmir State. This Muslim majority State had continued to groan under the ruthless Dogra rulers, a Hindu minority family. Finally their doom came about in the 1947-48 Jihad which Sarder Qayyum had the honour to initiate while in his full

bloom, at the age of 23. As an initiator of this Jihad Sardar Qayyum has since been popularly acknowledged as 'Mujahid-e-Awwal' (First Crusader).

Public Life

After completing formal education at High School Poonch, the youthful Sardar was prompted by his inner urge to display his capabilities in an adventurous career. The urge was motivated by his early days of military discipline that he had acquainted himself with in the company of his father who was serving the British-Indian army as an Indian Officer.

He joined the Army during the Second World War which took him to the Middle East where he witnessed hot theatres as well as Jewish intrigues against Palestine and adjoining Muslim States and the ways and means to corrupt and conquer the Muslim society through its youth. As a war veteran he returned to yet more adventurous life in his native State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1946.

The tyranny and oppression let loose all around in the State by the Dogra rulers made this young man restless and uneasy. Added to it was the sacred pledge he had made at Qibla-e-Awal (Al-Quds) to Almighty Allah to fight out the oppressive rule of the Dogra Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir State. Both these promptings finally brought him to the public platform and in confrontation with the 100-year-old despotic rule.

In February 1947, while the historic partition of the sub-continent drew nearer, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir also escalated very fast. The Hindu-British conspiracy to render the newly-born Muslim State of Pakistan as unviable was also touching its climax. The last of

their cards was the diabolic intrigue to detach the Jammu and Kashmir State from its natural boundaries and hand it over to India. It was in this tense situation that this young man was inspired to act so as to thwart this dangerous plan. He started holding public meetings attempting at removing the hundred-year-old fear from the minds of the people. It was on his prompting that the people refused to pay the excessive taxes to the government and this way it brought the people and the Hindu government mentally at war with each other. This was recorded by the Dogra rulers in official records as an act of sedition by Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. The administration launched a big hunt for his arrest offering high cash rewards but the indomitable spirit of determined resistance kept him afire while pursuing his mission of final liberation of the Jammu and Kashmir State from the Dogra clutches.

His clandestine campaign started bearing fruit in making the people of Jammu and Kashmir pluck courage (they were otherwise so terrified that no one dared utter a word against their ruler, what to speak of open revolt).

Fateful Day

The simple statement that on August 23, 1947 Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan launched the momentous movement which ultimately resulted in thwarting the conspiracy to undo Pakistan etc does not fully convey its significance and importance in totality. It, therefore, needs to be explained in its proper perspective and context. That was the time when an act like that was almost impossible rather unintelligible. There was no organisation, there was no outside support of whatever kind and the internal resources like the country-made fire-

arms etc had also been confiscated by the Hindu rulers, leaving the Muslim masses completely at the mercy of the non-Muslim troops which were fully equipped by current standards. That, in a nutshell, was the situation in which this young man picked up courage and came out publicly with the first historic proclamation in a meeting held on 23rd August, 1947 at a strategic mountain-top known as 'Neela Butt' in Poonch District. The proclamation demanded from the Hindu ruler to embrace Islam and accede to Pakistan failing which the people would have the right to wage Jihad against the ruler.

The second important feature of this action is that this Jihad was started with the arms and ammunition captured from a State Army contingent that had been ambushed by the Mujahideen. Not only that but in fact most of the arms and other logistics were all captured from the enemy and the Mujahideen depended entirely on that source. No other source was even available at that time. That is a unique feature that distinguishes this movement of Jihad from many others.

The other important aspect of this war of liberation was that it was not the kind of fight which is generally called war but it was characterised by the letter and spirit of Jihad as embodied in the scriptures and in the conduct of the disciples of the Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him). It is this unique feature which places this movement, under the command of this gentleman Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, on a much higher pedestal compared to all other contemporary movements. As a result of this Jihad an area of 32,000 square miles was liberated by the Mujahideen almost in the same manner and under similar conditions. This is also a unique accomplishment under the circumstances and history has yet to produce another example like that. It was this Jihad that remained the

people of the first century Hijra Jihad Movement fourteen hundred years ago.

An Australian born military observer of the United Nations Organisation posted to observe the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir in 1949 acknowledges in his book titled 'Danger in Kashmir' the initiation of rebellion by Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan.

Political Front

Immediately after the fateful cease-fire on 1st January 1949, he resigned from active command and joined the 'All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference' the party which literally represented the entire Muslim community of the Jammu and Kashmir State. He was raised to the Central Executive and enjoyed the confidence of the veteran leader, late Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and other senior members of the party. In the year 1952, he was nominated by the party as Minister in the then Azad Jammu and Kashmir cabinet. Even though he was a Minister, yet his deep attachment and devotion to the cause of the liberation of the rest of Jammu and Kashmir State and its accession to Pakistan remained the upper-most objective of his career.

After a few months of his ministership he was arrested on the charge of planning to violate the cease-fire line which at that time was held sacrosanct. He remained in detention for one and a half year and was later exonerated of the charges and released in the year 1954.

The year 1954-55, he spent in organising the party and towards the end of 1955, or early in 1956, he was elected as President of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. Soon after that he was elected by the party high command as President of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir government. Again his unflinching

determination to complete the struggle of emancipation of the Muslims from Hindu rule placed him at variance with the then authorities, thus causing his removal from Presidentship. In the year 1958 the famous movement known as the Kashmir Liberation Movement (KLF) was launched by the party. During that, alongwith the leader of the party Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and many other prominent workers, Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was again arrested and remained in prison for about four months.

He was again elected as President of the party in the year 1961

Election Contests

After the demise of the leader of the party, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, in the year 1967, he was acknowledged as his successor and continued to head the party till the end of 1970 when general elections were held in Azad Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of adult franchise under the presidential system. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan contested the election as party nominee and won by a thumping majority. He remained in the saddle as President for four and a half years. It was during this tenure that he was able to bring about a number of basic changes in the system and vast improvements in the already existing modalities. During this tenure he was also able to introduce Islamic Sharia and Azad Jammu and Kashmir became the first non-Arab territory to have Islamic Sharia. It was again during his tenure that the Qadianis were declared to be non-Muslims by the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly. This paved the way for similar action in the rest of the country - Pakistan. Arabic was also

made compulsory in the educational institutions for the first time anywhere in a non-Arab territory.

This again brought him into a clash with the central authorities and he had to leave the office of President in 1975. He was again arrested by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto's government in 1975 and remained behind bars for a period of one and a half year. It was during this imprisonment that he was required to mediate between the then government headed by Mr. Z. A. Bhutto and the combined opposition known as the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). He was hailed for his successful mediation and for bringing the Pakistan government and the opposition to the table of dialogue during a great political crisis. Very high tributes were paid to Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan for his political skill to resolve that impasse both by the national and the international press.

Again in the year 1982, he was arrested and remained in prison for about one and a half year on the charges of striving to restore democracy both in Pakistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir during the Martial Law period. In 1985 general elections were held on the parliamentary pattern and he was, for the third time, elected as the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. While he continued to be the patron-leader of the party, he of his own choice, refrained from occupying the office of chief executive. Instead, he nominated another young man in the party for the high office of Prime Minister. Heavy public pressure compelled him to assume the Prime Ministership of Azad Kashmir in August 1991.

Membership of Rabita

In 1975, while he was under detention, his nomination to the Constituent Council of the Rabita Al-Alam Al Islami, was finally approved by late Malik Faisal, the then King of Saudi Arabia. Since then he continues to be on the Council. In the Rabita, he has endeavoured hard to make his contribution and justify his membership. He has successfully managed to have the Kashmir issue debated in the 'Rabita' from time to time. Resolutions have been passed demanding plebiscite for a final settlement of the issue. He has also, from time to time, addressed the Council on the miserable plight of Muslims in India under Hindu rule and has evinced interest in various other matters pertaining to the Muslim problems all over the world.

Travels

He is a widely travelled person. He has often been to European and Middle Eastern countries. He is one of the strongest of advocates of the cause of accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to Pakistan. This cause had been built on the foundations of a long and arduous struggle of the Kashmiris stretching over a period of almost half a century including the famous Jihad waged during 1947-48. He is also a very strong advocate of the unity of the Muslim Ummah and has availed himself of every opportunity that came his way to promote that big cause. At the same time, he is a strong exponent of peaceful religious co-existence in the world.

Books.

He has numerous published articles of international interest to his credit besides some other publications. His recent publications ‘Kashmir Banega Pakistan’ (Kashmir to become Pakistan) and “The Kashmir Case” are the most popular books considered to contain most convincing justifications for accession of Kashmir to Pakistan and also deal with the most difficult problem of humanity i.e. Islamisation of the socio-economic structure.

The range of his intellectual pursuits includes reading the Quran, Hadith, books of Islamic Fiqah (Jurisprudence) and movements of Islamic nature in the world.

His political philosophy is based on the principle of politics with a goal, objective and purpose. He does not believe in politics for politicking alone. He is a firm and uncompromising believer in and rather dedicated to Islamic politics in its pristine complexion and not merely a conventional one.

SARDAR ATTIQUE AHMAD KHAN

FOREWORD

This treatise is a brief personal and political record of the author carrying his comprehensive views on the subject as well. The book sheds light on the back-ground of the Kashmir dispute and successfully unveils the conspiracies of foreigners and the nationals. The author has succinctly mirrored the reflexes of the intricacies of the Kashmir case. It is also an implied rebuke and criticism of the conspiracies and expediencies of some of his contemporaries whose leanings and motives have cast a blur upon the noble cause of the freedom fighters.

The author is a well-known Kashmiri leader and freedom fighter. He is known as the Mujahid-e-Awwal (The First Freedom Fighter). Under his dynamic, wise and valorous command a large area of Poonch was liberated from the tenacious and callous clutches of the Dogra regime. He has written several books and booklets in Urdu and English explicitly discussing the Kashmir Case. He is also the President of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. He has widely toured the different parts of the world and has presented the case of Kashmir on international forums. His noble, intellectual and mystical personality is the hub and core of gravitation for his devotees who consider him a saint and sage of the time.

Throughout his life he has been crusading for the liberation of Kashmir from the savage Indian clutches. He is a staunch champion of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan and is a vocal pioneer of the Pakistan ideology. For this reason the people of Pakistan and Kashmir highly

respect him. His national services deserve to be praised and have a proper place in the hagiology of Sufism and politics. The students and scholars of the culture, history and case of Kashmir keep on drinking from the fresh and pure fount of his practical and ideological flamboyance. For his radical and revolutionary views and deeds, he had been jailed many a times but like an unyielding rock he courageously stood before the tempestuous fluxes of all times and climes. He has never compromised on principles. His main slogan is 'Kashmir shall become Pakistan.' He demands free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir under UNO resolutions.

In this treatise, the readers would enjoy his facile and fragile idiom saturated with the clarity of thought and purpose. He has no confusion about his ideology. He is crystal clear in his approach and is in rapport with the complete merger of Kashmir into Pakistan as the former is the jugular vein of the latter. His rapturous personality has made him like a beacon of faith and deed. A number of books are required to cover the salient features and aspects of his prodigious personality.

The trauma that has beset the sub-continent spotlights the arrant and malicious depravity and machiavellian policy of the Indians. They with their cold-blooded atrocity are trying to subjugate a portion of the earth that Allah bestowed as a realm of paradise to earth. This whole charade of bifurcated and biased propaganda is trying to maul the just right of Pakistan to the sovereignty of Kashmir. Her long last bride she will don her garments of nuptial and join the State of Pakistan who shall remain hers till naught shall be. Pakistan is her veil which she will not turn into a shroud because the long lost orphan Kashmir shall gain back her guardian and her grace well apace

under the green and white flag of Pakistan and the whole world will rejoice and open the portals of peace and brotherhood that have been closed for so long to usher in a new and enervated age of Muslim peace which piece by piece each mujahid of Kashmir shall with the colour of his blood bestow as a banner of right and reason. Two things absent in the world and our long last champion of goodness, grace and perseverance shall show her emancipated visage to the world.

The desire of gaining their rights through a proper channel has been refused to the Kashmiri populace so long as mentioned in the book of the Prime Minister, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan which gets a new verve today with the reinforced zeal of the Kashmiris to attain their right of self-determination. In his recently published English book "In search of freedom" he lays bare the case of Kashmir. The Indian atrocities inflicted upon these armless and innocent Kashmiris invite the attention of the whole world to intervene. If the Indian excesses are not abated the political volcano of Kashmir will erupt and destroy the holy fabric of world peace.

MAQSOOD JAFRI

(1)

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YOUTH

My life and experiences prior to my starting the Jihad of independence are varied and are spread over many years. A lot of time is required to carry out a detailed discussion over them. It would be more appropriate if the details of that period are ascertained from the companions of my age group. They would be remembering many more things. Perhaps I may be able to narrate a few of them which I can recall. My father was serving in the Army and I spent my childhood with him. Often I had to live with him in the area now known as Azad Kashmir. Besides, I got an opportunity to live at Peshawar, Poona, Sikandarabad and Hyderabad (Deccan). I still vividly remember that it was my father who first of all taught me the script of the Holy Quran at home. Some other tutors also taught me the elementary things afterwards. I heard from my mother and other people in the family that at the age of six, when I was admitted to school, I had gone through the first reading of the Holy Quran. I was admitted to the school rather late because I was away from home with my father. With the benignity of the Quran and God's mercy the delay and deficiency that I was facing in education was covered. After I took my seventh class examination at Sikandarabad, in Deccan, my father took me to the Poonch city and introduced me to a very revered Headmaster, Malik Fateh Muhammad Khan, and requested him to admit me to class eight but he refused on the ground that I did not possess the certificate of having qualified the seventh class. I besought him to take my test, and if I passed I may be admitted to the class for which I was deemed eligible. He was much pleased when he heard this and asked me to come to him again. When I reached there the next time the students of

class nine were undergoing a test. I do not exactly remember what sort of test that was. Probably that was the last or the annual examination. I was put through I qualified the written test and was admitted to the tenth class with the other students.

This is how the loss of my two years was compensated. I was myself quite fond of studies but during my stay with my father, the quest for knowledge was spurred due to my meeting with my father's senior officers including the senior British officers.

SERVICE AND TRAVELS

My father wanted me to join the Army, where heavy enlistments were being made because of the Second World War. I got enlisted. Being underage I was told to wait for another two or three years to become eligible for commission. Hence for a short period my zeal for education remained suspended. In the Army there was an engineer's unit. There were Railway Engineers. I joined that unit and in that connection soon I had to go abroad. It was before the partition of the Sub-Continent when the whole of India was one country. First of all our unit was stationed in Sudan. From there we moved on to Abbayssinia, Khartoum and Palestine and at the end of the war we returned home.

There were several remarkable events during my school life and the subsequent three years period I spent in the Army. I have touched these matters cursorily and briefly. Afterwards, because of the domestic problems, I got myself released from the Army and came back home. We started the Kashmir movement. Thus a chapter of life came to an end and a new vista of struggle was opened.

EXPERIENCE IN THE FOREIGN LANDS

The part of life I spent abroad has been quite valuable and I still feel its impact. On reflection today I realize those influences deeply. Mostly one does not feel the significance of the experience at the time he undergoes the vital process. For example, from the side of my father and mother my family was devoutly religious and some great saints of the time used to visit us and stay with us. Such people are very rare nowadays. They left great impressions on me. At a very young age when usually children have no perception of religious deeds I was fond of rigorous and devout prayers. I used to recite religious incantations for my spiritual elevation and uplift. The tussle continued between the life spent in the foreign schools and the life spent out of the schools. Sometimes this arduous practice of prayers and incantations continued and sometimes it stopped and other interests prevailed. Once I was engrossed so much in the dominion of doubt that I became sceptic about the existence of God but even in that period by the grace of God, my devoutness and devotion with the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and Hazrat Ghous-al-Azam never wavered.

This psychological condition resulted from lack of external guidance and my unsuitable company. Obviously those environments could produce nothing but unhealthy influences. But still I realize that it was simply because of Allah's mercy that my fundamental faith saved me from disaster. Not only that but a number of my companions were reformed by me. This was the period I spent in Palestine, and at other places. At that time various freedom movements had started in those regions. I got an opportunity to establish links with the youth of those movements because of my own dynamic aspirations and zealous nature. Unconsciously my affiliations started deepening and

strengthening with them. Regarding the problem of Israel, I had strong ties and affinities with Palestinian activists. What they did, how they were trained, how they manufactured arms and how they used them, I learnt a lot about such matters due to my close association with them. They had great faith and trust in me and never kept any secret from me. I plainly told them their follies and weaknesses and advised them to mend their ways and correct their policies lest they should be turned out of their homes and hearths. I had also good relations with the Palestinian Christians. We had made some preparations to counter the conspiracies of the Zionists who were successfully trying to corrupt the Palestinian youth. During my stay abroad I got an opportunity to study military affairs. My ideas widened and I got some experience. My quest for knowledge and my affinity with books and the people helped me in my studies. The mindedness which I possess today is the result of my stay abroad.

TITLE OF MUJAHID-e-AWWAL

I need not define the word Mujahid, as from the Islamic angle it is a self-evident and self-explanatory term. The people who fight for Allah or fight for the uplift of Islam or fight with the non-Muslims in self-defence are known as Mujahids.

People call me Mujahid-e-Awwal, though I have never asked them to give me this epithet. Allah Almighty bestowed upon me this privilege to initiate an armed struggle against the Dogra Raj in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Whether you call it a conspiracy, rebellion or a movement, it was I who started it. At that time there was no concept of armed revolt in the whole of United India, though various political movements were in full swing. The people used to talk of freedom in political terms and the movements buttressed by the

National Conference and the Muslim Conference were also political in nature and spirit but I had the privilege to chalk out a plan of armed struggle against the Dogra ruler. By the clemency of Allah, to some extent it succeeded as well. For this reason they started calling me Mujahid-e-Awwal (the first crusader).

In my case it is significant that it was I who raised the clarion call for the crusade and again by the grace of Allah it was my privilege to fire the first bullet against the Dogra Army. Another man, the late Maulana Muhammad Bakhsh, also opened fire at a place called Hudda Bari, thinking that some Dogra soldier was stealthily creeping into our camp, but later it was found out that one of his own relatives was erroneously injured in the darkness. Our first attack on the enemy was the night assault we made upon the Indian troops who were marching towards Dhirkot. Only I had fired on that occasion, since none else could get a chance except me. From this angle the first bullet against the Dogra Army was certainly fired by me.

DECLARATION OF 4TH OCTOBER

As a matter of fact on the 4th October, 1947, there was great intensity in the war. At that time we were quite close to Poonch city. I was not much interested to know about the people sitting at Rawalpindi, who were not participating in jihad. Afterwards when on the 24th of October the formation of the A.J.K. government was declared, undertones of a so called prior declaration were also being mentioned by some people. The three persons Anwar Shah, Ghulam Nabi Gilkar and Khursheed Anwar were known figures in the political circles of Rawalpindi. Gilkar temporarily resided in Rawalpindi. He

was the Khalifa of the Qadyanis and had since long been dreaming of making Kashmir a Qadyani State. He grabbed the opportunity and got Mr. Gilkar declared as President. Events seem to be so mixed up that anything could be equally false or true. Another candidate Anwar Shah of Chamankot was one of our fiery workers. When informed about the opportunity he also might have offered himself. How could he be left out? Similarly, Khursheed Anwar had made preparations for the coronation and had acquired a queen as well, since he managed to marry in those very days. All of them were the claimants for the high office and every one desired to march from Muzaffarabad to Srinagar. They all had claims which I do not consider genuine. Neither I had any first hand knowledge about them nor had I taken any interest in such matters. I casually heard about these things on the battle front. I only used to go to Murree for a short while and that too in connection with our Jihad efforts.

ARRIVAL OF QUAID-e-KASHMIR

I was commanding Mujahids and fighting the Indians when Ch. Sahib arrived in Pakistan. He came to Pakistan in early 1948.

I do not correctly remember whether I had the first meeting with him at Bagh, or at Rawalpindi. I only remember that I met him in a dinner at Dheri Hassan Abad, Rawalpindi, at the residence of a Muslim Leaguer. Most probably that was the first time that I met him.

Before that, at some other place in Rawalpindi, I had a formal introduction with him along with some other people but when I met him it did not seem to me that it was my first meeting with him. We appeared to have been together for decades. However, the meeting in

Rawalpindi was more than a formal occasion and there was something intimate about it.

I distinctly remember his visit to Bagh, as at that time I was the Base Commander there. I made him stay at Headquarters at Bagh. Some people wanted to meet him collectively and others liked to have an exclusive meeting with him. Being a man of open nature Chaudhary Sahib was accustomed to meet people in public gatherings. Realizing that if something was not done the people would be disappointed, I myself stood at the door and made the people meet him individually as well as in smaller groups. After an hour or so he called me in, and asked what I was doing there. I replied that I was arranging meetings of the visitors with him. He said that he was not used to such meetings, rather he preferred to meet people in public gatherings and abhorred formalities. In a lighter mood I told him that he was in a military camp and that he would have to conform to the army discipline. He very kindly accepted my request and kept sitting there for a couple of hours, and when the eager visitors had seen him I humbly said, "Now, Sir, you are free to have open meetings with them and chat with them as you like."

I JOIN THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE

The narration of the events of our crusade needs, much time and calibration. Some areas got liberated and I kept fighting till 1st January 1949. The cease-fire took place on that date. Within a couple of days I decided to relinquish the leadership of the armed forces because the matter seemed to prolong. It appeared that now it would be solved through political negotiations. Its military solution did not look promising, at least for the time being. Some people tried to continue

the fight, but I was against it. Both my insight into the matter and the informed people I had contact with, told me that if we continued the armed struggle we would be prone to serious internal dis-agreements which could be extremely dangerous for the nascent State of Pakistan. Instead of conquering Kashmir we might even lose Pakistan. For this reason I gave up the Army command and joined the Muslim Conference. After this I engaged myself in political activities which are well known to every one.

A SMALL CONTRIBUTION

The cease-fire took place in 1949 following the Security Council. In its aftermath, while some people were still busy in jihad, some others were not interested in the crusade and they started hectic political activities in Rawalpindi. It seemed as if the heavens would fall down and as if the end of the world had come. A few workers who, after bearing numerous atrocities arrived from Kashmir valley, were very emotional and the situation was extremely fluid. They were driven out due to their love for Pakistan. They came in large numbers and were very active in the political field. These people created such a situation in the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs that a tussle arose between Sardar Ibrahim Khan and the Quaid-e-Millat Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas Khan. In this clash a group which supported Sardar Ibrahim Khan and opposed Chaudhry Sahib was quite active and restless. They created great embarrassment for us. They invaded the Muslim Conference office and lost no opportunity in causing hardships for the inmates. The office worked under police protection. A few days after joining the Muslim Conference I asked Chaudhry Sahib to hand me over the charge of the office. Until then Sardar Yar Mohammad was the office incharge, who later became a judge of the AJK High Court.

He belonged to the Indian occupied Kashmir and was a very sincere worker of the Muslim Conference. He was also the Joint Secretary of the party. I requested Choudhry sahib to make me incharge and let me manage to remove the police guard from the party office and restore its normal and proper working. I explained to him that it was insulting for us that our office was being run under police protection in Pakistan and especially in the Punjab. I told him that it did not suit us. He asked me how I would manage all that, to which I replied that he should better give me the charge of the office and leave the rest to me. He called Mr. Yar Mohammad Khan and asked him to go on leave for a fortnight and asked me to assume charge in the capacity of Joint Secretary of the Muslim Conference. I took over. A cantankerous and head-strong group had occupied the office. First of all I called the police incharge on duty and asked him to withdraw as there was no need for them to stay on. He said that they were on guard duty and would not withdraw. I said, "You people can go from here, you are not required any more". He said, "No, you talk to the Inspector General Police or DIG in this regard". I told him that I would not talk to anyone. It was our party office and since they were no more required they better leave us. Ultimately he withdrew. When they went away I summoned the offenders. I asked them that the ones who wanted to do politics be on one side and the ones who intended to keep on their office services be on the other. Some of them opted for politics. I asked those preferring politics to go out of the office. The ones who wanted service remained there. In this way I organized the office affairs. What happened out of the office is a lengthy tale. I remained Joint Secretary of the party for a few days and managed the office matters. When Sardar Yar Mohammad re-joined, my assignment automatically came to an end. I was no more a Joint Secretary.

INDEPENDENT PARTY OF MIAN

IFTIKHARUDDIN

It is not true that I joined a party of the Left. My relations with Mian Sahib started developing in early 1947 when the movement of freedom was in its initial stage. Most probably he had gone to Srinagar. He had relations with the leaders of both the Congress and the Muslim League. Till the declaration of the Azad Government on the 24th October my relations with him remained cordial. I was drawn towards him for my age and for my revolutionary temperament, and probably this fact created the misunderstanding, as if I had leanings towards the Left. I had good relations with some of the Leftists who were quite known for their courage and steadfastness. Some of them resided in the country and some were settled abroad. Because of my personal relations with them, some people might have thought that I had joined their party. I had formed a party of my own with the same name here in Azad Kashmir. It was a time when we were again preparing to cross the cease-fire line to resume our war of liberation. The conspiracy of Genreal Akber Khan was a link in the same chain. I had not formed the Independent Party because of my inclinations towards Leftists but it was formed as the Muslim Conference and was functioning on a traditional and orthodox pattern and was not prepared to take any risk. I had personally gone to Abbottabad and had told Quaid-e-Millat Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas that we wanted to form a party. I made it clear to Chaudhry Sahib that in case we succeeded in our efforts it would be the victory of the Muslim Conference. The late Chaudhry Sahib did not agree with my point of view because he thought he was personally responsible for the consequences. He thought it was too dangerous a venture. He further told me that if I were resolved to do what I liked, but he was not a

party to it. In order to avert the responsibility we had to form a new party. We could never imagine to abandon the Muslim Conference and establish another party. This incident might have created the misunderstanding that I had joined the Leftist party of Mian Iftikharuddin. The facts, however, tell a different story. It was the confusion at that time that had given rise to the mistaken impression about me.

MY ROLE IN THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE

Actually the conspiracies to throw away Chaudhry Sahib from the political scene started on January 1, 1949. He was such a strong personality that if he had not been removed from the scene it was impossible to do away with the Kashmir Freedom Movement. With the demise of the Quaid-e-Azam, the bureaucracy of Pakistan got hold of the national affairs. Some of the bureaucrats thought that India would keep her promise of holding the plebiscite in Kashmir. Besides there were the defeatists too, who thought that we were hardly any match for India, and therefore after what had happened we were to rest content with it. For this purpose they deemed it necessary to cast him out of the way. The first step taken by the Kashmir Ministry against Chaudhry Sahib was to create a rift between him and Sardar Ibrahim Khan. A conspiracy was hatched to create a clash between them. Deeply disheartened on such a plight, Chaudhry Sahib announced his withdrawal from politics. But then, in 1953, the circumstances changed and Chaudhry Sahib was again brought back. For this purpose a Steering Committee was formed. I was its member. I tried my best to set the matter right and unite the Muslim Conference, which had been divided into different rival camps. By the Grace of Allah, we eventually succeeded in restoring its original prestige. We strove hard

to achieve this end. At that time it had declined to the extent that we could not even hold a public meeting in Rawalpindi. We could not even call a business meeting, or do anything from its platform. There was great unrest in Poonch and the whole of Azad Kashmir was in the grip of crisis. There is no hesitancy in claiming, that by the Grace of Allah, I played a vital role in its restoration and rehabilitation every where and the role of Sardar Fateh Mohammad Khan, father of Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, was very distinct and effective. In fact, we both were together and frequently consulted each other. He was, then, in the best of his health and spirits. He was one of the sincerest companions of Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas. Many people became the victims of expediency, but like me, he never suffered with the affliction. In the larger interest of our party we kept on working day and night and through that Steering Committee, to a great extent, we succeeded in re-organizing and rejuvenating our party.

REMOVAL AND ARREST

In 1952, during the reign of Col. Sher Ahmed Khan, I was the Minister incharge of Forests. At that time we wanted to activate war again, and we wanted it to be taken up by the Kashmiris themselves. This plan was, of course, linked with Gen. Akbar Khan's conspiracy, in which I had to play a part. The Government of Pakistan deliberately abstained from exposing me which was a matter of sheer expediency. They tried to arrest me but somehow it could not materialize, and in the meantime I was appointed Minister in the Azad Kashmir cabinet. During this crisis a government was formed and as a compromise candidate Col. Sher Ahmed Khan was brought into the limelight. Actually the tragedy was that we did not have sufficient time for our preparations. Our ideas were compatible with some other

people and this plan had an overall consensus, yet the details could not be kept secret. There was such excitement and haste that the government of Pakistan came to know about our designs and plans. The government pressurized me to resign to which I did not yield. When the tension increased, the government asked Chaudhry Sahib to get a resignation from me. He sent Mr. Sanaullah Shamim to me. I told him that if it was an order by Chaudhry Sahib I was ready to resign. They all were amazed at my response. They never thought that I would do so.

The very same night I left Muzaffarabad to avoid any unpleasant situation. My companions were valorous and devoted persons. I was apprehensive that due to the stubborn attitude of the government agencies, an exchange of bullets might result and a great loss might ensue. At night I proceeded on Chinari road and made a diversion from Saran. As the information about our escape spread all over, the police surrounded us on the way. Now we had only two options. Either we could face an exchange of fire or we had to surrender before the police and give ourselves in their custody. The poor policemen were quite pallid, tired and frightened. We could overcome them but I abstained from firing lest the blood of any Muslim should be shed by us. Our companion Maulvi Mohammad Buksh was a prodigious and valiant person. He said, "I pronounce the decree that it is a crusade and we must fight". I said, "No it is not a crusade. We will not fire, rather we will hand over our arms to them". Those poor souls were so tired that all of them went to a sound sleep when we stopped for the night, notwithstanding the apprehension that we were there and could get our arms back even at a very slight change of intention. Someone asked me to collect their arms as they were asleep and silently slip away. We could easily do

arms as they were asleep and silently slip away. We could easily do that but as we did not want bloodshed amongst ourselves I paid no heed to the suggestion. This is the way I got arrested. I was incarcerated with my companions at a place called Renwar Sharif, a few miles away from Muzaffarabad.

MY ROLE AFTER RELEASE

The fact is that, I neither remember all events datewise nor is every detail preserved in my mind. In Poonch, during 1955 there was a lot of disturbance and the affairs had become extremely muddled politically. Even prior to this, the period between 1952 to 1954 was also of great distress, deprivation and violence. Sardar Ibrahim Khan was busy stirring up agitation during those years throughout Azad Kashmir. Its major effect was in Poonch and people there were poised for rebellion. In such a critical situation Col. Sher Ahmed could not play an effective role to cool down the disturbed areas. I made frequent tours of Poonch and other parts of Azad Kashmir. I tried to calm the people and to make them understand not to create such an outrageous situation but unfortunately the situation deteriorated and an armed clash took place. Many were injured and many were imprisoned. It needs a separate and detailed discourse to explain the circumstances and events of 1955. My major role in that period was to refrain people from committing such a fatal blunder and I did my best to pacify the local inhabitants. Though I did not completely succeed in my mission in certain areas I got the desired results. By and large I had only partial success in my efforts. Unfortunately the Punjab Police was summoned in Azad Kashmir in 1955, and what they did here is, indeed, a bad spot on our history. Primarily, the personal influence of Quaid-e-Millat Ch. Ghulam Abbas and to some extent my efforts,

We controlled the situation, mitigated the bitterness and stopped the government of Pakistan from taking any harsh measures. As a matter of fact, the government of Pakistan had been misled and was told that the situation in Poonch was created by our enemies across the cease-fire line, which was absolutely false and baseless. They were being given reports which had nothing to do with the facts. Actually the unhealthy political activities of Sardar Ibrahim Khan had created such a disastrous situation in the whole of Poonch. In 1956, when again I became the President, I got an opportunity to remove the bitterness and lessen the hardships. The people who were in detention were in a very bad condition. I released them from jail. I toured all the affected areas. There were the people whose houses had been razed or burnt. I managed to give them some nominal help and tried to appease their anger. I shared their worries. I also assured the government of Pakistan that there was absolutely no enemy hand in the said events and all was the outcome of the local ill-conceived politics. That was how I set the things right. In the meantime I toured the affected areas including Palandari. I intended to visit the village Baral, which was the venue of the actual fight between the Army and the people. It was considered as a fortress or a base camp for those who picked the quarrel. The Ministry of Kashmir Affairs insisted that I should not visit Baral. I was told that the people could arrest me and the government would have to undertake a big military operation to get me released. The Ministry continuously kept on telling me not to visit that area, but I have an unshakable faith in my people and have absolutely no misgivings about them. I have never lost my trust in them. Though at that time those people were not favourably inclined towards me, rather they were opposed to me, yet it never occurred to me that they would harm me or they would commit any irrational

action. One night I invited the representatives of Baral and its suburbs, most of whom belonged to the Sudhan tribe. In an exclusive closed-door meeting I bluntly asked them if they wanted to fight, against Pakistan. If it were so let us all unitedly fight, but first let me know the reasons as to why we should fight against Pakistan. I asked them to tell me what they wanted. I told them that I was talking to them as a brother and not as the President of the Azad Kashmir government. My words had the desired effect and all of them told me that they had no quarrel with Pakistan and none desired to fight against Pakistan. They told me that in 1947, in the process of liberating their area, their kith and kin had laid down their lives. How could they imagine to deflect or secede. They had no complaint against Pakistan at all. Some people from Rawalakot were also present in the meeting. Somebody got up and bitterly said that Sardar Ibrahim's representatives from Rawalakot had misguided the people by telling them that the government of the Sudhans was dislodged from power and that it was a good cause to fight for the right of the Sudhans. They told me that that they had a misconception and that that they had no enmity with Pakistan. I tried to dispel all their misgivings and asked them to remain peaceful. The next day I again visited the place. Again the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs tried to dissuade me but I visited the people despite that and the people heartily welcomed me on my arrival. They decorated the routes. By the grace of Allah the fire of anguish and agony was extinguished and the misgivings were soon removed. I restored their old equation with Pakistan.

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THE KASHMIR CASE

WHAT IS KASHMIR CASE ?

ITS HISTORICAL DETAILS CAN BE

PRESENTED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER :

ISLAM IN KASHMIR AND THE BEGINNING OF

MUSLIM RULE

In 1319 A.D. a Changezi chieftain Zulfqader Khan attacked Kashmir. The ruler Raja Sehdev (1300-1319) became a fugitive in that turmoil and Rainchan, a servant of the Raja, took advantage of the situation and established his rule in Kashmir. He was a Buddhist from Laddakh. Shortly after coronation he embraced Islam at the hands of Dervish Syed Sharafuddeen Bulbul Shah. He ruled with the title of Sultan Sadruddeen. He was the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.

SHAH MIR'S DYNASTY

In 1339 Shah Mir became the ruler and he adopted the title of Sultan Shamas-ud-din. He laid down the foundation of the Shah Miri dynasty. He belonged to Swat and was inhabiting Kashmir as a State employee since the epoch of Raja Sehdev. The period of Islamic bliss and blessings started when Sultan Shamas-ud-Din (1339-1342) was enthroned. Hazrat Amir-i-Kabir Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, a famous Iranian saint, came to Kashmir during the rule of Sultan Shams -ud-din Shah Miri (1345-1373) for the propagation of Islam. With his advent the tussle between Hinduism and Islam started in Kashmir.

The Brahmins severely resisted the spread of Islamic teachings but all their efforts proved in vain. The Islamic tenets and

moral values got absorbed deeply in the culture of Kashmir. As such the foundations of a great religious and cultural revolution were laid down here. The completion of that great Islamic revolution took place at the hands of his son Syed Mir Mohammad Hamadani.

SYED ZAINUL ABEDEEN BUDSHAH

From 1420 A.D. Sultan Zainul Abedeen Bydshah ruled over Kashmir. His reign is the golden period of Kashmir but after his death, due to the inability of his successors, the Shah Miri dynasty rapidly declined. Consequently, in 1541 A.D. Mirza Haidar Daughlat, a general of Humayun, conquered Kashmir and ruled over it for ten years. He died in a battle with the Chaks.

CHAK, MUGHAL AND AFGHAN DYNASTIES

Langar Chak, the great grandfather of the Chak family came to Kashmir from Gilgit and joined the service of Raja Sehdev. During the rule of the Shahmiri dynasty his progeny attained some very high posts and positions and because of their treasons and conspiracies the Shahmiri family was dethroned. The Chaks came to power in 1555 A.D. and they ruled Kashmir for thirty one years. They belonged to the Shia sect and because of their religious fanaticism and prejudice there emerged a great tension between the Shias and the Sunnis. Ultimately a delegation of Kashmiris under the leadership of the great spiritual personalities Hazrat Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi and Sheikh Hamza went to the Mughal emperor Akbar-e-Azam, and induced him to annex Kashmir to his dominion. On their persuasion the Mughal army entered Kashmir in 1586 A.D. During the Mughal period (1586-1752) Kashmir acquired the status of a province. After the death of

Aurangzeb the Mughal dynasty gradually declined and Kashmir fell a prey to civil war. Consequently Mir Muqem who was a renowned chieftain of his time, went to Kabul and induced Ahmed Shah Abdali to invade Kashmir. In 1752 A.D. Abdali's Army conquered Kashmir and annexed it with Kabul.

SIKH RAJ

The Afghan rule continued for 67 years in Kashmir and then in 1819 the State was occupied by Ranjeet Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab. A Kashmiri Pandit, Birbal Dar had induced him to attack. The occupation of Kashmir by the Sikhs was a great tragedy for its Muslim population. A long era of slavery and misfortune ensued from this political change.

THE AMRITSAR SALE DEED

After the British brought India under their sway they sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh, a Dogra officer of their Army, for an amount of seven and half million rupees, through the notorious and hateful Amritsar Sale Deed, of which Allama Iqbal the philosopher poet has said :

“They sold a Nation, and at what a petty price did they sell it.”

The following is the text of the Amritsar Sale Deed:

Article - 1

The British Government transfer and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the East of the River Indus and Westward of the River Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government By the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846.

ARTICLE -2

The Eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for the purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

ARTICLE-3

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

ARTICLE-4

The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be, at any time, changed without concurrence of the British Government.

ARTICLE-5

Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the government of Lahore or any other neighboring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

ARTICLE-6

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his Possessions.

ARTICLE -7

Maharaja Gullab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE-8

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of articles V, VI and VII of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar dated 11th March 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 acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will, in token of such supremacy, Present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

The treaty consisting of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederick Curie Esquire and Brevet -Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person, and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honorable sir Henry Hardinge G.C.B., Governor-General.

(Done at Amritsar, this sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty six, corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rubbe -al- Awwal 1262-Hijree)

THE DOGRA REGIME AND FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Kashmir came under the dominion of Gulab Singh and his family following the signing of the sale deed of Amritsar. After having been in virtual bondage for a very long period of their history, the year 1931 saw the Kashmiris in revolt. The ban on Friday sermons and the desecration of the Holy Quran infuriated and enraged

them. These incidents proved to be the starting point. Their patience finally gave way and Kashmiris rose against the ruthless Dogra regime. They rose to achieve their civil and human rights. A popular movement against tyranny and suppression resulted in the establishment of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in October 1932.

THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE AND THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Although highly influential candidates were sponsored by the Dogra Government during the State Assembly elections of 1934 and 1938, the flood of public opinion swept the field in favor of The Muslim Conference. The results of the 1938 elections baffled the then Hindu Prime Minister Mr. Ayyangar. He decided to create disunity among Muslims by manoeuvring to disintegrate their popular political organization. He prevailed upon Sheikh Abdullah, and with his collaboration, succeeded in laying down the foundations of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in June 1939, by replacing the party with the Muslim Conference. When the Pakistan resolution was passed from the platform of the All India Muslim League in March 1940, the Kashmiri Muslims were thrilled and they wholeheartedly welcomed it. The Muslim Conference was revived after about six months. So far as the ideology of Pakistan was concerned the Muslim Conference in the State was only another name for the Muslim League in British India. The ideological tussle between the Muslim Conference and the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir State reflected the pattern as it prevailed in British India between the Muslim League and the National Conference. In all 562 princely States of the subcontinent, Kashmir was the only place where

war between Congress-styled nationalism and separate Muslim nationhood was with the same intensity as in British India. Besides the State power of the Dogra regime the money and progaganda machinery of the Indian National Congress were continuously available in support of the National Conference. The Muslim Conference put up a valiant struggle with courage and perseverance against all these odds.

QUAID'S VISIT

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah visited Kashmir in the middle of 1944. The occasion was a tremendous source of inspiration for the Kashmiri Muslims and their commitment with the ideology of Pakistan was strengthened. At the same time it resulted in disappointment for the Dogra ruler and the National Conference. During the Quaid's stay at Srinagar, Sir Ganga Nath a highly placed Hindu officer told Agha Sher Ali, a Muslim member of an official commission, "To talk of Pakistan in Kashmir is sedition."

DIFFERENT PLANS FOR INDIAN FREEDOM

The tussle between the Indian nationalism and the two nation theory was continuing, when on Feb. 19th, 1946 the British Government announced that it would send a special mission to India, which, through negotiations with the political parties would seek a solution to the constitutional dilemma of India. The Cabinet Mission prepared recommendations after dialogues and discussions with leaders of different political parties, rulers of States and the high Indian government officials. The Mission issued a statement on May 16, 1946 recommending that :

“There should be a Federation comprising of British India and the Indian States. The portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications should be in the control of the Center”.

Regarding the future relations between British India and the States, it was declared that their sovereignty can neither be claimed by the British crown nor can it be vested in the new government.

THE MERGER OF STATES

A meeting of the chamber of Princes was held at Bombay on January 29, 1947. A resolution was passed stating that the accession of the Indian princely States to the Indian Federation should be by mutual negotiations. The final decision would lie with the free choice of every State and such decision could be made following a thorough study of the new constitution. The States would have all the residuary powers except those which would have been delegated to the Federation. The constituent Assembly would not interfere with the internal affairs of the States and their governance. The territorial integrity of the States shall be respected and any change would take place only with their voluntary agreement.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE TRANSFER OF POWER.

In a dramatic manner, on February 20, 1947 Lord Attlee, the then British Premier, announced in the House of Commons that in pursuance of the Cabinet Mission Plan the British Government intended to transfer power to the Indians by June, 1948. About the Indian States the previous decision was reiterated that their sovereignty would be handed over to any Central government of British India and that, at the end of British rule, these States would become independent.

THE ACCESSION OF THE STATES

The Congress leaders were extremely perturbed and felt that independent States would bring the maximum possible number of States in to the Indian Legislative Assembly. On April 18, 1947, while addressing the All India States People's conference at Gwalayar, Pandit Nehru threatened the rulers of the States that whosoever did not join the Legislative Assembly would be considered a traitor and such rulers must be ready to face the wrath of the Federal Government of India.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Secretary General of the Muslim League, condemned Mr. Nehru's statement and said that it lacked in foresight. He stated that when any decision would take place about British India's future, the States would be free to accede to India or Pakistan, or they could remain independent if they so desired. Intimidated by Nehru's threat many rulers of the States decided to join the Indian Constituent Assembly.

THE PROPOSAL OF KASHMIR'S ACCESSION

TO PAKISTAN

In this background the Muslim Conference circles became concerned lest the Hindu ruler of the State of Kashmir might decide to join the Indian Constituent Assembly. Ch. Hamid Ullah pressed the Maharaja for an immediate declaration of independence and establishment of a Jammu and Kashmir constituent Assembly, so that the people of the State could frame a constitution acceptable to themselves. In order to materialize this policy Ch. Hamid Ullah assured the Maharaja of full support of the Muslim masses. During those days relations between the Darbar of Kashmir and the Congress were strained. The statement of Ch. Hamid Ullah alarmed the Congress leaders. The Congress sent its party president Mr. Acharya Kripalani to Srinagar on May 17, 1947 for a rapprochement between the Maharaja and the National Conference. He failed in his mission.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S STAND

While addressing a Press conference in Jammu on May 30, Chaudhry Hamid Ullah declared that an independent Kashmir would have cordial relations with both Pakistan and India, but she would not be a stooge of any one of them. The reaction of Sheikh Abdullah against the statement of Chaudhry Hamid Ullah can be judged by the contents of a letter which he wrote from "Badarwa" jail to one of his friends residing in Jammu. The "Hindustan Times", a leading Congress newspaper of Delhi, made its mention in one of its publication in June 1974. In this letter he suggested that the Maharaja should accede to India and not be misguided by the statement of the

Muslim Conference leaders that Kashmir could exist as an independent State.

RESTORATION OF THE RIGHTS OF STATES

The independence and division plan of June 3, 1947 accepted the principle evolved by the Cabinet Mission. The May 22, 1946 memorandum of the Cabinet Mission stated that :-

“The rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all previously surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them”.

According to this principle the following provision was included in the India Act of Independence, 1947 :

“As from the appointed day i.e. 15th August, 1947,

The suzeranty of His Majesty over the Indian States

lapses, and with it shall lapse all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between his Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all function exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise.

DIFFERENCES ABOUT THE ACCESSION OF STATES.

The viceroy of India Lord Mountbatten reiterated his stand on the Indian States in a press conference on the 4th of June. He declared that they will have the right to join either Constituent Assembly or remain independent or make any other arrangements. The Viceroy called a joint session of the Congress and the Muslim League on June 13, 1947. Among other things the future of Indian States was discussed in the meeting. Pandit Nehru was of the opinion that as the States lacked the resources to maintain an international posture and would not be able to defend themselves hence they could not be allowed to live independently. They must annex themselves to either of the two new dominions. On the other hand, Quaide-Azam said that the States were free to decide whether they wanted to join any dominion or remain independent but it would be beneficial for both, the States and the dominion governments, that per necessity they should enter into mutual pacts. Shortly after that the differences

between the Congress and the Muslim League widened as their outlooks diverged.

In a session held on June 14, 1947 the All India Congress Committee opined that the States should not live independently at the end of British rule as they could not exist separately. The people would be the decisive force regarding their future in this democratic era. Mr. Gandhi said:

“The declaration of independence by the rulers of the States is equivalent to a declaration of war against crores of Indians”.

Contrary to this the Quaid-e- Azam declared in Delhi on June 17, 1947 that after the end of British rule the States would be free to accede to either side or be independent. If India and Pakistan had agreed upon the question of States on the principles of the division of India, the chances of their future conflicts would have been minimized but the differences between India and Pakistan in this regard became so acute that no solution seemed possible through peaceful negotiations. Actually their policies were conflicting on the matter of Hyderabad and Kashmir. The case of Hyderabad was quite different from that of Kashmir. Hyderabad was situated within India. The ruler of this Hindu majority States was a Muslim and the League was particularly concerned about its independence. The letter “K” in Pakistan is derived from the word Kashmir. The Quaid-e-Azam used to call Kashmir the jugular vein of Pakistan. India was waiting for an opportunity to occupy the States. In short the outlook of India and Pakistan diametrically differed regarding these two States. The Congress was bent upon employing every foul device to achieve its end. By hook or by crook it was determined to grab Kashmir. The Muslim League was fighting a legal and constitutional battle in this

matter. During June and July 1947, the Quaid-i- Azam time and again reiterated his stand that with the transfer of power by the British their sovereignty would come to an end and the independent and sovereign status of all States would be automatically rehabilitated. The States would be free to join either dominion or to remain independent. The Muslim League accepted the right of every State to decide about its own fate. It had no intention to pressurize any State in choosing a dictated course.

Commenting upon the statement of the Quaid-e-Azam, late Ch. Mohammad Ali, a former premier of Pakistan, has written that "the stand taken by the Quaid-e-Azam was not only a declaration of his regard for the constitution but in it was also his hidden desire for the protection of the independence of Hyderabad. Such statements could have rendered Kashmir's accession to Pakistan somewhat difficult, but it was not considered to be a real danger."

GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND ACCESSION.

The viceroy addressed a representative conference of the States on July 25, 1947. He said:

"Though the rulers of the States are legally at liberty to link up with either of the two Dominions, there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be avoided

He further remarked:

"You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbor any more than you can run away

from the subject for whose welfare you are responsible.”

By this he meant that while acceding to either Dominion, not only should the will of the ruler be taken into consideration but the geographical conditions and other State matters should also be kept in view. Notwithstanding these clearly stated principles, Lord Mountbatten took a great interest in and used every weapon in his armory of persuasion for the accession of these States to India. He did his level best to damage Pakistan.

During this critical period of Indian politics, Ch. Ghulam Abbas and some other leaders of the Muslim Conference were imprisoned. Their leader being behind the bars the Muslim Conference leaders still free were disappointed and disgusted. Periodically they had to consult the Quaid-e-Azam for guidance.

QUAID'S STAND ON KASHMIR

Ch. Hamid Ullah and Professor Ishaq Qureshi on July 11, 1947 exchanged views on Kashmir with the Quaid-e-Azam. The same day the Quaid issued the following statement.

“The question engaging the Kashmiri Muslim’s attention is whether Kashmir is going to join the Constituent Assembly of Hindustan or Pakistan. It has been made clear more than once that the Indian States are free to join either Assembly or remain independent. I have no doubt that the Maharaja and the Kashmir Government will give their closest attention and consideration to this matter and realise the interests not only of the ruler but also of his people. Those States which wish to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly will find us ready and willing to negotiate with them an agreement of mutual advantage to both.”

Referring to the detention of the Muslim Conference leaders in Kashmir Mr. Jinnah said that:

“There is no justification for their continued detention.” “I hope,” he went on, “that the Maharaja and the Prime Minister of Kashmir will realise the fast changing circumstances. Wisdom demands that the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims who form 80 percent of the population should not be ignored, much less hurt”.

MUSLIM CONFERENCE RESOLVES FOR ACCESSION

After meeting Quaid-e- Azam in Delhi, Ch. Hamid Ullah arrived at Srinagar on July 18, 1947. A party convention was held on July 19, 1947 at Srinagar in which Ch. Hamid Ullah presented a resolution for the independence of Kashmir. His argument was that if the Maharaja declared the State independent, the Congress would cease the struggle of ensnaring Kashmir and after the partition of India because of its geographical position and its majority Muslim population, it would naturally and automatically fall in the lap of Pakistan. It is said that the Quaid-e-Azam used to claim that “Like a ripe fruit Kashmir will fall in our lap”, but it would have been possible only if Radcliffe had seen justice done and had not opened the back door to pave the way for the Indians. Instead of the resolution presented by Ch. Hamid Ullah the resolution of Abdul Rahim Durrani was unanimously passed. The text of the resolution is as follows:

“This Convention of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference expresses its jubilation and great satisfaction at the coming into being of Pakistan and offers its congratulations to the Quaid-e-Azam”.

The inhabitants of the princely States of the Sub- continent had hoped that they would achieve the objectives of national freedom shoulder to shoulder when the inhabitants of British India achieved freedom with the partition of the Sub-Continent. The 3rd June plan strengthened the hands of the rulers of these States. So long as these autocratic rulers do not bow before the demands of time, the future of the inhabitants of Indian States will remain bleak. Under these circumstances only three alternatives are open to the inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir State, namely, accession to India or (2) accession to Pakistan or (3) the establishment of a free and independent State”.

“After carefully considering the position, this Convention of the Muslim Conference has arrived at the conclusion that accession of the State to Pakistan is absolutely necessary in view of the geographic, economic, linguistic, cultural and religious conditions because Muslims constitute eighty percent of the State’s population. All major rivers of Pakistan have their source in the State and the inhabitants of the State are strongly connected with the people of Pakistan through religious, cultural and economic relations. It is, therefore, necessary that the States should accede to Pakistan.”

So far as its purpose and policy for Kashmir is concerned, the resolution of 19th July 1947 adopted at Srinagar is as important as the Lahore Resolution for the Pakistan movement. In spite of toxic, venomous and hectic circumstances the Muslim Conference unmasked the Hindu-British perfidious conspiracies and gave a new spirit and zeal to the Kashmiri Muslims and showed them the way to their destination. Because of this resolution the dawn of every new day has fortified the faith of the Kashmiris for complete merger of their State with Pakistan.

WHAT IS THE KASHMIR ISSUE ?

To understand what is the solution of the Kashmir dispute and who is working for it and what must be done for it, it is essential to first know what the Kashmir case really is in its true perspective. Who are its claimants and what are the barriers and impediments to its solution? Besides, it is also essential to know what is the actual position of the Kashmir issue and how it has been presented. Details and intricacies of this issue are not known to everyone. To know the actual position of the Kashmir dispute, three points need deep consideration. First, the geographical location and historical background of Kashmir. Second, the division of India in 1947, which created an ideological Islamic States on the globe. Third, the crusade of one and a half year in the State which liberated Azam Kashmir and the Northern Areas (about 32 thousand square miles). These are the three basic points without whose proper understanding the real case cannot be completed. Unless its real nature is understood how can its solution be found?

THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The geographical significance of Kashmir cannot be overlooked. A cursory glance over it reveals the fact that this territory of 84 thousand square miles having an overwhelming Muslim majority is surrounded by Pakistan, China, India and Russia. Because of this geographical location, if war breaks out between any two countries of the region, each country could find justification in attacking Kashmir to conquer it for gaining advantage over its enemy. From the stand point of history, geography and culture Kashmir is closely linked with Pakistan. The State having a predominantly Muslim majority has remained integrated with those areas which now constitute Pakistan in

all the spheres of life including culture, religion and trade. Likewise the defence and economy of Pakistan, to a large extent, depend upon Jammu and Kashmir. This is the point enunciated in the famous statement of the Quaid-e-Azam that, "Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan and no dignified nation can keep its jugular vein under the sword of an enemy." In other words unless Kashmir accedes to Pakistan, the latter is not complete in its geography, ideology, history, economy and defence. A separate treatise is required to elaborate the importance of these factors and to comprehend fully the economic, cultural and historical background of Kashmir's relationship with Pakistan. The crux of the matter is that neither is Kashmir a separate country nor are Kashmiris a separate nation. They are one nation and one country. This is the critical point where a little misunderstanding can alter the entire perspective of the situation. Obviously when the perspective changes, the line of action will also change. The accession of Kashmir to India is illogical and unnatural while its accession to Pakistan is entirely natural and logical. For that matter Kashmir is a more natural part of that country than some of those territories which at present constitute Pakistan. That Kashmir is an integral part of India is false, unnatural, insubstantial and irresponsible. India has usurped occupied Kashmir by military power. History stands witness to the naked fact that India has occupied Kashmir by conspiracy, fraud, aggression and deceit. Lord Mountbatten, Gandhi, Nehru, and Radcliffe all played their wicked role in this nefarious conspiracy.

THE DIVISION OF THE SUB-CONTINENT AND ACCESSION OF THE STATE

The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference is the only political party whose role has been both distinct and positive about the

national ideals and aspirations. The role of its sincere and veteran leader the Quaid-e-Millat Ch. Ghulam Abbas and the historical services rendered by its workers will be written boldly on the pages of our history. Let us cast a brief glance at the Pakistan movement. When the historic division of the Indian subcontinent took place on the basis of the two nation theory, nearly about six hundred Indian States were given the option to join either India or Pakistan. It is obvious that in practice the States geographically so located that those could become a natural part of a particular country should have acceded to that country. The option was irrelevant for those States which were physically located within the territories of India or Pakistan. There were some big States within India whose rulers were Muslims and they could have joined Pakistan but India annexed them by force. Such was the case of Hyderabad, Junagadh, Bhopal and Manavadar. Being an overwhelmingly Muslim majority State and because of its geographical location Kashmir should have joined Pakistan. An additional factor was that, unlike other States, there was a strong pro-Pakistan movement going on in Kashmir and the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, the representative Muslim organization, had already demanded its accession to Pakistan, through a resolution adopted at Srinagar on July 19, 1947.

Had the State acceded to Pakistan at that time Pakistan would have been complete, and consequently, the inhabitants of the subcontinent could have been spared the punishment of painful strife and prolonged mutual enmity which unfortunately still continues.

THE BRITISH ROLE

Let me state here that the creation of Pakistan was an anathema for both the Hindu leaders and the British rulers of

India. The British never liked the idea of a Muslim State here. How could the Hindu leaders tolerate a strong Muslim State in the sub-continent whilst they were planning to convert the Muslim population into Hindus. All events and evidences show that ever since Pakistan was in the making the plans for its devastation were also being hatched by the joint intrigues of the Hindus and the British. One evil manifestation of the malicious collaboration is the award of that most dishonest of Englishmen Radcliffe, who through a dirty conspiracy annexed Gurdaspur to India. Otherwise at no point was the Indian boundary line contiguous with Kashmir, and geographically India could have had no claim whatsoever on Kashmir. Hence with wicked planning, India was given an access route into Kashmir, to enable her Army to occupy Kashmir by military action. To strengthen and perfect this conspiracy, at the time of division, a large portion of the armed forces and military equipment which were rightfully the share of Pakistan were withheld and spread out all over India for over a year, to prevent Pakistan from countering India for over a year, to prevent Pakistan from countering the Indian design. In short, had Gurdaspur not been awarded to India, she could have had no links with Kashmir and automatically Kashmir would have become a part of Pakistan. It would have been complete, and the expansionist desires of the Indian leaders would have never seen the light of day. Kashmir's accession to Pakistan should have discouraged India from using its economic, military and political resources against its neighbors in the region.

THE RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION

It becomes quite evident from this factual and historical analysis that the dispute over Kashmir is in fact a consequence of the Pakistan movement which divided India. Its international complexion lies

in the fact that, whereas the people of united India exercised their right of self determination at the time of its division, the people of Kashmir are still deprived of that basic right. Since 1931, the Kashmiris have been struggling for their freedom and civil rights. Allama Iqbal and some other political and religious leaders of Muslim India supported them. In this regard another historical event is noteworthy, which further illustrates the actual position of the Kashmir case. At the time of partition of the subcontinent, the Dogra ruler refused to accept the Muslim demand and failed to declare the State's accession to Pakistan, and instead, let loose a reign of oppression and terror against the Muslims on the one hand and started cultivating a relationship with the top leadership of the Indian National Congress on the other. There was a mass pro-Pakistan uprising throughout the State and an armed struggle started which continued for fifteen months. Despite a large scale Indian invasion 32 thousand square miles of territory known as Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan was liberated. Not only through historical continuity and geographical background do we understand the Kashmir issue but the preference of population is further illustrated through this armed struggle, by which thousands of square miles of territory was liberated to make it a part of Pakistan.

The credit for this goes to those freedom fighters who not only through peaceful political means but also by their sword gave the historical verdict of Kashmir's being an integral part of Pakistan. Had the war not been terminated fraudulently, the Kashmiris would have attained freedom and joined Pakistan. It is an undeniable fact that when the people of Kashmir were fighting in the name of Pakistan it was the Indian Army that they were fighting against, because the Dogra forces had almost been defeated and destroyed. In the parts of Kashmir which came under the control of the Indian Armed forces

the people did not fight against us but rather they co-operated with the freedom fighters. In this untoward situation, when his writ did not run in the State, the Maharaja signed the instrument of accession in favour of the Indian Dominion. This accession was mainly the result of the conspiracies of the Congress leaders and the rampant assault of Indian forces on Kashmir. In this perspective the case of Kashmir was brought before the U.N. In the light of the principle of division the world community decided that the people of Kashmir would be given the right of self-determination and they would be free to join either India or Pakistan. Following its pronouncement of January 1, 1947 the cease-fire took effect. Kashmiris stand today where they stood at that time and they shall never retreat from their position until they get their right of self-determination as promised to them by the world body through its resolution of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949. The crux and spirit of these resolutions is that all alien forces should leave Kashmir and free plebiscite should be held under the auspices of an authority nominated by the U.N.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ACCESSION TO PAKISTAN

It may have become clear by now and it needs serious consideration as well that the support of the Kashmir cause by Pakistan is not based on a whim, nor is it a casual support to some far-off freedom movement. This support is based on age-old historical, geographical and other links between Kashmir and Pakistan. The Kashmiris themselves so earnestly desire to accede only to Pakistan which is supporting them in all international forums. Thirdly India herself has made Pakistan a party by crookedly accusing her of being an aggressor in Kashmir. India tried to justify its occupation of Kashmir on the basis that the Kashmiris should decide whether they

want to live with India or Pakistan. Had there been no deep rooted affinity between Kashmir and Pakistan on ideological, legal and geographical grounds, the annexation of Kashmir would have been a mere child's play for a large and resourceful country like India. The unbreakable and close relationship between Kashmir and Pakistan is the stumbling block for India, God forbid if this mutual relationship is ever weakened Pakistan will lose her ground and her claim will become a cry in the wilderness.

UNSHAKABLE DETERMINATION OF THE KASHMIRIS

The overwhelming Muslim majority in the State of Kashmir is still resolute in its will to accede to Pakistan. Had there been the slightest shred of doubt about it, India would not have abstained from plebiscite. India's refusal to allow a plebiscite stems from her fear that the majority of Kashmiris are in favour of Pakistan. They still cherish their commitment with the Pakistan movement and their desire of integration with that country. Whenever we talk of accession to Pakistan, it is not a party or political slogan similar to such slogans as are coined at the time of elections. On the other hand it is part and parcel of our historical heritage and struggle. It is the clarion call of the two nation theory. It is a sacred mission for which we fought for fifteen months and many freedom fighters spilt their blood and laid down their lives. They sacrificed everything for this noble and august mission. Their houses were razed and cots burnt, throats cut, hands cuffed and wings clipped. The glorious chapter of the history of Kashmir's accession to Pakistan was written with their sacred blood. The Indian military might, huge resources, propaganda machinery and all of her international public relationing have not been able to efface it. Had not the movement of accession been a natural one

it would neither have prolonged for such a long time, nor would there have been any attraction in it, nor would anybody have liked to make any sacrifice for it. There is so much elasticity in this movement that the more you press it the more it rises up. It is an established fact that an unnatural and artificial movement can catch a temporary momentum but no material force can continue to propel that momentum for an extended period. History has proved this fact time and again. A very sensitive aspect of this movement is that even Pakistan has not materially helped this movement though its very existence depends on it. Wittingly or unwittingly it has often been opposed even here. Though unfortunate, this fact testifies the sincerity and the truthfulness of the struggle. The third important factor of this gigantic movement is that against all odds the movement of freedom could not be weakened, vanquished or tarnished. After such a long passage of time India could only manage to maintain military occupation of Kashmir. Is not that sufficient argument in favour of its being a natural and rationalistic movement? Dose any one still cherish the belief that the fate of Kashmir is separate from the fate of Pakistan? Kashmir is Pakistan; the Kashmiris are with Pakistan and for Pakistan.

CLARIFICATION OF A MISUNDERSTANDING

Let us now consider another aspect of the matter. The people who are not well aware of the Pakistan movement and particularly those who are ignorant of the impact of this movement of Kashmir can rightly put up the argument that the Muslims of the State were only sentimentally impressed by the creation of Pakistan in the British India, especially because of the personality of the Quaid-e-Azam, and that, otherwise the demeanor and course of thinking of the Kashmiris

would have been different. What I want to stress upon is that there is no doubt that due to the miraculous personality of the Quaid-e-Azam even the Muslims belonging to Hindu majority provinces passionately supported the slogan of Pakistan, although they knew that they would have to stay in India and could not migrate to Pakistan. These people rendered great sacrifices for Pakistan. How then could the Kashmiris, who had an overwhelming Muslim majority and also had strong geographical, historical and religious ties with Pakistan, lag behind. Their quest to accede to Pakistan is quite natural. Historical events clearly tell us that the Kashmiri's decision of accession to Pakistan was not based on emotionalism. It was a well-calculated, scientific, realistic, practical and natural decision, and part of a long historical process. It was most decidedly not the outcome of any accidental or sudden leap or a temporary whim.

INDEPENDENCE AND DAR-US-SALAM

I, along with a delegation of Matric students went to see Sheikh Abdullah at Poonch city in 1942. At that time he talked of an independent State, which looked impracticable under the prevailing circumstances. He gave many arguments trying to prove the practicality of his idea. The movement of independent Kashmir was present even at that time and its spearhead was not a common man but was Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself. Probably that was the time when the Russians were also working on their plan of reaching the hot waters. They had conceived of a buffer State including Kashmir, Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan. Furthermore, as the emergence of Pakistan drew nearer and nearer, the movement for an independent Kashmir started emerging stronger and stronger. The Hindu Congress and to some extent the State government also started supporting it. The

purpose of both, the Indian Congress and the supporters of the independent Kashmir movement, was to prevent temporarily its accession to Pakistan so that India could have sufficient time to occupy it. Besides this, another argument is also presented that some people wanted to gain time by this method to intervene in Pakistan. A clique of the Qadyinis was also backing and buttressing the movement of independent Kashmir. The work had been started to make Kashmir a separate State by the name of 'Dar-us-Salam'? Under these circumstances who could be so dull and naive not to recognize the intense religious passions and political sagacity of the Kashmiris, and who would not accept the reality that inspite of numerous opposing factors and conspiracies they remained attached with the idea of Pakistan. No sane person would deny the greatness of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and its historical decision, which was taken on July 19, 1947 at Srinagar by its General Council. While Chaudhty Ghulam Abbas and some of his companions were in jail and the historical decision was to take place, a young man belonging to the State and working on the personal staff of the Quaid-e-Azam wrote a misleading letter to the leaders of the Muslim Conference from Delhi on the pad of the Quaid, giving an impression that the Quaid also wanted an independent Kashmir. The fact is that the Muslims of Kashmir had launched the movement of its accession to Pakistan in the Quaid's name and with his blessings. When on the pad of Quaid-e-Azam and coming from his office, the letter reached Kashmir, the executive body of the Muslim Conference under its influence passed a resolution in favour of independent Kashmir, on July 18, 1947. However on the very next day, the General Council of the Muslim Conference rejected this resolution and passed a new one in favour of accession to Pakistan and furthermore, passed a "no

confidence” resolution against the Central Body of the Muslim Conference. Nonetheless, for practical considerations, the office bearers were permitted to continue working on a temporary basis. We can never fully appreciate the sincerity and insight of those leaders and workers of the Muslim Conference who smelt the conspiracy in time and rejected the concept of independence by passing that historical resolution of accession. They performed their sacred duty and deserve our heartfelt homage. That was indeed a great clemency and favour done to the nation by the invisible hand of Allah in his benevolence. The purpose of the narration of these facts is only to further fortify the fact that the prevailing movement for the accession to Pakistan is neither accidental nor emotional. Neither is it backed by any party or government for gaining temporary benefits. This movement is the result of a long historical process and a legacy of our continuous struggle. The people of Kashmir decided to pursue this course. They abandoned all other options and willingly opted for this alone. This decision was not made under any compulsion nor was there any dearth of other options open to them. From this perspective this is the only real movement for the Kashmiri Muslims. They are steadfast and resolved to this moment. Since this is the only way to achieve the completion of Pakistan, it won't be an exaggeration to say that any other course or movement will be unnatural and harmful, and will serve the ends of the enemies of Pakistan and Islam.

AN INTERESTING INCIDENT

I recall here an interesting incident. A renowned American journalist met me in 1972. I was President at that time. Before coming to Muzaffarabad the journalist had visited Srinagar and had met Sheikh Abdullah. He told me that he had failed to understand the view

point of Sheikh Abdullah, and may be that I might help in this matter. He told me that on the one hand Sheikh Abdullah was proud of arranging the State's accession to India, but on the other hand, in the same breath, he was complaining about the maltreatment the State received from the Indian rulers. The journalist told me that in Abdullah's words India treated the State as a conquered territory.

According to the journalist there was something even stranger happened when the journalist and Sheikh were travelling in a car. Sheikh Abdullah pointed towards his driver and said, "Look this idiot is my driver. If a plebiscite takes place tomorrow he will also vote for Pakistan". On hearing all this I told the journalist that I could offer him no help. Probably the Sheikh himself did not understand about his contradictions; he did not know what he was and what he had been doing.

The nature of the movement of accession to Pakistan is evidenced by this casual but significant incident. These are the true feelings of the people and these are very well known to India. No amount of persuasion or coercion has so far succeeded in creating doubts in the minds of the people. People are still committed to the movement of accession of the State to Pakistan. This is not a lone example. There are hundreds and thousands more. These are part of our daily life.

WHEN AND HOW THE KASHMIR ISSUE CAME INTO BEING

Like some other big issues of the world the Kashmir issue is also still unresolved. As different groups want the solution of those issues in their own favour or want status quo if it suits them, similarly since 1947 the fate of Kashmir is at stake and the tug of war between

different powers has thrown it into the pit of affliction and misery. The twelve million people of Kashmir are the victims of this barbarity and treason. The Kashmiris are directly and India and Pakistan are both indirectly involved in this issue. The United Nation organization, the Security Council and some of the big powers are also fully involved in this dispute. The Kashmiris have been offering sacrifices for a just solution to the issue but some powers are unceasingly busy in preventing it. Then how is it conceivable that such a great tussle and long procrastination should not show its effect? This war is being fought on both fronts, mental and physical, and is affecting the victims outrageously. In this context we have also to see if the statement of late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that this wound would be cured with the passage of time, has proved to be true or is the situation further deteriorating. Many books on the Kashmir issue have been written that need serious study but unfortunately, no book has so far provided sufficient material and facts, discussing and analysing the real causes and the back-ground of the issue. To the discredit of our governments they have also not given serious attention towards this issue and have shown their laxity and ineptitude. If some more time passes in this way; all the men of mettle and mind having first rate information about this issue will have vanished reposing in the dale of demise. Then there will be no alternative but to depend on the available hotch potch of literature and be satisfied with second or third hand information. In this way the reality will become a myth. Hence it is imperative that the important aspects and elements of this issue get recorded before these sink into oblivion. Another vital aspect of this issue is the need to dig out the real nature and cause of this issue. Both the Pakistanis and the Kashmiris must know the facts and they should know what good or bad implications have emerged during this long

time. Furthermore, we must try to understand the conspiracies of our enemies and must know how to counter them. This is imperative lest the national capabilities in general and the energies of our youth in particular should go waste. It is certain that misunderstandings will create conflicts in our capabilities. In a war, besides determination of objectives and the modus-operandi of their achievement, the mastering of power and the modes of its use, there is always an unavoidable necessity to understand the objectives of the enemy, his tactics and technology, power and designs. Unless some one has all these aspects before him, he cannot achieve any positive results. As the Kashmiris are the victims themselves they naturally have some understanding of these matters but there seems a dire need for the comprehension of such matters by the people of Pakistan; the old and young, the leaders and the masses, the rulers and the ruled. Isn't it tragic that those valiant Pakistanis who were in the front rows in the movement of Kashmir have been driven to the ditches of doubt and confusion about this issue? It was being propogated in East Pakistan that Kashmir was only the issue of the West Pakistanis, and its solution was only to their benefit. These days one hears the people of Sind and Baluchistan say that it is the problem of the Punjab and the Frontier, and sometimes one hears the people of the Punjab and the Frontier say that the Kashmir problem is the problem of the Kashmiris and that they should fight for themselves. If such ideas prevail and the authorities remain silent, then obviously our thinking has been driven along the wrong tracks. When the thinking is led astray, then, how can action be on the right lines? Presently our situation is quite so. It is a deplorable damage to the nation. We must condemn it.

I must say with a heavy heart that in Pakistan little is realized how important Kashmir is for Pakistan's security and survival. Lack of

understanding is proportionate to the importance of the problem. I am not talking of the trend of the general public, which has always leaned towards the right direction but our youth, rulers, politicians and intellectuals do not give it its proper importance. Rather they have such different, divided and disillusioned ideas about the Kashmir issue that because of their confusion one gets fed up. At the national level the issue is not getting even ten percent of the importance it deserves. I have been observing for quite some time now that whatever half feared or unwilling efforts have been made from our national platform it was only in reaction and even those efforts were without proper planning. Consequently, these proved ineffective and useless. These created conflicts amongst ourselves and enmeshed and entrapped us benefiting our enemies.

Anyone who thinks about the Kashmir issue, whether he be a Pakistani, a Kashmiri or an inhabitant of any other country, definitely questions: what is the Kashmir issue? What is its solution? What is being done about it and who is doing that? There are many different and contradictory opinions prevailing within the country. Some say that Kashmir is the issue of the existence and stability of Pakistan. In the opinion of some ignorant people it is a burden on the economy of Pakistan. People abroad want to know that, if it is an issue of the freedom of a nation then why does it lack that momentum which is commonly found in other freedom movements. Not only abroad but even in Pakistan it is becoming difficult to understand that this is not an issue of the freedom of a particular region, but is a part of the Pakistan movement which was the movement of self-determination of the people of South Asia. Some people ignore the influence of Indian propaganda take it as a territorial conflict between Pakistan and India, and believe that no other country has any right of interference. These

two countries should be let alone to solve it. More than a dozen such conflicting theories have become associated with this issue. The people who are first and foremost being influenced by this propaganda are the Pakistanis and the Kashmiris. Besides them, through vicious and negative propaganda, our friendly countries are successfully being persuaded to remain neutral in this conflict. For a long time now, at home as well as abroad, I have been exchanging views with people and elaborately presenting our national standpoint on this issue. I have been discussing the various aspects of this issue with the educated class and particularly with the students. They become influenced by a variety of movements abroad. In view of these discussions, arguments and queries it is necessary that all the aspects of the issue are analysed and presented in a single treatise. Perhaps we can get better results from it by putting an end to the mental chaos and crisis; we may then succeed in bringing an ideological coherence and cohesion which is the hub of success for any movement. In this regard I don't intend to justify one view unreasonably but wish to discuss the pros and cons of the issue in the light of the arguments in its favour and against it, with their positive and negative impact, so that one who honestly wishes to understand this issue may be helped. The one who deliberately does not want to know reality, well, he is out of our pale. How can we stop the man who has decided to commit suicide? Similarly neither can international diseases be checked nor is there any elixir for the poison of fashion and fads.

Some people look at this issue within the context of the non aligned movement and consider this case under the influence of the Indian propaganda, and others analyse the situation according to the interests of the super powers. I realize that this issue is not being looked at from either the Pakistani or the Kashmiri view points.

Unfortunately both the latter ones are steadily retreating day by day. Many acts of both indicate their retreat without retrieval.

The importance and utility of this treatise on Kashmir can only be realized in the perspective of its actual need. Whatever the importance of this issue on the international level, but, for Pakistan and Kashmir there is no more grave or greater issue than this. The Quaid-e-Azam, in very exact and apt words had indicated the importance of this issue when he had said that the Kashmir issue was a "sensitive issue". No justice-loving or law-abiding nation or country can overlook this bare fact that, geographically, culturally, religiously, economically, socially, militarily and politically Kashmir is an integral part of Pakistan. Whenever and from whatever angle its map is glanced at, the fact would become immediately evident that "Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan" and it would be fatal if it is severed from that country. If the Quaid's conviction carries any weight then the question of Kashmir has to be based on his thoughts. I sincerely believe that whatever efforts have been made on the Kashmir issue so far are not only far away from the basis of the Quaid-e-Azam's conviction but are absolutely in the opposite direction.

The main cause that has driven the Indo-Pak sub-continent to the brim of a devastating volcano is, in fact, the Kashmir issue. If it erupts it will bring devastation not only to the two armies but to the two nations. It is more probable that with interference of big powers it may envelope the entire world but how unfortunate it is that the actual features and ingredients of such a serious matter are being ignored. A new situation is emerging by the forceful propaganda of India and her allies and this artificial picture is being superimposed. We are being forced to accept the picture of Kashmir which India is depicting. These

are our own follies and incapacities which have led us to this state. How big a tragedy it would be if the real picture of such a sensitive issue were to remain opaque, for which, millions of Muslims have laid down their lives and millions more are striving for over half a century. An issue which is ruining the economy and polity of both the neighboring countries. What an irony of fate that the country for which this issue is a matter of life and death, and which should have understood this issue and made others understand it, is itself ignorant and oblivious of the impending doom. If the Kashmiris and Pakistanis themselves have become sceptic, then, how can they plead the case before others and how can they counter the destructive activities of their opponents. This should have been done right from the first day, but unfortunately, it is such a historical tragedy that can only be wailed over. No serious attention was paid to this issue from the beginning. As a result we have gradually adopted an indifferent attitude towards it. Our weakness over the comprehension of the issue even within the country, lapse of time, circumstances and Indian propaganda have dimmed the features of the actual picture. The enemy taking full advantage of this situation keeps on pushing us back. The Kashmiris have also largely met the same fate.

Only the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, which is the pioneer party of this movement, did not let the cause down even in difficult times. Unfortunately, however, many efforts have gone in vain due to internal intrigues within the home front. The gaps were filled by destructive and negative activities as is said: "Empty houses are occupied by ghosts." Some such subversive activities certainly have been initiated directly by the enemy while some others have been backed by him indirectly. The enemy certainly grabs every opportunity that is offered. We have reached a stage where the effective, active and

dynamic workers of the old generation who fought for freedom, are passing away one by one. Some of those living are entangled in their personal problems and others have become inactive out of disgust and dismay. So far as the youth is concerned they are being driven away by the negative trends and fashions. They are not only ignorant of their past but also have been deprived of the political process and positive ideological training. This has created such an atmosphere as can only suit the designs of the enemy. Now, for us to be able to achieve our national aspirations, we have no option except to return to our roots and obviously it is not an easy job. However my personal experience is that the spark is there provided it can be fanned into a flame:

"The soil is quite fertile, it needs some moisture"

The mention of an example may not be out of place here. Presidential elections in Azad Kashmir were held in 1960-70. I had to conduct the campaign throughout the country. During the campaign I got the opportunity to talk to the people belonging to every walk of life. Some members of the Bar (lawyers) asked me the same old question:

"If Kashmir becomes an independent State, what is the harm in it"?

When I explained the technicalities of the Kashmir issue to them in detail they abruptly said:

"Sir, please do not think of us as the enemies of this country. This is the first time we have come to know the facts through you."

I had this sort of experience not only once or with one group of people, but many times. From time to time, on different occasions I have had such experiences. Once again I was asked the same question in a Bar in the interior of the Punjab and I had to give the same explanation. In 1971 when I was President, I had quite a tough time with the officers of our Foreign Ministry. A section of the Foreign Ministry seemed quite influenced by the slogan of independent Kashmir. In 1948 when I met the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia he also asked me, "What would be the harm in having an independent Kashmir?" but, thank God, in a short time he understood the whole matter as he had the gift of wisdom from Allah and his heart was replete with pathos for the unity of the Muslim Umma. A more detailed mention of this is in my book entitled, "Kashmir shall become Pakistan". In 1956 when I was President, two members of the British Parliament visited Azad Kashmir. They pointed out that the movement of independent Kashmir which was in the making was very injurious to this country and its ideology.

In short, on the one hand there is a big majority of the people who are indifferent to their destiny, and on the other hand there is a small minority which in a reactionary style is busy in negative and destructive activities. Our Federal Government is not providing any guidance to the people on this issue while men with destructive views have influenced our bureaucracy and are getting its full support. The bureaucrats are showing all blessings and blooms upon these secessionists. The rest of the people have an indifferent and apologetic attitude towards this matter, much as they have in other matters. Some government servants consider us unpatriotic and even enemies of the country. Our only crime is that we are struggling for accession to Pakistan. The same impression was given to the late Field

Marshal Ayub Khan and we remained the victims of his annoyance. A similar tragic incident also happened in those days when the Government of Azad Kashmir had disqualified the late Rais-ul-Ahrar Ch.Ghulam Abbas.He was the man who was really the established leader of the Muslims of Kashmir and was the founder as well as symbol of the Pakistan movement in Kashmir. He had a spotless character. After the Quaid-e- Azam he was the next senior political personality. According to a well known and authentic report, the two persons whom the Quaid-e-Azam had nominated as his political successors were Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas. The Quaid-e- Azam preferred their opinions to all his other companions. In short it is imparitive to have an understanding of the following points:

- (a) What is the Kashmir Freedom movement ? When was it started and who started it ? What were its objectives? What sacrifices were offered for it ?What are we doing now? What are the hurdles? Who are creating these hurdles? What is their solution?
- (b) What have the Kashmiris been demanding and what do they demand now?
- (c) What are the movements which have been started to counter this struggle? What is their background and their history? What are their objectives and what is their methodology? Who is supporting them? Is the Indian hand behind any of them or not?
- (d) What ought to be done in the prevailing situation?

The details of these facts need much elaboration and proper presentation is essential in order to determine the best course of action

to take. The subject needs elaboration not only on the basis of the sanctity of ideology and doctrine but it should also be discussed in the light of facts, events and the historical process. It must be established whether the solutions being presented are practicable or not. What are their immediate gains or losses. Whether by adopting these methods the problem will be really solved or not. These questions need serious analysis and attention.

INDO-PAK RELATIONS- THE PAST, THE PRESENT, THE FUTURE.

Since the freedom of the South Asian Sub-Continent and the emergence of Pakistan on the world map, we have been constantly hearing that cordial relations between Pakistan and India are in the interest of both the countries. There is no doubt that the secret of permanent peace does lie in friendly relations between these two countries. It can be said without fear of contradiction that, if an honorable and durable settlement takes place between these two densely populated and important countries, it will contribute not only towards peace and tranquillity in Asia but the whole world will benefit out of it. May be our importance is the cause of our miseries. We have often been hearing for the past half century that Pakistan is insecure because of India and vice versa. It is sad that now-a-days our government deliberately hides the facts and announces for its own ulterior motives that there is no danger from India. While, on the other hand, very cunningly the Indian leaders yell and cry that India is in danger and Pakistan is making preparations to attack her but the irony is that these war preparations are nowhere visible in Pakistan. The Indian leaders see day dreams about them while sitting in Delhi. In the light of facts and evidence the truth should be made clear to the whole

world. The world should know what the actual position between the two countries really is. What is being done and why it is being done. Anyway, within the sub-continent and elsewhere several attempts have been made to normalize relations between these two countries and to promote peace and stability here. Some such efforts still continue. Both the countries have held diplomatic meetings on the plea of restoration of economic relations, joint defence proposals and a no-war pact but so far no effort has borne any fruit. Efforts, diplomatic or otherwise, which are devoid of sincere intentions solve the root cause of the dispute are meaningless in their nature. They are a delusion, a mirage. Both the parties know very well the reality of these relations, pacts and promises. All efforts for normalcy, made till today have been one sided. It was always Pakistan who tried to resolve the matters in an amicable way. Attempts at reaching some bilateral settlement were, for the most part, the result of foreign pressure. Both the countries had to conform with the wishes and requirements of one or the other super power. Hence the stagnation or oscillation in their mutual relationship. Insofar as the big powers are concerned, their long term interests dictate that Pakistan and India having long standing historical relations and abundant natural resources should not conclude their present conflict on amicable terms. These powers do not want us to play any independent role in world politics, but rather to remain under the canopy of their permanent bondage. It is also not improbable that certain in the name of Islam. They do not want to see Islam revitalised in a strong and prosperous State.

It is not possible to deny the fact that India has never seriously tried to cultivate friendly relations with Pakistan, a relationship which could guarantee peace and stability in the region and could help settle issues judiciously and honourably. Pakistan, as I

have stated earlier, has been trying to achieve this end. India adds fuel to the fire. She has consistently been undoing all efforts made by Pakistan in this context. The process of bilateral relations was always sabotaged by her. That is why all such efforts which were either one sided or half hearted have failed so far. In this game of see-saw doubts and bitterness flourished. It is pertinent to mention that the importance of Indo-Pak relations is frequently mentioned at every level in Pakistan but that is not the case in India. Not only our governments but some elements in our general public have always been quite vocal for this improvement in relationship. Unfortunately the whole of the exercise has been one sided. Sometimes it appears that timidity and want of self respect are the cause of this attitude, or may be the main reason for such a mentality is that some people came by this boon known as Pakistan without offering any sacrifice. They do not know how this country came into being and what are the pre-requisites to safeguard it. Such people are gathering strength and are constantly busy in their negative designs. They never wanted Pakistan in the first place and have not accepted it even after its coming into being. May Allah save us, but I am afraid that due to our ungrateful attitude towards Pakistan we may meet the fate described in the Holy Quran:

“And if you are ungrateful, surely my admonishment is severe.”

We have already seen a glimpse of this admonishment in the shape of the fall of Dhaka, which blemished the whole of our history. Security and safety lie with Allah.

It is disheartening to know that the people who migrated to Pakistan after innumerable sacrifices seem to have become defected and depressed, and the zeal and zest which had induced them to an

unprecedented struggle and great sacrifices has been dissipated. On the question, 'what ought to be done', there are several contradictory opinions even among our politicians. Unfortunately these conflicting views have taken the shape of basic political differences. Some of these issues have gone to the extent of damaging the very ideology and solidarity of the country. Contrary to this, India, which is a jumble of different racial, religious, cultural and social groups, and which should have fallen prey to internal conflicts and clashes, seems to be much better in this respect. The truth of the matter is that although Indian rulers, politicians, intellectuals and bureaucrats belong to different school of thought they seem united and unanimous in their decisions. If at all there is any difference of opinion amongst them it is only of a technical nature. There have never been any fundamental differences on this matter, and Pakistan was never able to draw any benefit from their contradictions. It seems as if political chaos and the absolute freedom to propound destructive ideas is our lot alone. It can be seen nowhere in the whole world. May God in His mercy save every honorable nation from such freedom.

It is most unfortunate that many of our intellectuals insist that their so-called thinking is correct, though such "thinking" may collide with the foundations and fundamentals of our country. In such a critical situation it is most difficult for the overwhelming right-minded and patriotic majority of the country to grasp the truth and adopt the correct course for achieving our national aims and aspirations. The people responsible to provide guidance, following the demise of the Quaid-e- Azam, absolutely forgot to base their policy on the genesis and the tenets of the basic ideology of the country. Even responsible persons were not taken into confidence, what to speak of the commoners. It would not be wrong if we were to say that, while

establishing relations with India, our governments either did not understand the basic national requirements or totally ignored them. They tried to limit these affairs to their temporary, superficial and limited interests. The saying of our Prophet (PBUH) is that "every disease has a cure." If our ruling class has proved to be incurable it is only because they have been deprived of all intellectual and mental capabilities. It is an undeniable fact that besides a few bureaucrats, who claim to be the custodians of absolute wisdom, nobody knows the policy of the government on any particular issue. It is the height of misfortune that every government has been hiding the truth from the masses, who incidentally are the real owners of this country. The clique of rulers responsible for such a derisory situation acts on the principle of "Enmity with friends and affinity for foes". Nobody can deny the fact that, through our national media, the simple hearted masses have been befooled and kept in the dark. They have never been told the facts. In certain international matters one has to take practical measures without publicity, but those issues are very few. In our case every affair has been dealt like that. Even the worst and the worthless policies have been presented in the guise of golden dreams for a happy future and the people have been deluded. It is said, for instance, that in order to counter the false propaganda of India, that she is in danger from Pakistan, some policies have to be kept secret. Instead of maintaining this secrecy we could use other channels more effectively and more beneficially. There is no need to hide the policies which in any event are open secrets. We must adopt a correct, open and objective policy based on unconditional loyalty and devotion to the country and its ideology but our government departments and public media at large are in such a deplorable condition that, after hearing

their propaganda broadcasts, one feels as if Pakistan is a colony of India.

Before saying something about the cardinal cause of the strained relations between India and Pakistan and about finding an amicable solution, it seems necessary to undertake a brief analysis of the past efforts which were made between these two neighboring countries. Through such an analysis we can get to the core of the problem, which will help us to better understand and deal with future situations. Let us start with ourselves. From our side the effort to bring normalcy in the strained relations started with the official tour to India of Prime Minister Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in 1950. That was the time when the painful effects of the division of the subcontinent were still widespread but the important point of that conference is that when the talks between the two Prime Ministers got entangled in diplomatic phraseology, Mr. Patel, the interior Minister of India who was well known for his bias against Muslims, broke the ice after a long silence and asked Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan:

“Do you really want the termination of Muslim genocide in India?” Obviously what else could have been the reply of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan than an open affirmation, as he had gone there only to achieve that end. Sardar Patel pointing his finger towards Liaquat Ali Khan uttered the famous but alarming sentence: “You stop the communal riots here, I will stop them there”. This was the first high level conference held in India which resulted in the Liaquat-Nehru pact of 1950, in which it was decided that the rights of the minorities will be safeguarded in both the countries. Even at that time, for the normalization of relations between the two countries, the problem of the right of minorities was the focal one. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan kept

his promise. Even today, after a lapse of half a century, no Muslim can dare raise a finger towards any Hindu. Not a single Hindu has been slain for his being a Hindu and this should have been done in any event because our religion ordains for us to do justice and be kind to the minorities. Islam provides security for the life and property of the non-Muslims the same way as it does for the Muslims but we can have a look at the other side of the picture as well. What has been happening in India after the Liaquat-Nehru pact ? They did not even wait for the ink to dry. Not a single month in this half century has passed when, in one part of India or another innocent and defenseless Muslims have not been attacked and butchered. The cruel and shamelessly mute response of the Indian government on these inhuman acts is not hidden from anyone. It will not be untrue to say that these inflictions and barbarities have been supported and encouraged at government level. The Indian government has never taken any serious step to stop these savage cruelties. The commentary on Indian barbarities by a famous Indian nationalist intellectual Mr.K.L Gaba in his book "The oppressed voices" should be an eye opener for those amongst us who do not stop talking of nationalism here in Pakistan. On this shameless policy of the Indian rulers, I am reminded of those hateful words which Sardar Patel once uttered while addressing the Ahrar leader Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bokhari. He said:

"The Indian Hindus are not foes of the Muslims who migrated from Arabia. We are the enemies of those who abandoned their Hindu faith and got converted to Islam. We want to purify them."

This is another characteristic of Indian policy. The pivot of the Indian leader's, anti-Muslim policy is their vindictive and vengeful attitude which was fully revealed by the words of Sardar Patel and was

further expounded on the occasion of the fall of Dhaka when the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indhra Gandhi said: "Today, we have avenged a thousand year's disgrace". Those simple hearted Muslims who think that India has accepted the existence of Pakistan should not forget the resolution of the All-India National Congress which was passed on June 15, 1947, even after acceptance of the division plan of June 3. Its words were:

"The geography, mountains and the seas have made India an indivisible geographical unit whom no human power can disunite. Hopefully the National Congress declares that the time will come soon when this bitter period would end. The circumstances will become favourable and the two nation theory will become extinct". Indhra Gandhi had reiterated her conviction time and again by saying that she wanted to see complete annihilation of the Muslim nationhood.

History is a witness to the fact that the indian leaders never let any opportunity go unavailed in damaging the ideology of the Muslim nationhood and Pakistan. It has always been their desire that the Indian Muslims should either leave their motherland or discard their religion and lose their separate identity. The Indian Government not only destroyed the life, honour and property of the Muslims living in India but did not even tolerate those Bengali Muslims who had settled in Assam before India's division, and had cultivated the lands of that province with their sweat and blood. These Muslims had migrated from the same Bengal whose flag had been hoisted by India in 1971 to wage a war against Pakistan. Ultimately it has happened that now Bangladesh has also become an object of contempt for India. Muslim Bengal is being sieged by the barbed wire. How unfortunate that a decent and human attitude towards non-Muslims in Pakistan

has been considered by India as our weakness. The Hindu majority of India and the Indian leaders have not appreciated it, nor they have reciprocated. Contrary to our demeanour incessant inflictions are being perpetrated upon the Indian Muslims. Their history is being distorted and in schools and colleges Hindu history is being imposed upon them. The Muslim culture and theology is being destroyed. The Muslim youth whose ears are filled with the holy first words Allah-O-Akbar, when they go to schools, instead of greeting each other by saying Assalam-O-Alaikum say 'Namaste' like Hindus. Countless Muslim ladies have been compelled to marry Hindus. The honour of the Muslim ladies is always at risk at the hands of Hindu loafers. The so called merciless and hypocritical. Indian secularism did not even spare the Muslim University of Aligarh and religious places like Deoband. Before the attack on East Pakistan while lecturing in an American University, Mrs. Indhra Gandhi exposed the truth about Indian secularism when she had said that:

“Our sacred religious book ‘Gita’ says this and that _____!”

Her lecture was full of Hindu mentality and metaphor negating the spirit of all other Indian religions. Indian secularism is nothing more than an open fraud and delusion. Could we imagine to adopt such behaviour with the Hindus in Pakistan? Certainly not but where is the logic behind the fact that Pakistan has long since become a mute spectator to the afflictions heaped on the Indian Muslims? If occasionally the Pakistani press protests the cruelties, it is considered an interference in the internal affairs of India. Our governments have totally failed to stop India from massacring the Indian Muslims. They have never even made any strong protests to India on such atrocities. I

can say with confidence that if the government of Pakistan were to take serious notice of India's atrocities, not only would such genocide have been halted, but it would effectively have stopped India from making tall claims. The tragedy is that friendship of the savage Indian rulers appears to be dearer to us than the sacred blood of innocent Muslims. When Indo-Pak relations are analysed in this background, it is proved that so long as atrocities continue against the Indian Muslims unabated and unhindered and so long as they continue to be punished for their participation in the Pakistan movement, our romantic notions of establishing friendly relations with India are no more than a mirage based on wishful thinking. It is a matter of great shame that invites the wrath of Allah. We should not forget that the greatest need of the Indian Muslims is their identity and Islamic character. The secret of their safety lies in the safety of the concept of Muslim brotherhood. From this angle their safety lies in the existence of Pakistan which represents a separate Muslim nationhood. Being a Muslim it is my staunch faith, what to speak of the blood of the Indian Muslims who are our benefactors and part of our body, that if a single drop of any Muslim blood is shed anywhere in the world that should be taken as though the blood of the entire Muslim Ummah had been spilt. This blood is so holy that there can be no bargaining over it. This is from Allah Subhanahu-wa-Ta'ala. It may be useful to describe an example here, albeit to our eternal shame, the example is related with Kuffar.

Some years ago an American tourist (a cripple) was killed and thrown overboard from a tourist cruise ship which had been hijacked near Beirut. The American government mobilised the 6th fleet to avenge his death. There are many more such examples which have taken place in recent times. It is a much publicised warning

given out by the U.S. Government, and is the creed of all Americans that "if any one fights one of us he takes us all on." The time has come when the Indian rulers must be told of this staunch eternal faith of the Muslims that they should immediately stop shedding the blood of Muslims, and the false notion that by crossing the river of the blood of Muslims they can reach the bank of friendship with Pakistan should be forcefully dispelled. Following the death of the Quaid-e-Azam almost all subsequent Pakistani Governments have tried one sidedly to strengthen their relations with India. The reason for this might be anyone out of these : Our national shortcomings, internal weaknesses, inferiority complex and timidity, lack of political insight, weakness of faith, ignorance of our glorious history and traditions, the fear of Indian military might and the realization of India's vastness of territory and comparative enormity of population. We have left no stone unturned to normalize our relations with India. It won't be an exaggeration to say that even during sleep our hand was out of our bed in case at any moment during the night our sweetheart should want to get hold of it, and we were afraid that she would be angry if it was not there. Iqbal explains the situation:

"You cherish hopes from idols; you are hopeless of Allah. Tell me what else is infidelity?"

I am reminded of the time when on the invitation of Field Marshal Ayub Khan, the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Pakistan. He was flattered as if he was a demigod. The government had set seals on the lips of the freedom-fighters and had issued strict orders that not a single word be uttered on the plight of the Indian Muslims or Kashmiris during the stay of Pandit Nehru in Pakistan. Yet there was a man who did not accept these shameful

directives. The great leader of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas told Field Marshal Ayub Khan in clear words not to host a banquet in honour of Pandit Nehru at Rawalpindi, this place being the centre of the Kashmir freedom movement. Credit also goes to another Muslim Conference worker who, despite strict safety measures, succeeded in throwing a copy of a memorandum about Kashmir into the car of Pandit Nehru. The police arrested him and thrashed him soundly but, by his brave and unselfish act, our national honour was saved. What was the net result of all this adulation and flattery? It is said, that while both the leaders were chatting in a good mood at Murree, Ayub Khan gave a slight hint about Kashmir during some pleasant conversation. At first Pandit Nehru deliberately avoided any reply and kept on talking about the weather and flowers. Then he said: "Mr. President, the Kashmir issue is dead now" Upon reaching India he issued a statement slapping the face of our obedient government by claiming that nobody in Pakistan had seriously talked to him about the Kashmir issue. In the recent past we have again seen this spectacle on the occasion when the Indian foreign Minister Mr. Vajpai of the Janata Party visited Pakistan. He was warmly welcomed, and this notoriously anti-Muslim Minister felt highly exalted by this gesture. Some of our so-called dignified personalities nudged each other to get his autograph, perhaps taking it as a parchment of salvation on doomsday. Sometimes, I ask myself what other mean method is left to please India? We offered them a no-war pact even without the solution of the Kashmir problem. The Congress leaders did not accept the offer though it was in their larger interest from the Kashmir view point. This proposal for a no war pact was rejected the same way as the proposal of joint defence put forth by Ayub Khan was earlier ejected by Pandit Nehru. We lost an historic

opportunity at the time of the Indo- China war in 1962 only because we were more loyal than the king himself. The Indians ridiculed our traditional fraternity and classed it as timidity.

It would add to my knowledge if I could find out one such occasion that India had an opportunity to damage Pakistan and she missed it, or if there was any field of life where India did not actively oppose us. The foundation of Indian politics is laid on enmity towards Pakistan. Whether within the country or abroad India has never let any chance go waste in destroying the interests of Pakistan. She has never kept her promises. She accepted only those pledges and pacts which were in her interest. Be it the Liaquat-Nehru pact, the trade treaties, the cease-fire agreement of 1949, Simla Accord, the Tashkent Declaration or the subject of canal water, India only acknowledged them to the extent those suited her own purpose. She has never accepted any proposal that could be beneficial to Pakistan. India has never desisted from destructive activities against Pakistan. It supports the insurgents, the miscreants and the terrorists. It provides them arms, money and hideouts. She has been publishing and distributing literature against Pakistan and even against Islam. To damage Pakistan, India committed naked aggression in our Eastern wing. It is an open secret that her friendly ties with Afghanistan have always been used against us. Nothing is hidden from anybody. After analysing these facts and events only one inference can be drawn, that India has always wanted one-sided friendship and that also always at the cost of Pakistan. Her attitude and behaviour indicate that she is the successor State after the British and she has to keep the Muslims as her slaves. They think that freedom was achieved only for the Indians. We should not forget that whenever such people have been found in history they understood only the language of might. They do not give an iota of

importance to nobility, humanity, justice, equity and freedom. We must not forget that they are the pupils and followers of Chanakya, the master of deception, fraud and hypocrisy.

About their norms of friendship what can we expect from them in the presence of their religious teachings described in the Gita. Their philosophy of friendship is that whenever you require to harm someone, you should first seek his friendship, embrace him, put your dagger in his back and then weep over his dead body, because you happen to be his friend! On these lines India wants to establish relations with us. Take for example the problem of the division of canal water which is a matter concerning the very existence of Pakistan. The Indian government interpreted Pakistan's latitude and decent behaviour as a weakness and made the most out of it. The rights of Pakistan are being trampled by the construction of Salal dam on the river Chanab and another dam at Kishtwar in the Indian held Kashmir. Pakistan watches silently as India makes preparations to convert our fertile plains into deserts but like a weak and insipid nation we do not have a plan to gain control over the rivers passing through Jammu and Kashmir State. What to speak of some action, we have never thought of it. We do nothing lest India should be annoyed. It seems as if we care more for India's pleasure than our own survival. We think our safety lies in pleasing India. On her part, India deems it her right to be flattered by us. How could it be otherwise when our leaders consider Pakistan's existence essential only for the safety and security of India? What a folly. It is tantamount to this poetic line: "We live only for the glory of your name". Who will not condemn the laxity of our thinking? The irony of our fate is that the coquettish sweetheart does not pay any heed to our humility and devotion. It is not a secret that the solution of the problem of the canal water, lies in

our craze for having friendship with India has taken the shape of a love affair, Several instances confirm this sad reality. In August 1953, as a result of Sheikh Abdulah's revolt and his subsequent dismissal, the Muslims who dared to voice a preference for Pakistan were being ruthlessly butchered in Srinagar. The then Prime Minister of Pakistan, in the frenzy of desire for friendship with India, hastened to Delhi and performed a Hindu ritual of brow-blackening and falsely declared that there was no involvement of the Indian Army in the genocide of the Muslims, and that the law and order situation was steadily becoming normal. On another occasion, a Pakistani Minister, whilst on a tour of India, went a step further and said, "These artificial boundaries between the two countries should promptly be removed." On several occasions before and after that incident the attitude of Pakistan's government has been cowardly in a criminal manner. Emboldened by such an attitude the Indian external ministry summoned our Ambassador to enquire when was Pakistan going to vacate the Azad Kashmir territory. Is not that the limit? Some people irreparably damaged the cause of Kashmir's freedom notwithstanding the clear direction of the Quaid-e-Azam given in the early days of the Kashmir war that India must not be allowed to keep Kashmir by force. Had the Kashmir freedom-fighters not plugged into the field of battle, the present liberated territory of Kashmir would also have fallen a prey to our inertia. The aggressive and oppressive designs of India on Kashmir have reached the extent that she shamelessly objected to the address of the President of Pakistan to the assembled foreign diplomats in Gilgit, whilst on the other hand, she herself was trying to bargain with China on "Aqsai Chin". This she was trying to do with a country which has always supported the UN resolutions of the Kashmir issue. The permanent settlement of the Kashmir issue. The

earlier this point is appreciated by Pakistan, the better it will be. People might well understand this point but dislike abandoning their traditional policy of retreat, or perhaps they do not have the courage to face the situation in a manly way. We have developed such a depressing mentality.

I am not against peaceful negotiations on Kashmir, because negotiation can prove to be a solution of the problem but it is imperative that before starting any dialogue India should be told in unequivocal terms about the problems which need to be settled. Negotiations should take place only if India is willing to talk on those problems. Useless exercises are a waste of time. If, God forbid, we feel that we are too weak to present our internationally accepted stand on Kashmir, which I think we are not, then at least we should remain silent and wait for the proper time and opportunity to take solid steps in keeping with the relevant UN resolutions. We must not take steps which weaken the very foundations of our country and the sacrifices offered by the martyrs are wasted. We must not let down those who sacrificed everything for the birth of Pakistan and for the holy war in Kashmir. It would be a great tragedy if the people started doubting the very basis of the country's existence. If the will of those who consider India's division an error gains popularity, it would be a great tragedy for the country's ideological integrity. It would be impertinent to say that there is no other solution for Kashmir except war, as some of our pseudo intellectuals insist. It is quite clear that we cannot, at present, take an aggressive stance. There are several other ways to influence and pressurize India but for the achievement of these ends, a man of staunch belief and deep insight is required, such a personality has not yet materialised.

It is a well documented and established fact that the Indian political hierarchy firmly believes that the root cause of all Indian troubles, strategic and domestic, lies in the very existence of Pakistan. Consequently, Indian policy makers are dedicated to her total extermination. In simple words India will not rest until Pakistan ceases to exist. Under the circumstances it is only an imbecile who can voice a belief that India will ever concede on the Kashmir issue. On one occasion, India's armed force, under the pretext of routine exercises had reached Pakistan borders with offensive designs. Somehow or the other, both the countries escaped war by inches. The then President of Pakistan Genl. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, who was often criticised for his soft attitude towards Indian affairs, not surprisingly flew to India in the name of cricket diplomacy and helped, diffuse the military situation on the borders, thus diluting the poisonous atmosphere. Although I have always objected to the aforementioned soft policy of that President of Pakistan, I must admit that it played a vital role in maintaining peace in the South Asian zone, and consequently India could not find a pretext for attacking Pakistan. Soon after the danger was over, India increased her defence budget by 43 per cent. There is no ambiguity about the purpose of this increase. Indian rulers have an obsession to gain leadership of Asia, and to achieve that end, they consider it necessary to establish their hegemony over the other smaller nations.

Consequently, none of the neighboring countries has, by any standard, cordial relation, with India. Even Bangladesh, which is the illegitimate offspring of Indian conspiracies against Pakistan, could not escape its high-handedness. India, a large and complex country, is gradually facing a dearth of leadership. Many new problems have cropped up which the present leadership is incapable of solving. The

leaders try to divert the attention of the Indian masses from their own ineptitude by keeping the whole sub-continent boiling with discontent and fomenting sedition in every adjoining country. If India, in her capacity as the biggest country in the sub-continent, had exhibited any sincerity towards the smaller neighboring countries and assisted in maintaining their security, they would have reciprocated in like manner. It is my conviction that if India does not give up her aggressive policy, of which there is apparently little or no chance, then there will be no option for the smaller neighboring countries of India but to quit SAARC and form a new organization comprising China and other Asian countries, and excluding India in order to counter her aggressive and expansionist designs.

My intention for putting the stories of our unprecedented blunders into black and white is to show that Pakistan can never achieve an honourable and permanent peace by extending unreciprocated goodwill to or undue passivity with India. Indo-Pak relations cannot be unilateral, they must be bilateral. The other party must exhibit some practical proof of its sincerity. Overlooking the fundamental causes which obstruct betterment of relations is nothing short of self-deception. What are those basic factors? In a nutshell, India, without reservation must recognize the existence of Pakistan as a reality. India must desist from any open or secret conspiracies against the existence and solidarity of Pakistan in future. She should settle her disputes with us on the basis of equality. Considering Indian military preparations, Pakistan is justified to feel insecure, because among all her neighbors it is only Pakistan which has been and which will remain the target of her aggression. So far as China and Russia are concerned, India neither has the need nor the capacity to pick a fight with them. All these military preparations are meant to wage a

final and decisive war against Pakistan. The real cause for conflict between India and Pakistan is our ideology and on the other hand it is difficult for India to tolerate an Islamic country right at her doorsteps. It appears that India will be the happiest if, without giving her any trouble, we mismanage our affairs and create such conditions that our existence gets jeopardised. Our normal defence preparations have been the target of strong protest by India, accusing Pakistan of preparing to attack her. Our defensive measures against an expected attack are taken by India as a form of impudence for which we should be chastised.

The Indian leaders do not consider the Muslims and the Hindus as two different nations. For this very reason Mrs. Indira Gandhi has again and again attacked the concept of Muslim nationhood. While speaking in UN meetings the Indian delegates declare the Muslim International Organization as a sectarian body. India is supporting the linguistic, factional and regional conflicts in Pakistan, even though she herself is full of such conflicts and divisions. It can be said, "How daring the thief who carries a candle on his palm." How can cordial relations be developed between the two countries in the presence of ruthless murders and contemptuous prejudices by the Indian rulers against their Muslim subjects what to speak of cordial relations. It is imperative that the Indian rulers must be told in unequivocal terms, that the murderers of our Muslims brethren in India can never be our friends. If relations are established on equal terms between India and Pakistan, pressure on oppressed Indian Muslims will be released and their forced conversion to Hinduism will have to be stopped. The fact is that Islam is the last hope for humanity today and if given freedom of choice, non-Muslims are more likely to embrace it. The Hindu leaders don't like such

prospects. The time is bound to come when Islam will dominate. All efforts of the bigoted Indian leadership will ultimately fail in their mission. The tide of time will sweep away their conspiracies as twigs and dry straws are swept by the broom. It is a natural process and nature has its own way of determining its course. Why to waste time and energy in making futile efforts to alter this natural process?

While talking about the problems we face today we must remember that the problem of Kashmir is of major importance and cannot be overlooked. It is a fundamental national issue. For Pakistanis and Kashmiris alike, it is a matter of life and death. Without its solution, our efforts towards friendship with India will not only be unrealistic, rather it will be a greater tragedy than the fall of Dhaka. Such an effort will be merely a fool's errand. To extend a hand of friendship to India while our jugular vein is under their sword is a macabre joke. No self-respecting Muslim can forget the saying of the founder of Pakistan that Kashmir is the jugular vein of Pakistan. It would be self-deception to deny that Indian occupation of Kashmir is equivalent to a direct attack upon Pakistan itself, and that it is a step towards her long-term policy of bringing the subcontinent under her hegemony. If we close our eyes like a pigeon on seeing a cat we will be eaten up like the pigeon. It is essential to face realities. This topic needs some elaboration. The Indian rulers are well aware of the fact that if Kashmir accedes to Pakistan, their dream of a United India will never materialize. I deem it my duty to state emphatically with all sincerity and honesty that if our government becomes enmeshed in Indian diplomacy, it will amount to national suicide and the negation of the ideology of Pakistan. Kashmir is an integral part of Pakistan and by accepting illegal Indian occupation over it, neither Pakistan

can survive as an independent and sovereign State nor can she play a significant role in the unity and prosperity of the Muslim world. It is the realization of this fact which makes it necessary for India to maintain her occupation over Kashmir at all costs. It is not an occasion to argue with those short-sighted people who claim that, because we have been living without Kashmir in the past, we shall continue to live without it in the future as well. Either such people are devoid of any concept of life or they have no idea about the conspiracies being hatched by our enemy. They are people for whom even Pakistan has no importance. It would not be without interest if I further explain my apparently strong conviction on this matter. The late Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, when he was President of Pakistan, held a high level meeting on the Kashmir issue, at which, besides his Ministers Mr. Mehmud Ali Qasuri, Mr. J.A. Rahim, Mr. Khurshid Hassan Mir and other high Pakistani officials, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Mr. K.H. Khurshid and I participated. I would like to briefly record certain points about the lengthy proceedings of the meeting. At one place, during the discussions Mr. Bhutto said: "We should not overlook the facts". Obviously he wanted to assert that we should be vigilant and realistic on the Kashmir issue in the wake of the 1971 Indo-Pak war. He meant that keeping in view the area, population and military strength of India it would not be possible to simply snatch the occupied territory of Kashmir away from India. As is well known, Mr. Bhutto was master of the art of table diplomacy. He, except for this short sentence, gave no other indication regarding the future of Kashmir. However following this remark by Bhutto, a Minister who seemed to be the victim of defeatist mentality and shortsightedness gave many unsubstantiated opinions based purely on supposition and conjecture. While concluding his talk he said that in

the foreseeable future nothing positive could be done about Kashmir, rather we would be surrounded by further dangers. He further suggested that Azad Kashmir be made a province of Pakistan. During the same meeting, Mr Bhutto, commenting upon Mr.K. H Khrushid's idea of getting the government of Azad Kashmir recognized by the international community, uttered this historical sentence: "Khurshid! you are playing with fire." Subsequently, there was some further development towards making Azad Kashmir a province of Pakistan but by the grace of Allah this plan came to nought. That story is also quite a lengthy one and, this is not the proper occasion for its narration.

During the meeting, in response to the two points raised, I presented detailed elaboration. I would like to give here a brief account in order to straighten the record. About the recognition of the facts I reminded Mr. Bhutto of his speech which he made as Foreign Minister in the United Nations. While referring to the Indian delegate's demand that Pakistan should accept the realities Mr. Bhutto had said, "The reality which has been mentioned is not a permanent one, nor it the end of everything. It is rather the product of circumstances, and will change when the circumstances change. The responsibility for change certainly lies upon our shoulders." Here is a summary of the reply that I gave in connection with the second proposal of Mr. Bhutto's Minister. I said,

"So far as Kashmir's solution lies on the permanent acceptance of the cease-fire line, if you convince us and take the responsibility that in this acceptance lies the solidarity of Pakistan, and that India will abandon its nefarious designs against Pakistan, and also that she will give up her pressure policy which in the military

terminology is known as "leaning against the enemy", abandoning their dream of a United and greater India for ever, then you need trouble yourself no more. I being the representative of the Kashmiris would myself announce that we are ready to sacrifice more than sixty lac Kashmiris for the sake of nine crore Pakistanis. But if after accepting the cease-fire line as an international boundary between India and Pakistan, the present situation does not change, rather it is more aggravated and the situation for Indian aggression becomes more conducive creating immense problems and dangers for Pakistan, then why should we sacrifice Kashmir and Kashmiris on the alter of such "self-deceptions".

I further told them how those dangers would increase. Besides all other factors it was a purely military problem. I told Mr. Bhutto that if the map of Kashmir and his military experts had been in front of me, I would have explained in detail what losses we would have to bear if we were to accept the present cease-fire line as an international boundary. Here I record the summary of my talk:

"After having struggled for the right of self determination, if we give it up and agree to discuss the conversion of the ceasefire line into a permanent international boundary, India being a bigger country

and because of her deep rooted enmity, will demand to redraw the line according to her own choice. Obviously after abandoning our rightful basic stand and accepting the so-called pertinent peace plan we will have to surrender on many points. India can claim that as the question of the ceasefire line is being permanently resolved, Pakistan should withdraw its forces from certain strategic military points to clear doubts and maintain good relations. India will also claim that following the solution of the Kashmir issue, Pakistan may not have such a large Army and that she has no need to be a strong military power wasting its budget on military power. Pakistan would be creating ill will. India would not stop here. She will further demand to inspect our military installations and keep an eye on our military preparations. All this is bound to happen, because already, for the benefit of cordial relations and as a mark of royal charity, we have twice surrendered some important strategic posts to India. If we accept the cease-fire line as an international boundary it would become a permanent danger line from where not only the whole of Azad Kashmir but also Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, would be at the mercy of long range cannon fire”.

My talk had become a bit lengthy and emotional but notwithstanding that I continued in favour of my plea and asked: “Do we intend to damage ourselves and favour our enemy by finishing the Kashmir issue on the basis of the cease-fire line.” Mr. Bhutto, who was reclining against his chair sat erect immediately and in his peculiar manner said: “ This proposal of accepting the cease-fire line is neither mine nor has it any backing from my cabinet. It is his (Minister’s) own personal opinion. While I am alive there can be no bargain on Kashmir”. I had also argued that in the absence of immediate prospects

of a solution there were advantages in maintaining the status-quo. Those details will be written about on some other occasion. I have given this citation for the purpose of making this fact distinct that to terminate such a sensitive issue like Kashmir without proper solution means to give India full liberty to strengthen herself to attack Pakistan whenever she deems fit to do so. Under the prevailing circumstances it is neither safe nor sane to offer our hand of friendship to India and make a no-war pact with her. Such pacts would mean to bind our hands and feet and offer a sword to the enemy. It is not wisdom, it is certainly suicide.

In short, if the Indian rulers are sincere in developing bilateral relations with Pakistan, Pakistanis and Kashmiris are ready for it, but the condition is that India should respect the geographical and ideological frontiers of Pakistan. She should acknowledge sincerely the freedom and sovereignty of Pakistan. She should desist from aggressive propaganda against the Muslim nationhood and stop dreaming of a united India. The demand of accepting Muslim nationhood is no special favour which is being begged of India. It is also imperative that the attacks on the lives, property, honour, religion and culture of the Muslims be stopped.

The solution of the Kashmir dispute is essential for the establishment of durable peace between India and Pakistan and this solution should be in the light of the relevant UN resolutions. In my opinion, without deciding this basic issue, the relations between the two countries will worsen further, and to cherish any hope for improvement would only amount to wishful thinking. It is impossible and insane. It is also a historical fact that the more we have advanced the hand of friendship, the more the Indians have bitten it. The daily Nawa-e-Waqt, in an editorial under the caption " We are desirous and

she is fed up" has very accurately portrayed this ludicrous situation. It is very strange and unnatural that the manifest disgust which should have taught us a lesson and opened our eyes to the reality is instead, enhancing our craze. We find such attitude in fiction but in the field of political relations between two countries such an example of a one-sided romance is unique. In the past in general and now-a-days in particular, there is much hue and cry about the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. It seems that in strengthening of the relations lies the benefit of Pakistan and we are begging the cordiality of relations from India. We seem to seek her benignity, favour and beneficence, while the attitude of India clearly exhibits the negation of cordiality and friendship. We must keep in mind that unless we make India realize that in having cordial and bilateral relations she will also be benefitted, till then to expect any positive attitude from India would be fanciful thinking and a perfect folly. Another point to consider is that the Indian attitude is less political and rather more mathematical. She is gathering so much military strength that in future she will only be able to say " Sorry, now nothing can be done." The fact is that it would rather be better for us if we terminate our relations with India. The Indian leadership either cannot understand our goodwill or they are determined to occupy us by force, as they did in East Pakistan.

For our part, successive governments have pawned us to India on the Kashmir issue simply to get her blessings. They have pledged not to let any uprising originate from this side of the cease-fire line. These government have adopted the same attitude abroad as well. As a famous foreign journalist has written: "On the one hand India is using all means to prove her false claim, while on the other, nothing is being done or said to prove the Kashmir claim for plebiscite genuine." We have been trying not to let Kashmiris say a word about

their rights, for we are afraid that by so doing India would be annoyed. We are so faithful to India that we do not even permit any friendly country to speak on our behalf on the Kashmir issue.

In any political or non-political conference held in Pakistan neither we make any mention of the Kashmir issue ourselves nor do we permit any other participant country to utter a word about it. We talk of everything round the globe except Kashmir. We ourselves have petrified this issue but alas! despite our benign attitude India has not changed her policy. She remains as inflexible as ever towards us.

India keeps harping about the danger emanating from Pakistan. What does she actually mean? How is India at risk? India is ten times bigger than us. In territory, in population, in resources and in political and military power it is larger and stronger than us. In addition to all that she has made the atom bomb which we do not possess. In East Pakistan she manoeuvred our disintegration and defeated us. Her allies are sincerely with her and are outrageously against Pakistan. To keep the balance of power in their own hands they want to see us finished or at least weakened. On the other side our friends are somewhat like Ghalib says: "The sky needs no enmity with whom you befriend". No country can help us nor will help us to launch an attack on India. Our friend the U.S.A is extremely cautious in this matter, always behaving like a cautious thief looking hither and thither lest he should be caught. She does not want Pakistan to be destroyed, but at the same time, does not like to see her become self-sufficient in defence.

Such are our friends. In the light of this reality, then, what is all this hue and cry by the Indians about? What else could be its explanation except that India wants to perpetuate the war-like situation between us so that we should sink into oblivion under the

load of a declining economy and foreign loans. This is exactly the situation prevailing today. On the pretext of an imminent war threat she is getting aid from her friends. As Iraq was attacked by Israel so Indians are waiting for a proper opportunity to attack our installations. Except that, there is not a shred of truth in the fake Indian propaganda against Pakistan. Her sole intention is to complete her nefarious designs. Whenever a mention of cordial and friendly relations is made by India, it simply means that she intends to further step-up her military preparations. She deems it necessary to reserve the right of use of every kind of aggression and to continue her plans to demolish us. Pakistan may neither make defence preparations, nor make a mention of Indian aggression but simply be ready to be swallowed up by India. This is the hub of the Indian philosophy of friendship. It is very sad that our governments do not keep the public informed. The masses are kept in the dark particularly about the heinous Indian designs. It is ironic and tragic. What kind of political sagacity is this? No amount of tears can wash the scum of such deeds away. Thousands of pages are required to narrate this story in detail. I have only tried to present a brief sketch of our present miserable plight. May God help us!

It is not only our policy towards India which we have mismanaged. It is the same with our other national and international policies. It seems as if we are following the policy of foreign dependence. By a detailed analysis of our affairs it would appear that our governments don't have faith in our own country. They have constantly been looming outward. For framing and executing our national policies we certainly need experts endowed with insight, commitment, knowledge and experience, but we must realize the fact that the success or failure of any policy primarily depends upon our

internal conditions. If we are sound and strong within, it will certainly give a healthy reflection on our external relations and if conditions within the country are not satisfactory we have little chance of success in our outward endeavors. Our rulers have always been trying to improve the internal situation with imported help and guidance. This is tantamount to harnessing the cart before the horse. Obviously the cart can never move. So we are bogged down in this tangent position which is only to be expected. The fact is that neither our internal nor our external policies are well thought out. It is no secret that foreign interference in our internal affairs is increasing day by day. The most tragic aspect of this interference is that our political thinking is being adversely influenced. It seems as if some of our political leaders and political parties have already been affected, and are pinning their hopes, on external forces. The irony of fate is that they think this to be a matter of pride. India takes full benefit of all our weaknesses. Leaving apart what benefits any other country derives from this situation, it cannot be denied that some friendly countries which depend upon us have also started despising us. They have no respect left either for our government or for our people. Not only their governments, but their people also look down upon Pakistan. How much further down the road of degradation and shame must this nation go. This nation that has been blessed great capabilities and vast resources by Allah. Let us all pray that Allah may send somebody who could utilize our talents and take us out of these dykes. There is no denying the historical fact that the success or failure of nations is directly related to their convictions and their leaders. There is no denying related to their convictions and their leaders. The course of history is determined by the presence or absence of a great personality. Personalities leave their imprints on the pages of history. Our nation is replete with great talent and potential

which can take it to unparalleled heights and rank it up in the tiers of the greatest nations of the world. We lack that great, sincere, dedicated and pious leader. Maybe Roomi was right when he said: " I aspire for him who is not attainable."

THE ONLY SOLUTION

Had the movement for an independent Kashmir been initiated in the occupied portion of Kashmir it would have carried some sense but on that side a strong movement of accession to Pakistan is in full swing. It is on this side of the ceasefire line that a particular group has launched the movement for independent Kashmir. The major part of Kashmir is under Indian occupation, and there can be no question of an independent Kashmir State until that part is liberated. Kashmiris, except for adopting some temporary defensive measures, can do nothing to liberate that part unless the struggle is launched from Azad Kashmir and for this purpose this liberated territory is made a base camp. It is imperative to clear one point. Some ignorant people and delinquents insist as to why the people of occupied Kashmir do not themselves fight for their own liberation. In my view no such movement in the world can be launched without two basic factors. First, a safe place must be available outside of the affected areas, to be used as a base camp. Secondly, the freedom fighters must be supplied with all necessary aid. Unfortunately in the case of Kashmir both are lacking. Azad Kashmir could have been made a base camp but it cannot be activated and mobilized till Pakistan is safe from Indian attacks. Both these pre-requisites are not a mere child's play, nor can they be achieved on imaginative suppositions. Strong commitment with the mission and hard work are required to gain our objectives.

TO SEVER THE ROOTS

It is a totally different subject whether Azad Kashmir can be made a base camp or not. There are different opinions in this regard. In my opinion it is quite feasible. Clearly there are dangers involved but to achieve our goal we shall have to accept the risks. If the purpose of the initiators of the movement for independent Kashmir is merely to raise a hue and cry, and by this action they hope that India will be compelled to announce, "since you are crying for a long time, we, therefore terminate our occupation of Kashmir." What else could be more ridiculous and childish than this? No credence can be given even to the existence of such a movement prior to the Indian withdrawal from Kashmir, voluntarily or otherwise. In fact, conversely, this movement may induce us to mistake the Indian intentions and foolishly declare the liberated territory independent. That will be the end of everything.

SIMPLICITY OR FOLLY?

What I cannot understand is that if we have not been able to pressurize India from our present position, which is a safer and better one, and which is being supported by Pakistan as she herself is a party to it, and because of all this India has been sustaining heavy losses, then how possibly can we pressurize her from a weaker stand and in what manner? If given any serious thought, it becomes self-evident that such a policy would not only be a hinderance to the liberation of occupied Kashmir but would expose us to a well orchestrated alien conspiracy to hand over Azad Kashmir to India. This is the only way our enemies can weaken Pakistan. It is ironic that such people wishfully demand that the government and the people of Pakistan should change their views, come to their help, and face all those

dangers which they would have faced for the completion of Pakistan, and in the process endanger the security of their country. One cannot imagine of such governments or people in Pakistan. How can they venture to sever the branch they are sitting on? Time and again I have asked the pro-independence wizards, "Please go get the Indian occupied portion of Kashmir liberated and make it an independent State." In response to my plea they say, "You and the people of Pakistan shall have to do even that. What we can do is to suggest the right course to you." I am at a loss to understand the wisdom of their plans. It is like living in a fool's paradise.

KASHMIR SHALL BECOME PAKISTAN

Another point often discussed is whether or not an independent Kashmir can survive? It is a debatable topic. Some people cite the examples of several countries smaller than Kashmir. Anyone who possesses even a little political wisdom and geographical knowledge can understand that via Afghanistan Kashmir's frontiers are easily accessible to Russia. Kashmir can only survive if China, India and Pakistan jointly guarantee to protect it from a Russian threat. Not only that it is located near two socialist giants, Kashmir has obvious importance for both its immediate neighbors, India and Pakistan. In any event it can become part of any one of the two. It needs both of them and both of them individually need it. Neither can Kashmir survive without one or the other of them nor can they individually feel secure without possessing it. Had this not been the position this long standing "bone of contention" between the two countries would have disappeared long ago. It is important for Russia because of its closeness to China; America, because of its South Asian policy takes a lot of interest in it. It is not reasonable for us to serve only the global

interests of any of the big powers. If somebody aims to make it China's Kashmir or leave it to the mercy of India then certainly it does not need further elaboration but if it is to be maintained as Muslim Kashmir, and clearly it must, then we shall have to pursue the course of action which the Kashmiri Muslims have been pursuing from the very beginning. They had decided even before the creation of Pakistan that, "Kashmir shall become part of Pakistan."

THE DECEPTION OF INDEPENDENCE.

So far as the Kashmiri Muslims are concerned, it is a heartening fact that among the people of Kashmir none of the notable personalities or political parties have ever accepted or is likely to accept in future the idea of a homeland separate from Pakistan. It has gained no credence in Azad Kashmir with the exception of a few lackeys who promote it only because of their person. The vast majority of the people by the grace of Allah are not ready to bargain for Islam or Pakistan. I have already mentioned the situation in the occupied Kashmir. The Pakistan ideology is deeply rooted there. A few persons living in Azad Kashmir who are affected by the slogan of independent Kashmir tell their friends: "We raise such slogans to mend the ways of the government of Pakistan. In our heart of hearts we are with Pakistan. Aren't we Muslims"? Sometimes they delude themselves and their simple hearted followers by saying that they are working for an independent Kashmir with the concealed consent of the Government of Pakistan. Such people were to be found also in Madinah Munawara during the lifetime of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) Under these circumstances, one might conjecture, who is going to struggle for an independent Kashmir?

If, for argument's sake, an independent Kashmir is proposed by India, then we could consider to talk about it but its initiation from our side is not understandable or acceptable. This proposal is nothing but an exhibition of mental derangement or it may have a more nefarious purpose of creating such a confusion as may result in internal clash and conflict, so that the struggle for the liberation of the occupied Kashmir dies out. They may want to disintegrate the relationship between Kashmir and Pakistan. The father of such a wicked brainchild can easily be recognized even by a moron.

A DANGEROUS TRAP

In this context let us consider the effects of such a movement on our side of the ceasefire line, which affects us directly and immediately. Before the movement for an independent Kashmir reaches somewhere, let us consider for a moment, what will happen here? Can we permit the vested interests to play such a dangerous game with our life and the regional integrity? In its urgency it is more important than the other things involved. We should be quite clear in our objectives. When we talk of an independent Kashmir in the liberated areas it simply means that we have abandoned our goal. By doing so we would be stating that our ancestors were foolish and that all that has been said and done till now was all wrong. It would further mean that our sacrifices were useless, our martyrs and freedom fighters were at fault, the people who left their homes, and herths for the cause were insane. Moreover, we would provide an opportunity for India to say, "It was a wrong stand from the very beginning," and thus turn the tables completely on us. The Indians would further be able to mock at us by saying that if we have come to our senses now

after so many years perhaps tomorrow we will become even wiser and accept the Indian occupation of Kashmir as a just and legal act.

The second dangerous aspect of the slogan of an independent Kashmir is that, even just by its mention, the concept of Muslim nationhood perishes. When any one amongst us declares that he wants to make the State independent, the immediate intellectual reaction is that of a realization of an indifference towards Pakistan and its people. It means as if we are the people of two different nations or countries. This is the bitter fruit of such a movement. With the propagation of this theory a poisonous arrow pierces our hearts and our long-cherished concept of being one nation is again tarnished. In this epoch it is our need to strengthen the concept of oneness of the Muslim community, which is scattered by such slogans. If any one denies this fact he is a liar and a hypocrite. The more this ideology of differences spreads, the more it will fortify hatred and friction amongst us. Ultimately we will come to realise that we had laid the foundation of this movement on the basis of hatred. On the one hand we will say that we cannot live with India, for the Indians have committed aggression in Kashmir and on the other hand we will say that we do not want to live with Pakistan because we feel pleasure in separation. Such a theory would mean that while we dislike to live with them, the Pakistanis not only should keep loving us but should keep supporting us in our freedom struggle, even at the cost of their own existence. What an idea! Presently what is happening in the name of an independent Kashmir is no more than this. What an atrocity!

KASHER DESH

To accelerate and enhance this movement, the separate entity of the Kashmiris is being highlighted. Such deceptive slogans as

'Kasher Desh' are being coined. These movements are the outcome of the prejudices of different ethnic groups and are launched only to weaken Pakistan. To get the government of Azad Kashmir recognized was the intended harvest of this movement. Some persons in government circles were also responsible for this move. This was the corollary of the original movement. When a man sitting in Azad Kashmir or Pakistan talks about the independence of Kashmir, it looks quite natural that first let Azad Kashmir be recognized as an independent State, then we can better come to grips with the real movement of independence in its required intellectual atmosphere. The late F.M Mohammad Ayub Khan in his dictatorial period made Mr. K.H Khurshid the president of Azad Kashmir, and soon after this movement was started. The secular thinking of Mr. Manzoor Qadir, the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, further strengthened the idea; but thankfully it could not take practical shape for certain reasons.

There were two or three factors against it. Rais-ul-Azhar Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas was diametrically opposed to this idea and the Pakistani patriots seriously started considering the hazardous aspects of such a movement. F.M Mohammad Ayub Khan also became concerned and gave serious rethinking to the concept. Every one knew that Chaudhry Sahib was not opposing the idea of an independent Kashmir for any selfish motive. He did so only in the larger interest of Pakistan. Even his opponents admitted his unchallenged love and **sincerity for Pakistan. It was on his appeal** that the Muslim Conference launched a gigantic movement **against** the idea of an independent Kashmir. It was a time of great trial and tribulation for Chaudhry Sahib and his associates. Today none can even imagine the hard time which we had. Chaudhry Sahib used to say that the very existence of

Pakistan was at stake and the government of Pakistan was cutting its roots by itself. A few influential members of the bureaucracy considered Chaudhry Sahib and his associates as traitors and insurgents. The press statements of the then Foreign Minister Manzoor Qadir are on record as a proof of this fact. The other obstacle in recognizing Azad Kashmir was the statement of the Foreign Minister of India that if Azad Kashmir was declared an independent State, India would attack and occupy her. For the first time, the government of Pakistan and the patriots realized and recognized the sincerity and honesty of Chaudhary Sahib. The third impediment in the implementation of the proposal was the behaviour of the then President of Azad Kashmir, which he often displayed at the very early stage of his coming into power. The Pakistani rulers smelt the situation and started believing in what was told to them by the patriots. Their misunderstandings were removed.

In the beginning the government of Pakistan had thought of making a formal announcement of independent Kashmir and keeping all control in its own hands but soon it was disclosed that what these bureaucrats wanted was a deception, and what the President of Azad Kashmir really wanted was full autonomy which was impossible for Pakistan to concede. The pioneers of an independent Kashmir deluded the people by saying that they were Muslims and where could they go after obtaining independence? They further said that an independent Kashmir would be only for showing the world. This plea may have been based on sincerity and simplicity but we have always been of the opinion that such a trick does not dupe the others, it only deceives and diddles its propounders. No one would accept fake independence and the real independence would mould the trend of our actual movement and struggle. This deception would ultimately destroy our

whole fabric. It would be tantamount to burning our homes with our own hands, and no sane person stabs himself even if the dagger is made of gold. Both movements, that is, the movement of the recognition of the Azad Kashmir government and of the independence of Kashmir may not be analysed and viewed separately. They must be seen in one perspective, because these are only two sides of the same coin. So far as its implications are concerned, the movement for the recognition of the government of Azad Kashmir is more dangerous than the slogan of an independent Kashmir, though the former is a part of the latter.

PAKISTAN AND INDEPENDENT KASHMIR

There are only two plausible ways to launch the movement for independent Kashmir. First with the active support of the government of Pakistan and second in spite of opposition by the government of Pakistan. There is no third course. If this movement is to the benefit of Pakistan or, it at least does not conflict with the interests of Pakistan, then it is the duty of Pakistan to support it or at least connive in it, which would also be a support. However, if this movement is against the interests of Pakistan, then it is her duty to actively oppose it. It is evident that in future this will have to be done. I would like to add a word here and that is that the movement for an independent Kashmir may be in the interest of any other party but it is most definitely not in the interest of Pakistan. Rather it is totally against her interests. It may prove to be many times more dangerous than the pathetic debacle of East Pakistan. No sane government of Pakistan can either support this movement or ignore its potential after effects. If any such movement is launched it will out of necessity clash with the government of Pakistan. The more this movement gathers

strength, the more clashes with Pakistan will emerge. It is being said that in Kashmir a wave of spite and animosity has risen against both India and Pakistan. If this is true then how can we support such a movement. Can such a movement be of any benefit to the Muslims of Kashmir? What relation can such a movement have with Islam? It was a natural and logical outcome of this movement that during the presidential period of Mr. K.H Khurshid, people were openly speaking out against Jihad-e-Azadi (War of Freedom) at public meetings. The launchers of this movement are obviously against Pakistan, Islam and the freedom struggle.

Similarly, when the question of recognizing Azad Kashmir arises, it is Pakistan, which has to swallow the bitter pill. Upon the denial of Pakistan, what will be the result? If after knowing all the consequences of this movement, we still insist on permitting the movement of an independent Kashmir to proceed, then it is tantamount to declaring a war against Pakistan. Will it be beneficial or harmful to the struggle for Kashmir's freedom? Will the face of this movement for freedom and independence be towards Islamabad or Srinagar? Or will it perhaps be turned towards Washington, Beijing or Moscow? If in reality the diversion of attention from Srinagar is not desired or intended, even then it will automatically occur. If such a thing takes place then who will thereafter listen to our cries. When this anti-Pakistan movement is launched in Pakistan, as it must be, what will be the reaction of Pakistani Muslims to the proponents of this movement. It is essential to gain the support of the people of Pakistan for the freedom movement because the government of Pakistan may or may not do any solid work on the Kashmir issue but the people of Pakistan have always given great sacrifices alongwith the Kashmiris, and they are our future hopes as well. Without their moral and

114

material support no movement of freedom can succeed in Kashmir. If we launch a movement against them, then how can we expect support and sympathy from them? It is a dilemma which needs to be diagnosed and accurately comprehended.

KASHMIRIS LIVING IN PAKISTAN

Yet another point to consider is what would be the reaction of the hundreds of thousands of Kashmiri refugees living in Pakistan. If they side with this movement, based on anti-Pakistan slogans, will it be morally, socially or economically correct for them? Will they be able to retain the respect and love in the hearts of the Pakistanis which is presently there? Will they be able to walk with their heads erect? Is this the fruit of the sacrifices of 1947 when two lac Muslims laid down their lives? Will not the millions of Kashmiri refugees and the inhabitants of Azad Kashmir who consider Pakistan as their home be treated as foreigners in Pakistan thereafter? Will they be happy to be called aliens in their own motherland-Pakistan? If this movement gains strength, will the people of Azad Kashmir enjoy the those rights and privileges which they have today? Will they enjoy those rights and privileges which they have today? If such a situation arises in Azad Kashmir what will be, and should be, the reaction of the government of Pakistan? What about the advantages which we are getting from Pakistan keeping in view that the very survival of Azad Kashmir depends upon those? What will be the future of those countless Kashmiris who are serving in important positions in the armed and civil services of Pakistan? Will it be justifiable to keep them on in key positions against the interests of that country? If not, will Azad Kashmir be able to protect their rights? Will a trader or a businessman of Azad Kashmir like to work in Pakistan as a foreigner or a second

rate citizen? What will be the reaction in Pakistan of such a movement? If Pakistan also repays in the same coin how will Azad Kashmir survive then? Will we beg for protection from India? May Allah protect us from such a horrendous fate. What will be the result of all this humbug? The liberation of Indian occupied Kashmir or the slavery of free (Azad) Kashmir? These questions require serious attention.

WORSE THAN BANGLADESH

Azad Kashmir is the most important defence line of Pakistan. Not only does Pakistan have to keep her Army in Azad Kashmir but many soldiers and valiant fighters of Azad Kashmir are serving in this Army and are standing shoulder to shoulder in front of the foe. The Indian Army can only enter the territory of Pakistan after trampling them all under their feet. It is an undeniable fact that had this been an easy task for India she would not have sought other fronts during the wars of 1965 and 1971. Can spite and enmity, stirred up on the first defence line of Pakistan, be considered as justifiable and can it be permitted? I have already stated that the Indian Foreign Minister had threatened to attack if the Azad Kashmir government was recognised. If India attacks Azad Kashmir to usurp or annex it, who will then stop her? Will this political tomfoolery be a sufficient shield to protect us? Undoubtedly the Pakistan Army will have to fight, not only to save Azad Kashmir, but also to defend Pakistan. In case of the independence of Kashmir, will it be possible for it? If ultimately the Pakistan Army has to defend us, what will happen then? If some people conspire an assault by India when we are without defences of protection then there can be no discussion or debate on this issue. The logical consequence of this movement will be the fall of this important

and sensitive defence line of Pakistan to India. The territory of Azad Kashmir is not only a strong defense line for Pakistan but if it is conquered by India, Pakistan will be surrounded by grave dangers from all sides. With the exception of Iran and Afghanistan all other land links with the rest of the world will be cut. For this reason I consider the movement of an independent Kashmir more dangerous than the creation of Bangladesh, as its final outcome will be to sever the jugular vein

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIA?

We claim that the Muslims of Indian-held Kashmir are with us, but in response to this, India can claim that the Muslims of Azad Kashmir are not with Pakistan. This way India can exercise her self-styled right to attack Azad Kashmir through police action or military action to "liberate" the people of Azad Kashmir. India can never and will never attack Azad Kashmir until or unless she finds a favourable opportunity, could India want then to find a strong movement of secession here? We know that India has taken great pains towards this end but the Muslims of the State have foiled her every nefarious attempt. There have been disagreements between ourselves and the various governments of Pakistan, though never with the State of Pakistan. Ours was the right course, and India never got encouraged to use our actions as a basis or excuse for an attack. She never lets any opportunity pass by and strives to create misunderstandings about the real issue through heinous propaganda. After the sorrowful events of 1955 India launched an organized campaign of false propaganda against Pakistan. During the 1962 elections in Azad Kashmir the India radio kept transmitting false propaganda that the votes obtained by the Liberation League went against Pakistan, even though

she knew that she could not attain her purpose. However, if some people succeed in launching an independent Kashmir movement in Azad Kashmir then who will prevent India's intervention and that course would be a direct conflict against the very existence and integrity of Pakistan.

THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

Suppose the dreams of such people come true and Azad Kashmir is declared an independent State, and suppose we also accept that they are sincere to Pakistan and that we have misunderstood them, what is the guarantee of their being permanently in power? How can we expect that the changing political circumstances will not affect the political arena of Azad Kashmir? For instance, Pakistan needs the timber of Azad Kashmir more than any other country needs it. If tomorrow, the independent government of Azad Kashmir starts supplying it to India, who can stop her from doing that? What will be its effect on the economy of Pakistan? Similarly the water of rivers flowing through Azad Kashmir and the electricity produced by Mangla Dam can suffer the same fate. No government can put their country's vital interests in danger. It would be a constant economic nightmare for Pakistan. Who will be benefitted by doing so? It is true that we can receive biased and prejudiced answers to these questions. Whom does India intend to strangle by constructing a dam on the river Chenab? Who does not know the importance of Mangla dam for the economy of Pakistan? Very few people know how deep a relation the life of Mangla Dam has with the hilly areas of Poonch and Muzaffarabad. These are the catchment areas of this dam and the government of Pakistan can never become complacent about them, as it could shorten its life span. If we consider this project alone

we come to realize how great a loss Pakistan would have to bear if Kashmir becomes an independent State. We should pity those Pakistanis who consider themselves very wise or claim to possess absolute wisdom but cannot see the pros and cons of such a serious matter. If there is something wrong with their intentions then there is no remedy for that. To us the case of Kashmir cannot be viewed or discussed by segregating it from the interests of Pakistan. We have no remedy for the people who take Pakistan and Kashmir as two separate countries and their inhabitants as two different nations. We simply cannot help them.

HANGING SWORD

There are three parties to the dispute of Kashmir-Pakistan, India and the people of Kashmir. Two parties are on one side and a third one is alone. If Pakistan withdraws then only two parties remain in the field and the moral and political strength that we enjoy by Pakistan's being a party immediately vanishes. Considering that the Kashmiris are actually contenders without the support of Pakistan, their escaping from the clutches of India by themselves is almost impossible. Another advantage of Pakistan's being a party to the issue is that despite intense efforts India could not succeed in converting the Muslim majority of occupied Kashmir into a minority. To please the Kashmiri Muslims, India has to provide them some economic advantages. As the situation changes this story will end. India needed Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and people like him only because the movement of accession of Kashmir to Pakistan is alive here. Otherwise Sheikh Sahib's political life would have ended much earlier or he would have remained in jail. In a way the Pakistan ideology is a sword constantly hanging over the head of India. For the same reason India

has to keep a large Army in Kashmir which is a constant and heavy burden on her economy. India would be over joyed if Pakistan were to step back from its stand so that nobody should be there to deter India from her naked aggression in Kashmir. In this way India would easily annex the whole of Kashmir for itself and permanently usurp the basic rights of Kashmiris. Hence in the light of the above mentioned facts, circumstances, and the dangers and possibilities of the future, the only solution of the Kashmir issue lies in its accession to Pakistan. Only by so doing can any guarantee of peace and prosperity in the sub-continent be hoped for. This issue is a political volcano. If it erupts, not only the peace of the sub-continent will be disturbed but the peace of the whole world will be at stake.

THE WAR OF 1947

We were not near Srinagar at the time of the ceasefire. From the time we started the fight and until 15 months had passed the Muhahideen were fighting in separate groups on many fronts and we had no links with each other. Suppose I knew about my sector, I had no information about the others. There was no central command and no communication. Some people advanced towards Srinagar and some reached near Jammu, while I was active in Poonch. For a long time, I remained busy in fighting there. As compared to our present situation we were holding better strategic positions a few days before the ceasefire. The situation deteriorated when I left command of the Poonch Brigade. Under pressure from the Indian Army our commanders had to vacate some posts. I do not want to go into details here as to why such a thing occurred. It is enough to say that we were pushed back to our present position. Unfortunately we surrendered some posts in haste but by and large the position at the time of the

ceasefire was the same which we find today. Different people have different views in this regard, but I don't know if there are any real differences about it. What happened in 1971 is a different story altogether but one point is controversial and debatable, and that is that, if on 1st January 1949 we had not accepted a cease-fire the situation would have been quite different. Some experts say that the Indian Army would have advanced, while the others are of the opinion that by the end of February we would have been in Baramula and no power on earth could have stopped our advance and victory. The snow would have started melting; the routes would have been cleared and we would have marched forward. On this point people differ but on the point of ceasefire line there are no differences of opinion which I know of.

TRIBAL VOLUNTEERS

It is an entirely unfounded and incorrect view that the Maharaja of Kashmir had asked India for succour because of the infiltration of tribesmen in Kashmir. In fact, it had already been settled among Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Lord Mountbatten and Radcliffe to hand over Pathankot to provide her a strategic land route for the Indian military intervention in Kashmir. Even if the tribesmen had not entered Kashmir, India had made the plan to occupy the State. The conspiracy was hatched much earlier. Actually we were the people who started the armed struggle for our freedom from the Dogra ruler. We started it much earlier and kept on fighting continuously for fifteen months. The Indian government deliberately does not make a mention of our struggle because in that case the Indian falsity becomes apparent before the whole world and the entire picture takes a different meaning and colour. It is a naked fact that

the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir had totally rejected the Dogra rule and they wanted to accede to Pakistan. Unfortunately from our side we didn't counter the Indian false propoganda as we should have done. At their own sweet will the tribesmen came for our help and no one had sent them to Kashmir. Had the tribesmen not entered Kashmir, even then the position would have been the same because the Maharaja had to join India. It is merely a pretext that the Indian Army entered Kashmir on the request of the Maharaja to oust the tribesmen. This aspect of the struggle in Kashmir has by and large been overlooked by the world community.

ATTACK VIA JAMMU

It is merely an assumption that had Napoleon attained the hill ten minutes earlier the history of the world would have been different. It is a conjecture. Whether he did ascend the hill or not is the important point. Military experts have not yet been able to tell us that better results could be obtained by adopting any other course than what we did in the given situation. It is my conviction that we did the best under the circumstances, and our line of action was the only course available to us.

INDEPENDENT KASHMIR, AYUB KHAN AND BHUTTO

It is a fact that some elements made Ayub Khan believe that if Azad Kashmir was recognized as an independent State like other independent countries of the world, the people of Kashmir could, with help from Pakistan or with her connivance, achieve the freedom of the whole of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. He was told that the action would be welcomed in the Indian held Kashmir and a movement for

independence would start there as well, and that India would not be able to counter it. It was said that India had always been afraid of Kashmir going independent, and that she had constantly strived to check such a move in the parts of the State under her control. The sponsors of the plan thought it advisable that such a movement should be started on the Pakistan side and not on the Indian side.

They were partially successful in their attempt. Unfortunately, when the movement got started on this side of the ceasefire line, it had no effects whatsoever on the other side. Mr. Manzoor Qader's mind was behind the plan and the Field Marshal okayed it. It was also akin to the temperament and thinking of Mr. Khurshid. The Field Marshal appointed a handsomely paid Advisor who was given a desk in the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, whose assignment was to assess the possibilities of recognizing Azad Kashmir as an independent State. We opposed the movement from its inception and told them that it would simply jeopardize our case. We thought that we would lose international support and India would directly benefit from it. We frequently explained our view point in the national press.

Incidentally whenever the independence of the State was talked about it was never mentioned that efforts would also be made to liberate the Indian occupied part as well. It was always said that Azad Kashmir would be declared independent because of the misdeeds of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, and because the Kashmiris were annoyed with Pakistan and they wanted to get rid of that country. The supposed or actual misbehaviour of the government of Pakistan was always referred to, and it was said that such and such among the officers were scoundrels. The youth were particularly the target of the malicious propaganda. We were the ones who made the people

understand that the State and the government were two separate institutions and that these two should never be taken as one. Probably we are the only ones who have strived to popularize this philosophy in our country, and by the grace of Allah the effects of our efforts are now discernible every where. After a short while the people in the government of Pakistan also realized their folly and they changed their minds about the recognition issue. Following the visit of Sheikh Abdullah to Pakistan and Azad Kashmir the government had to dismiss and arrest Mr. Khurshid. That was how the situation was saved at that time.

We had several meetings with Mr. Bhutto when he was in power, and on his insistence I had a number of long sittings with his Foreign Office. Afterwards Mr. Bhutto himself covered a high level conference on Kashmir. In that conference Mr. Bhutto angrily told Mr. Khurshid that by insisting on an independent Kashmir he was playing with fire. Mr. Bhutto stopped supporting him but probably had different reasons for not supporting the movement of independence. Perhaps he wanted to make Azad Kashmir a province of Pakistan. During the Bhutto era there was certainly a time when the theory of independence was welcomed by the government circles. Mr. Khurshid was one of his friends, and this friendship could have been a reason for his emotional attachment with the theory.

THE 1965 WAR

By chance, the copy of the report I sent to the government of Pakistan after the 1965 war is not available with me at the moment. It was an analysis of the events and it consisted of 30 to 40 pages. It must be lying somewhere in the G.H.Q. Later the Field Marshal wanted to hold a meeting on that report between himself, his Commander-in-

Chief and myself, but due to our political differences that meeting could not take place.

I still vaguely remember how I came to know about the operation. There was a Commander camp near my house which has now been converted into a battle exercise school. At that time the Commander camp was being used as a training centre. Perhaps it was due to that camp that I came to know about the programme for the first time. I started opposing it immediately. My first objection was that persons hired through police and revenue departments on meagre salaries could not serve the purpose. It certainly looked impracticable and I knew it simply could not work. Hired and unmotivated people were being engaged while missionary and devoted persons were required. Because of political differences the authorities did not like to contact or consult us. It is interesting that in all my public speeches I praised the Generals involved in the operation and supported the government; but at the same time I kept telling them my observation. The result of the operation was as anticipated. Our friend Major Ayoub Khan was perhaps commanding some battalion inducted in the operation. Had some S S G people not played their vital part it would have been a complete disaster. It was actually planned on the assumption that when our people would enter the Indian occupied territory the population there would immediately rise up and then victory would kiss our feet. It was wishful thinking; a fool's paradise. No Kashmiri leader was taken into confidence. Ch. Ghulam Abbas, Sardar Ibrahim Khan and myself had absolutely no inkling about what was going on. No important person from occupied Kashmir was either consulted. The operation was planned on the reports obtained through CID constables who were sent across the cease-fire line. Obviously the reports depicted the situation there as was

desired by the authorities here. Time and again I stressed the point that such reports should not be given credence. It is a fact that the whole operation was based on such reports. What was the planning I don't yet deem it advisable to discuss. The important aspect is that the field planning depended on fake and imaginary estimates, without taking account of the factual position or concrete evidence. It was assumed that people belonging to various parts in the occupied territories would rise in revolt against India. While believing in such reports they simply disregarded Ch. Ghulam Abbas, Sardar Qayyum, Sheikh Abdullah or any other popular leader of Kashmir. This was a disappointing aspect of the operation.

Let me tell you something about the other side of the ceasefire line. During the operation Sheikh Abdullah sent a message to let Sardar Qayyum enter into the Indian occupied territory. I asked General Akhtar and the other concerned people to let me go. A question may be asked as to who stopped me from crossing the line? The fact is that when I was holding public meetings near the cease-fire line I was told through a special messenger that I could not go even near the line. I was restricted. I humbly offered them my opinion. I told them that the operation could not succeed for the reason that the people they had sent inside had no means to establish their credibility, since they were not known there. It was not engraved on their foreheads that they had come from Pakistan. It took almost one month to establish that the entrants were genuine and that they were not planted by the Indian Army. I again requested that I be permitted to go across. I was prepared to go there under a false name because I did not aspire to gain political credit out of the operation. While inside I could certainly assemble hundreds of thousands of people and could attempt to establish a revolutionary government. Maybe I could do something by

inciting a revolt. Had I crossed, thousands of people would have accompanied me and the cease-fire line would have effectively broken, and the operation could have probably succeeded but nobody accepted my arguments. Later I was told to get ready and organize a Brigade for the purpose. Highly placed and highly paid people assembled on my call. I formed a Brigade and reached Shankiari. The training incharge gave 5 to 10 days training and said that the Brigade could accompany me across the line but our high command sent a message that Sardar Qayyum and his companions could not be allowed to take part in the operation. We were extremely disappointed.

I am pained to say that this operation is a dark spot on the name of the Pakistan government and the Pakistan Army. The most unfortunate aspect of the operation is that the Kashmiris are held responsible for its failure. It was said that they did not cooperate. The question arises that if the Kashmiris did not cooperate or help then how did it happen that thousands of persons sent across the border stayed there for more than two months. It was rather fortunate that the people from the valley did not revolt. If they had done so, they would have met the same fate as the Muslims belonging to Rajori and some other places. About 80 thousand people from those parts were pushed by Indians to our side. Some of them returned to their homes, but we have not yet been able to rehabilitate those who stayed here. If Muslims from the valley had also migrated India would have certainly felt happier as she could have replaced them by Hindu settlers. It suited the Indian long range strategy to do away with the majority Muslim population in the occupied territories. It was a lucky incidence that the people belonging to the valley did not chose to openly take part in the movement. It is most unfortunate that Kashmiris were blamed, and that too purposely and with a planning. There are people who think that

the basic aim of the 1965 operation was to prove that nothing could be done about the Kashmir problem and therefore, it would be better to accept the cease-fire line as a permanent border. Ch.Mohammad Ali was a wise man and was respected in the whole of the subcontinent for his logical and mathematical approach. He remained angry with me for a long time for the reason that I had unconditionally supported the Govt. of Pakistan in 1965. He even stopped talking to me. Once when I insisted to know the reason for his annoyance he told me that it was only because of my all out support to the Army authorities in 1965 that he was angry with me. It was his considered opinion that the planners of the operation in fact wanted only to prove that nothing could be done or achieved in connection with Kashmir. I cleared my position. I told him that had we not cooperated at that juncture the Indian Army could have advanced and they could have captured out vast territories. It was our cooperation which averted that catastrophe.

This is how the failure in 1965, without any rhyme or reason, was attributed to Kashmiris. As far as my personal opinion is concerned, I shall be the happiest if this operation is completely deleted from our annals. At that time I visited all the borders from Tao Butt to Bhimber and from Lahore to Sialkot. By an objective analysis it appears that the planners of the operation had believed that they were going to march towards a place where there was no likelihood of any resistance.

This is in brief how and why the 1965 operation failed. It is my conviction that if the Kashmiris had been taken into confidence at that time, and Ch.Ghulam Abbas, Sardar Ibrahim Khan, Mr. Khurshid and myself had been consulted about the matter the results

would have been quite different. What they actually did was that they neither bothered to take somebody into confidence from this side of the line nor from the other side. In these circumstances you cannot say that the operation was in fact meant for Kashmir and that its failure proved the failure of the Kashmiri Muslims.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY AND AZAD KASHMIR

Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto alone could tell the reason for establishing the Peoples party in Azad Kashmir. In principle I was against establishing not only the People's Party but any political party whose centre was in Pakistan until the dispute over Kashmir was settled. First of all the late Suhrawardy wanted to establish his Awami League in Azad Kashmir. He discussed the matter with me and subsequently cancelled his programme. The late Field Marshal Mohsammad Ayub Khan desired to establish the Muslim League here. He also dropped the idea after having a dialogue with me. He agreed with my view point and for the time being postponed his programme, but after the Simla Agreement he became serious on extending the branch of his party in Azad Kashmir, and he also included in its manifesto the provision of making Azad Kashmir a province. In my opinion the prime purpose of the formation of the People's Party in Azad Kashmir was to make it a province of Pakistan and finish this issue for ever. I don't know for certain but there could have been some secret understanding tied with the Simla Agreement. There is nothing on record but it seems as if there was a mutual understanding between both the premiers to end this matter. This, I firmly believe, was the reason for establishing and strengthening the People's Party in Azad Kashmir. It was a peculiar and typical style of Mr. Bhutto's politics. He knew that he would not be able to keep pace

with the Muslim Conference in his political intentions, hence he had to raise his own party for the aforementioned purpose and for some other ulterior motives as well but the basic aim of establishing this party seems to have been the division of Kashmir and making Azad Kashmir a province of Pakistan.

THEIR GOVERNMENT IN AZAD KASHMIR

The fact is that the People's Party had no right or justification to form a government in Azad Kashmir. Some people are of the view that it was done with the specific purpose of pleasing India. Soon after the Simla Agreement somebody who was a member of the delegation sent me a brief note through a friend of mine. It stated that three decisions had been taken at Simla. Thereafter all the three things mentioned in the note happened one after the other. First of all a Free Kashmir centre being run by Mr. Yusuf Butch in the United States was closed. Secondly Sheikh Abdullah was asked to form a government in the Indian-held Kashmir. Thirdly, my government was dismissed in Azad Kashmir. They had no legal or moral right to interfere in Azad Kashmir. They did it forcibly and we also reacted strongly.

THE KASHMIR ISSUE IN BRITAIN

What I did in England was not pre-planned. I wanted to work abroad for the Kashmir issue. It was quite suddenly that I had to go to England, and while there I availed of the opportunity to do something for the cause of Kashmir. By the grace of Allah, I utilized my time in England to the best advantage, and prior to my return, I extended invitations to some members of the British parliament and to some eminent political personalities to visit Azad Kashmir. Our Prime

Minister was supposed to go abroad within a month or so of my return and he would continue this programme and lay plans for the future as well. Our party workers, settled in England also wanted to hold a conference there. We had to work very hard to convince the Labour Party members. What to speak of the British people, the majority of our own people settled in England do not know the nature and genesis of the Kashmir case. Including the Conservatives none of the political parties appears to be sufficiently aware of the problem. We had to take great pains to make them understand our case, especially the members of the Labour Party, as it had a soft corner and inclination towards India. Mr. Michael Foot, the Labour leader proved to be a hard nut to crack. He was not even ready to listen to our plea on the Kashmiris right of self-determination and plebiscite but after a long discussion he was finally convinced and admitted the truth and soundness of our view point.

PEACEFUL SOLUTION

I have never advocated military action as a solution for the Kashmir dispute. It is one of the solutions, no doubt, but it is the last one. When all other measures fail then one is compelled to use force but in the case of Kashmir we can pressurize India more successfully through political methods. About past military actions I have my own, somewhat different opinion. Whether they were right steps or wrong and whether our modes and methods were right or wrong are the questions which are required to be discussed in detail, separately. I do not attribute their success or failure to myself or to the Kashmiris. The failure was due to reasons beyond our control. The important point is that I have always desired and pursued a peaceful solution to the problem and I continue to adhere to this principle.

VALE OF KASHMIR AND ITS YOUTH

It is a fact that a movement against the forcible occupation exists in the Indian held parts of the State. In my opinion it will be better and safer if, instead of an active liberation effort, Muslims of those parts try to protect and maintain their Islamic culture and their separate identity. I know for certain that such a movement exists there, and I believe it will yield the same results as far as our ultimate objectives are concerned. For our part, we render them moral support and encourage them whenever we find opportunities of personal contacts. I don't at this stage favour an active liberation effort because we are not in a position to offer them the required assistance from this side of the line but we are giving full moral support to the movement they have launched to preserve and protect their cultural, historical and religious identity.

INDIA-CHINA WAR

The Chinese attack on India provided us a good opportunity, but the question is, were we prepared to avail of it. It is hypothetical to say that we could really do something. It is presumed that we were prepared for the occasion, whereas, the fact is that we were not. By pretending that we could really do something but we abstained we have made India and some others grateful. We did not have a plan for such an eventuality and we were not in a position to do something. Had we been fully prepared to attack India and then had not attacked, it would have meant that we had missed an opportunity. It seems we had prepared ourselves only for wrong directions and choices.

PAKISTAN AND SUPER POWERS

There was a time when I was of the opinion that it was only Pakistan which was the center for their intrigues, but now I perceive the whole world as being under the spell and impingement of the super powers. No country is safe from their influence and their interference, and therefore, independent policies are non-existent. The whole world is under their influence and the nations are divided, tilting to different blocs. Every country makes its policies keeping in view the mood and policies of its master. If some country claims independence it is duping none but itself. No country is a non-aligned or a sovereign State in the true sense. Even Russia, America and China are not self-sufficient and independent. They are rather dependent upon external elements and are like a political amphitheater in which the effete effigies dance.

OBSTACLES

Despite being free the world is still in the fetters of slavery and subjugation. Actual freedom is a dream. Countries attain one kind of freedom only to be captivated in some other way. These countries have at best fake freedom. In the light of this solution the meaning of the freedom of Kashmir becomes vague and blurred. Secondly, we are fighting against a power a hundred times stronger than us in resources, population, arms and influence. It enjoys a distinct position and status in world politics as well. It has political stability at its back, and as compared to us its objective in Kashmir is clearer. It has established itself in the arena of world politics. Besides, unfortunately, a threat to the security of the country with whose support we could have attained our goal has become a great impediment in our way. We are divided and disunited. Several causes coincided to prevent our

movement reach the point of maturity but by the grace of Allah we are marching steadily forward. The dark and dense night of oppression is ending and the dawn of hope and liberty is casting off the opaque and lengthy shadows of enslavement and sorrow. Let us continue our sacred struggle and pray for good results.

THE ENEMY PLAN

There is another important aspect which needs our active consideration. Now everybody knows that during the last days of her rule, Mrs. Indhra Gandhi had made complete preparations to attack us. India has amassed enough Army in occupied Kashmir to undertake the operation. I pointed it out at that time through the national media but unfortunately nobody took a serious note of it, and it was rather said by some people that I was telling a scare story. Afterwards it came to be known that they had in fact fixed a date for the attack. By a favourable chance the disaster was averted but now everybody is aware of the strategic security plan of India as it has appeared in black and white. The Indians believe that all their security problems are only because of Pakistan. In practical terms it means that in order to eliminate their security problems they will have to eliminate Pakistan. We must clearly understand their objective and their target. In my view if India wants to achieve her target, her direct and easiest route lies through Azad Kashmir. Azad Kashmir and the Northern Areas are the disputed territories and if these are attacked, apparently no risk of an international war is involved. If once they succeed in capturing these areas they can easily do the rest and achieve their target. I never had any doubts about the Indian designs, and I am sure they will certainly strike if they find the conditions suitable. In my opinion they

are waiting for two things to take place. Firstly, they would like that the international situation is favourable for them and there is no chance of any outside intervention. Secondly they are waiting for an opportunity that conditions within Azad Kashmir are conducive to their designs and the people of Azad Kashmir are not in a position to offer strong resistance against them. They adopted exactly the same course in East Pakistan. They made the international conditions favourable and they saw to it that resistance within East Pakistan was weakened, and then without losing time they exploited the situation.

IDEOLOGICAL UNITY

Our strategy is that we should achieve and maintain maximum possible ideological unity within Azad Kashmir. People should be fully prepared and should realize that Army or no Army they have themselves to defend every inch of their territory; they have to fight for it and they have to die for it. Men, women, aged and the children each and everyone will have to rise up and offer resistance to the enemy. At the moment we don't find that the situation is one hundred percent to our requirements. The past ten years of misrule have produced a number of evils, which we need not discuss here but I can say with certainty that, by the grace of Allah, we have successfully retrieved the situation and are now more than fifty per cent prepared to face any challenge but we are working to achieve the conditions that if something untoward happens the two and a half million inhabitants of Azad Kashmir will counter it with faith, discipline and unity. The people of Azad Kashmir are hilly people, and they are the people who in 1947-48 fought for fifteen months against the enemy, in a manner that the history of mankind can hardly cite its parallel. Allah says in the Quran:

“Sometimes it happens that, when Allah wills, smaller in numbers overpower those who are in larger numbers”.

We have ourselves witnessed its practical demonstration in 1947. We fought for fifteen months while I was myself commanding one of the sectors. Here we have two and a half million people. If they are prepared and determined, they can certainly offer the first effective resistance against the enemy. An additional advantage is that a large number of retired soldiers are living here. One thing is clear about the war. When India opts to wage a war against Pakistan she would like to complete it within weeks or days. She cannot afford to prolong it. If the people of Azad Kashmir are resolutely prepared it is simply impossible for India to achieve its target within a short span of time. Then the war will prolong into months or rather into years, and the international situation will become disadvantageous for India. If the people of Indian-held Kashmir also join us in the effort, then the chances of an Indian attack are minimized. In case India still decides to indulge in such a venture it would be only to avert some internal crisis. Otherwise it would be sheer madness on her part to undertake an operation against a united Muslim resistance in Kashmir.

ISLAMIC IDENTITY

What I want to stress upon with reference to the Islamic identity is that, as we know, Pakistan has constantly been pressurised by India during all these years. Neither they have ever stopped putting that pressure nor have they lessened it. It is moral as well as economic, political and military, and it is clear that India intends to keep on putting this pressure as long she can afford. At the same time we know that it is simply impossible for us to compete with India in the material

field, because as compared to us she is a many times larger country, with much bigger means and resources. If we have to compete with them, the only thing we can successfully do is to establish a strong and separate identity for ourselves. We should make ourselves distinguished in such a manner that nobody should have a doubt about us. We should not depend only upon technological achievements. In addition to that we have to try hard to build our character at the individual as well as at the national level. Our character should be clearly manifested and nobody should have any ambiguity in mind. Suppose somebody punctually offers his prayers five times, and then says he is a communist at the same time, obviously both the things cannot be true. With his Islamic character he simply cannot be a communist. There is an identity for everything and being Muslims, Islam is our identity, and we have to express it in every walk of our life. If we claim that we are Muslims and that if needed we shall fight for Islam and sacrifice our lives, then it should be clear that when ever we go to war against India instead of a traditional war it will be Jihad for us. The Indians shall be fighting while we shall be performing Jihad. Such a change cannot be affected by a decree from some holy man. Rather we shall have to bring about the change by the force of our individual and collective character. We shall have to transform our lives in accordance with Islam. Only then shall we be entitled to expect the help which is promised to the Muslims by Allah the Almighty.

INTERNAL UNITY

You won't find stability in any country unless at least one soundly established political party exists there. If India has some sort

of stability it is because of the Indian National Congress, which is the principal political party of that country. When for a short period, power was transferred from the Congress to the Janata Party, India was thrown into confusion and disorder. It is unfortunate that the mother party which created Pakistan could not keep itself strong enough. This is what happened in East Pakistan. Had the Muslim League been strong enough in our Eastern wing it could never have become Bangla Desh. The tumult and turmoil we often find in Pakistan is because of the fact that the Muslim League is disorganized and weak. The stability prevailing in Azad Kashmir is for the reason that the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, which is the mother political party here, has remained strong and effective during all this period. The first general elections in Jammu and Kashmir State were held in 1934. The Muslim Conference secured 16 out of 21 Muslim seats. Subsequently once it captured 19 and on another occasion it bagged all the 21 seats. Right from 1934 upto 1986 it has been winning all the general elections, and that too with a considerable margin. It is certainly something and is not a product of some accident or expediency. Rather it is the result of an historical process, and it has kept that process alive during all these years. A broad-based, strong and ideologically motivated Muslim Conference has been the *raison d'être* of stability in Azad Kashmir. During the last elections all the parties, political as well as religious were combined against us but Allah helped us and we were victorious. There is another matter of importance which should be kept in mind. With reference to the situation prevailing in Indian occupied Kashmir we are striving to bring about political unity in Azad Kashmir, or at least to achieve consensus of opinion among the politicians on the important national issues. It has been our tradition that we never tried

to harm or suppress the other political parties. At times the others have been active against us, but as far as we are concerned, we never went beyond giving occasional press statements. It is usual with party governments that actions are taken to hamstring the political opponents, but we have always avoided such a practice. This could be the reason that no effective movement could ever be launched against us in Azad Kashmir. Had somebody undertaken such a venture, the people would have refused to take part in it. This is itself a positive step towards national solidarity.

ISLAMIZATION

There are several religious sects in Azad Kashmir but in my opinion none of them would be a hurdle in the process of Islamization here. In Pakistan, there are certain differences in the enforcement of Islamic jurisprudence amongst different sects but here in Azad Kashmir we don't face such difficulties. For the establishment of an Islamic system and society many things are required. In the government machinery, in the educational departments, in semi-governmental organizations and even in people do not have that spiritual, intellectual and ideological training which is a pre-requisite for an Islamic society. People express their desire for the enforcement of an Islamic order but by their practical deeds they negate it. We are working on this project and are solemnly striving to change the atmosphere. We will succeed in our mission. I never imagine we can ever repeat the examples of Hazrat Umar (R.A) or the other early caliphs of Islam. Though some people think along these lines, it is clearly an impossibility. We are doing what is possible for the Muslims of our age, and by the grace of Allah will keep on doing what we can.

AZAD KASHMIR A BASE CAMP

It is our belief that Azad Kashmir is the base camp of the freedom movement and it should remain as such till the Kashmir issue is resolved. There is no doubt that while we have been striving to maintain Azad Kashmir as a base camp for the freedom movement, there were and still there are others who have no sympathy with the idea, and have constantly been trying to change the status of the liberated territory to terminate the freedom struggle. This battle continues between us. The introduction of elections and the formation of democratic governments are basically an attempt to negate the concept of a base camp. Similarly by the passage of time the people do not openly give vent to their emotions but in their hearts they are deeply depressed and discomposed and yet are trying to keep the present status quo of Azad Kashmir intact. By the grace of Almighty Allah even under these circumstances we have been struggling to keep Azad Kashmir as a base camp for the freedom of occupied Kashmir. Without any attempt to bring about any change in it, we are trying to see that even this structure meets our needs. The success of a system depends upon the commitment and sincerity of individuals, be it presidential, parliamentary or direct representation, as it was in the early Muslim Conference governments. If we keep our face away from it no system can help us to reach our destination. For the time being we need not bring about changes in our present structure. God willing, while keeping the structure intact and by making it popular and strong, we shall employ it to transform Azad Kashmir into a base camp worthy of the freedom movement.

OUR ALLIANCES

It is a matter of grave and serious concern that whatever our politicians say, they themselves do not practice. We have always been

trying for an alliance with other political parties, and one or two alliances made in Azad Kashmir were only due to the efforts of the Muslim Conference. Even today we are trying that the Kashmiri Muslims should sit together, discuss our problems and chalk out a joint programme for the liberation of our beloved homeland. It is not desirable to comment on the conduct of the other groups. Unfortunately, an obstacle we have constantly faced is that, we had serious political and practical differences with other party leaders on the basic principles of how to solve or tackle this issue. For instance, in the case of Mr. Khurshid (now late) we differed on methodology as well as on ideology. Mr. Hayat Khan moves in the orbit of his immediate political interests. He has neither any concept nor any desire for the liberation of Kashmir. Chaudhry Noor Hussain is of similar worth and type. Under such circumstances what should we do and what must we avoid, and with whom to converse and whom to avoid. Such a dilemma bothers and baffles those patriots whose lives are devoted to the sacred cause of Kashmir. Self-conceited and short-sighted leadership cannot safely steer the distressed ship from the turbulent waters of the tempestuous sea. Thanks to Allah that the Muslim Conference, the majority party, is on the right path with a concrete and clear ideology. Its objectives and methodology are also correct and positive. Therefore, whenever we find an occasion, we try to exchange ideas and have mutually cordial relations with other political parties and pressure groups, for the greater cause of Kashmir.

KASHMIRIS ARE AT WAR

I think in future the land warfare between India and Pakistan shall take place only in the territories called Azad Kashmir. Whatever we are doing here, be that the developmental activities or activities in

any other field, the sole purpose behind our efforts is the liberation of the Indian held part of our State and its ultimate accession to Pakistan. At least we people who belong to the Muslim Conference adhere to this ideology. The mission we undertook in 1931 and which entered into its second phase in 1947 has not yet been completed. The cease-fire of 1949 unfortunately halted it to our disadvantage. After that we have constantly been struggling to find some means to complete our mission. If you look at the scenario you will find that we are all the time at war. It would be foolish to close our eyes and believe otherwise but in any case the fact remains that we are in the middle of a war, and that is the reason that all our activities and efforts are directed towards a particular goal.

It is our firm belief that Pakistan is incomplete without Kashmir. The Quaid-e-Azam said that Kashmir was the jugular vein of Pakistan and that no honourable nation could afford to keep its jugular vein in the hands of its enemy. The Quaid was a wise man and there is truth in his verdict. His words rightly express the historical geographical, economic, social and defence realities about Pakistan and Kashmir. By the grace of Allah we fully comprehend the significance of the Quaid's appreciation, and we have always been working with that understanding. We had to face some serious setbacks at the national level. Hundred million Muslims who were the larger part of our nation surrendered before the enemy, and East Pakistan became Bangla Desh. In Azad Kashmir we have been facing an identical situation, but by the mercy of Allah the Almighty, we have been countering it successfully. We were alone in this struggle and were not getting any ideological, political or material help from either the government or the political leadership of Pakistan. As a result of our concerted efforts the forces which were the product of the

undemocratic period of the last ten years have weakened and have now gone on the defensive, so much so that they have been compelled to change their line of action.

DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES IN AZAD KASHMIR

When I became President in 1970, I established the planning and development department in Azad Kashmir. Whatever developmental activities are seen here were started after that. In 1970 there were only five girls high schools in the whole of Muzaffarabad District, but by the grace of Allah today there are schools, colleges and many more things. We have achieved this development by utilizing the small amounts of money we receive in an economical and effective manner. We spend twenty thousand rupees on the construction of a road mile here, while two hundred thousand are spent in the plains of the Punjab. People have been working on self help basis, and they have been working hard. They have themselves started schools, which they keep financing for years. They themselves built some of the buildings. That is how all this development could be achieved. So far as assistance from the Federal government is concerned, we are not getting funds the way other provinces of Pakistan get. We have told the Federal government a number of times that the amounts should be enhanced in accordance with the regulations framed in this respect, and the method of the transfer of money should be streamlined to help us in our developmental activities. Our economic development is in fact a part of our freedom struggle.

VENUE OF WAR

If there remained no alternative except going to war with India, I should certainly chose Kashmir as a battle ground. Here we can entrench ourselves and give the enemy a tough fight. Its

mountains, rivers, forests and people are favourable to us, and in my opinion we should not lose this advantage.

OUR STRATEGY

At the moment we are striving to organize the resistance movement not only in Azad Kashmir but in the Indian occupied Kashmir as well. Though our efforts have not been upto the required level but Allah has been kind and He has been helping us, and with His help we hope to achieve our mission. I admit that so far we have done very little, Today the slogan of "Kashmir shall become Pakistan" has become popular even in Indian held Kashmir. Students hoisted the Pakistan flag at Hari Parbat fort on the 14th of August. A few days ago our Premier, Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan appealed to the Kashmiri Muslims to observe a solidarity day, and though this appeal was primarily meant for Azad Kashmir, it had widespread effects even across the ceasefire line. There was tremendous response. It is well known how an appeal once made by Mr. Bhutto was effectively responded to by Kashmiris on both sides of the line. Within the span of one year the conditions in Indian held Kashmir have reached the point where the Indian governemnt cannot dare to hold general elections.

THE NEW TURN

Now the Indians are in a fix; neither they can hold elections nor can they avoid them. On the other hand a democratically elected government is functioning in Azad Kashmir for the last one and a half year. It is a significant turn which has emerged only with the help of Allah. A few days back an Advisor of the US embassy came to see me. During conversation he said, " Mr. President, what have you done that

the Kashmir problem, which was dormant for a long time and was mentioned only in books, has all of a sudden come to life again? What is it that you have been doing during the last year?" To his query I replied, " We could do very little during this period. Nevertheless, as we are committed people and our commitment is known to our friends and foes alike, the case of Kashmir has emerged again. Of course we are making some efforts, but these are not enough."

The point I want to explain is that our strategy is to organize resistance on both sides of the cease-fire line. Everybody can see that the situation in South Asia is fluid. There is weak leadership in India nowadays. We should be prepared to exploit the opportunity whenever it presents itself.

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RANDOM REFLECTIONS

CH. GHULAM ABBAS AND THE PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT

It is indeed difficult to assess certain important past events in the present circumstances and give our verdict. Why Ch. Ghulam Abbas kept on sitting in Murree and did not agree to head a government in Azad Kashmir is a question which should have been asked from him, and only he could have properly answered it. He had hardly arrived when conspiracies started against him, particularly just after the cease-fire. Quaid-e-Millat had differences with the Pakistan leadership on this point. Probably the government had thought it expedient to cut down his influence to avoid any possible embarrassment. On the other hand Ch. Sahib wanted to remain the head of the movement and was rather unwilling to go for the government in Azad Kashmir. To the question whether Ch. Sahib should have taken over the government or not, arguments can be offered on both the sides. We can't be sure if the situation could have been different in case he had accepted the office. I believe that the government of Pakistan could not afford him as the head of Azad Kashmir government. At that time most of the people wanted a cease-fire and an amicable settlement of all disputes with India through mutual and political negotiations. Had Ch. Sahib been in the government, it would not have been possible. Ch. Sahib understood the situation and he did not want to put the government of Pakistan into some awkward position. Whenever he talked of Kashmir, he gave preference to solidarity, security, safety and survival of Pakistan. He did not want to create any untoward situation for it. He was of the view that the matter of Kashmir could be delayed but it would not be wise to put Pakistan in jeopardy.

If Pakistan is at stake automatically the case of Kashmir is spoiled. Any harm done to Pakistan was sure to cause greater harm to Kashmir. I believe Ch. Sahib was by nature the most suitable person to lead the freedom movement and he was himself fully aware of this fact. It was this trait in his character which impelled him to turn down the offer to form a government in Azad Kashmir during the Ayub era. In my opinion the way those events occurred had their utility and relevance within their own sequence. Today if we look at them from a different angle it would be neither advisable nor beneficial. It is illogical to add an if to every event and watch the outcome in an irrational manner. For instance, an important question arises, what would have happened had Sheikh Abdullah come over to Pakistan? Some people think his advent would have created miracles and everything would have changed, and that we would have conquered both Kashmir and India. All this is a sort of wish fulfilment; a simple and pure day dreaming. On the contrary, I believe that had he come to Pakistan at that time neither India nor Kashmir would have been totally wiped out. Actually we cannot give any final verdict today about these events. We cannot restructure the past and judge it against an irrational setting. The difference of opinion about these past events would permanently persist. Nevertheless, the past is such a thing which generally gives rise to speculations and differences of opinion among those who talk about it.

QUIT KASHMIR MOVEMENT

At the time the movement to quit Kashmir was launched in the State, the decision of the Quaid-e-Millat to get arrested was very correct under the circumstances. I did not take part in the movement, but I have seriously thought over the happenings. He had no other

option. To be out of jail would have meant the support of the Maharaja's government. The stand of the Muslim Conference was clear enough that it was linked with the Muslim League. Instead of conspiring with the Maharaja, the Quaid-e-Millat very rightly decided to go to jail.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF 1955

When Sardar Ibrahim Khan was removed from the Presidency he reacted forcefully. He launched a movement in the name of the Muslim Conference and announced a parallel government. He started a big agitation in Azad Kashmir the masses to indulge in lawlessness. People refused to pay taxes and revenue to the government. The government was left with only a little authority in Muzaffarabad. This was also only because of some people who had a soft corner about the government, otherwise there was widespread lawlessness. People openly carried arms and did whatever they wanted. They detained government officials. They could detain or release anyone at their pleasure This situation prevailed generally in the whole of Azad Kashmir and particularly in Poonch. I toured some areas and personally persuaded many people not to break the law and create a law and order situation in the area. I addressed a public meeting and at the end of the meeting some people who were cutting trees from a nearby forest came to see me. I asked them why they were cutting trees and damaging the property which was theirs? I told them that those trees did not belong to their enemy. Those people came from Bagh and respected me greatly, but they were so infuriated that we exchanged hot words. I strongly reprimanded and proscribed them for their destructive activities. I was shocked when I saw with my own eyes the damage they had done to the forest. One aspect of the

agitation was that, if people by chance came across any member of the Muslim Conference, they used to call him names. People even abused Ch. Ghulam Abbas and the rest of us. I was personally not much insulted but no member of the party was spared. Maulvi Ghulam Haider Jandalvi suffered most. The people caught hold of him and urinated in his mouth. His beard was plucked. His house with his possessions was burned to ashes. His neck was fastened with a rope and like a dog he was dragged through the streets. Throughout the whole of Poonch, Sardar Said Ali Khan was the only member of the Muslim Conference who continued to visit his office at Palandri, but none from his tribe liked to sit with him or talk to him. The state of lawlessness at the time can be judged by these events. The rebels were in a position to arrest the Deputy Commissioner or the Superintendent of Police and occupy their offices. The whole of Azad Kashmir fell under the sway of agitation. We were fortunate enough that the enemy did not attack us during those days. A rumour circulated that the arms which the rebels had, were being supplied by India. Actually the arms had been lying with those people since 1947. These arms were available in large quantities particularly in Sudnutti and generally in the whole of Poonch.

It was a great misfortune that some of the leaders in their public addresses both in Azad Kashmir and Pakistan talked of using force. They openly used to say "If this is not done, we will do that". I tried to make them understand that to use such language was undesirable and rather they should employ reason and patience, but, they took no heed of what I said. There were people who wanted a clash between the government and a particular tribe. They wanted to get hold of their arms and crush their tribal strength. I revealed this during a meeting held at Dhirkot in which Col. Rehman Ullah Khan,

Sardar Ibrahim Khan and some other eminent leaders of the Sudhan tribe were present. Since I had a clue of the plan I wanted to tell them about it though they had serious differences with me. I strongly advised them not to use force against the government as the results would be highly disastrous. Again and again I tried my best to make them understand the situation but they seemed to be intoxicated in the euphoria of their tribal power. I warned them that a conspiracy was being hatched against them and that they had better come out of the gamut of that conspiracy. I suggested that they settle their grievances peacefully and amicably. On hearing my advice Sardar Ibrahim Khan flared up and retorted: "Have you come to teach us?" I said: "Do what you want. I am nobody to teach or suggest anything to you. I told him that my conscience was now clear. What I had deemed best for them I had advised. Now it was upto them as to what they wanted to do. I had forewarned them of the harzardous consequences of their rebellion which they were likely to suffer.

Shortly thereafter my warnings came to materialize. The whole area was given over to the control of the Army. At Rawalakot, Palandri and Baral there was an exchange of firing between the Army and the people. There were casualties on both sides. The people snatched some arms from the Army which were later returned by the efforts of Sardar Ibrahim Khan. The military action commenced in earnest against the insurgents. The Punjab constabulary was also summoned. The insurgents capitulated and they eventually handed over their arms but then the way the Punjab constabulary was also summoned. The insurgents capitulated and they eventually handed over their arms but then the way the Punjab constabulary dealt with the insurrection is a matter of great shock and sorrow. They were also justified to some extent in their actions. Had they not dealt with the

situation with high-handedness, the rebels would have behaved with the others as they had with Maulvi Jandalvi. Such a malicious treatment meted out to a respected religious scholar was a matter of great shame for us all. Political differences should not have been allowed to cross the limits and should have been dealt with politically. Against whom was Maulvi Jandalvi fighting and why was he given such treatment? The rebels had thought that the settling of their grievances lay in an armed insurrection but when they announced a parallel government, the government of Pakistan crushed them by military action. Those wayward people then had to undergo great insults and difficulties.

The Punjab constabulary then did whatever it deemed fit or thought suitable. They indulged in excesses in order to crush the armed revolt. I did not see with my own eyes but I was told that they placed ropes around the necks of many dignitaries and dragged them through the bazaars of Palandri. Some of them were ordered to bark like dogs and the others were compelled to mew like cats. They were also flogged. Often forty or fifty of them were herded in a jail room where only one man could be kept. They were tormented in the jails. It was during this disasterous period that I was made President of the State. I released all the prisoners and tried to cool the matter down. Niaz Khan, the secretary of the Pakistan government, played a very healthy and positive role to pacify the situation. He talked to the Quaid-e-Millat Ch. Ghulam Abbas and to Sikander Mirza. May Allah reward him for his noble services. He cool mindedly listened to me and understood my view point. The rumours of getting money and arms from the enemy were proved false. Things got settled by the grace of Allah. I can state without fear of boastfulness that had there been any other person as the President of the State, it would not have been

village Mallote, who is still alive, participated in the revolt. He had also been with us in the beginning of the freedom movement. The police captured the village Mallot and established a camp there. They used to collect people from the surrounding area and order them to step down while catching their own ears in a most shameful manner. They would only release them in the evening.

I found out that those people whom I had admonished for cutting the trees had later to sell off their cattle and even pawn their wives to pay their land revenue. They had to pay the revenue for four to five years and that too to different officers again and again. Such is the recompense of those who disregard good advice.

The people of my village were also affected and felt badly disturbed though they had not participated in the revolt. However, there were a few companions of Sardar Ibrahim Khan who belonged to our village. It was because of my efforts that the people from Abbasi and Tzyl tribes mostly remained peaceful. They came to me for guidance. One day I advised them not to report to the police camp and decided to accompany them myself the following day. I wanted to enquire from the police authorities as to why they were unnecessarily beating and humiliating the people who had committed no fault. Did they have no fear of Allah? I was very bitter about it and any untoward incident could have resulted. That very night in a dream, I saw the famous saint Hazrat Data accompanied by the Punjab constabulary. When we came across each other I commented, "How is your holiness accompanied by such unscrupulous persons?" He only smiled in reply. The dream was over and I woke up feeling quite pleasant and with no bitterness of the previous day's events. The next morning I felt as if nothing unpleasant had ever happened in the entire village. There was calm and quiet everywhere. So much so that the police authorities

had also forgotten that they had summoned our people who had not reported to them. It seemed as if the fire had extinguished in the whole area. The attitude of the police authorities was completely changed. They were rather trying to contact us for advice. Sometime after this dream, I, alongwith five companions including the now retired Superintendent of Police Razzaq Khan, boarded a bus and left for Mang Bajri, Rawalakot and Palandri. I wanted to discuss the situation with people there. Movement from one Tehsil to another was prohibited without written permission from the government authorities. We did not get the permission and started our journey. When we reached near the grave of a Pir Sahib (a great saint) our bus went out of order. It was very warm. I exhorted my companions to carry on by foot. The moment we started our journey forward we felt as if we were entering into a burning inferno. When we retraced our steps the atmosphere seemed normal. I enquired from my companions if they too felt the same way. They replied in the affirmative. As we tried to advance for a second time we felt as if we were again going close to fire. I suddenly felt as if the wrath of Allah was towards that direction. The period of youth is the period of excitement. I told my companions that if it was annoyance of Allah, then we had to be with the people. We could do nothing about the bus. I could understand now why the bus had gone out of order so strangely. It was a divine signal. Allah is the Almighty. I felt that our visit was a must. The moment I thought of Him the bus got in order and we resumed our journey towards Rawalakot.

I met with a few persons at Rawalakot and talked to them. They expressed their grievances. I advised them to show patience and to face the situation with courage. I told them not to narrate the bitter happenings to others so as to pass on the said legacy to their posterity.

All that happened was shameful. I told them that in the recent past we had achieved laurels and fought a battle against our enemy with courage and steadfastness. What would our coming generations think about us. They will think that we were cowards. Done is done. Let us face the realities and close the bitter chapter once for all. My conversation had some positive effect. Col. Rehman Ullah Khan and the other notables were also there. Some people had recently been released from jails.

Then I travelled to Hajira. During that journey I had stomach trouble and was feeling miserable. I felt very weak. The whole area was desolate. We were much perturbed as to what to do. We went to the nearby water stream. At Hajira we stayed at a place where only a lady was the host and I suspected her. It struck me that may be she had secret links with the Hindus across the border. I was just thinking what to do when I remembered about one Khawaja Sahib who belonged to the Muslim Conference. He met us and that night we stayed with him. The next day I again saw that lady, who smiled and passed by. She was an eccentric lady, may be she was feeble minded. I was told that she used to go across the border as well. Then we reached Palandari. This place was also desolate and none among the locals was around. The Punjab constabulary was stationed in a camp, and when we passed by, they stared at us. They must have wondered who we were and how we were wandering around without their permission. There was a small one room hotel at Palandari. It belonged to a man from Dhirkot. He had not closed it. No local person could dare to stay in the market and do any business. In Palandri it seemed as if the area was victim of God's wrath. No logic can be offered for such a feeling. I took the owner of the hotel with me and we went to a waterside to offer our 'Nafal' prayers. For quite a long time we kept on praying. We prayed

to Allah to save this land and its people from torment and damnation. My friends afterwards said, "You are a strange man. They are our political opponents and you pray for their betterment and prosperity. What sort of politics is this?" Anyway that was my own peculiar way of looking at things.

We returned to our homes. Almighty Allah with His unending mercy extinguished that fire with the passage of time.

ODD TIMES OF 1956

I have no idea of the actual date, but I remember the All Parties Kashmir Conference held at the behest of Ch. Mohammad Ali in which I had also participated. The Conference was the dire need of the time. Ch. Mohammad Ali was the Prime Minister of Pakistan and he wanted to know the views of the Pakistanis and the Kashmiris on the Kashmir issue and the existing situation of Azad Kashmir. This conference was held in Karachi. I participated as a delegate of the Muslim Conference. I delivered a brief speech as well. In that conference the late Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Sardar Ibrahim Khan, and all others with whom we had political differences stressed the need of an elected democratic government in Azad Kashmir. On the other hand our point of view was that by holding elections we would be damaging our freedom struggle. Our cause demanded that the working committee of the Muslim Conference, the only political party of Kashmiri Muslims, should appoint the government here. We were of the view that hurly-burly of the elections might harm the freedom movement. We were not holding elections even for the General Council of the Muslim Conference. Being the sole representatives of the Muslims of the whole State which had passed the historic resolution of the accession to Pakistan was our

internationally known claim. If we had changed that General Council, then Pakistan could not have maintained its claim on Kashmir. For this reason the members of the General Council remained unchanged. The late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had the same view.” Any change in the members of the General Council” he had advised, “ would certainly damage the legal position of Pakistan” Notwithstanding these facts Sardar Ibrahim Khan and some others were pressing for elections. Sardar Ibrahim Khan was leading them and he tried to project himself as a hero of democracy. He was against the Muslim Conference and there were people who sided with him. We were of the view that he was demanding elections in order to defeat the Muslim Conference. He might be having some other good intentions, but we took it that way. We were not concerned about victory or defeat. We were of the opinion that by holding elections our freedom movement would be irreparably damaged, and that the territory of Azad Kashmir instead of being the base camp of the freedom movement would become a settled territory in which there was democracy, elections, and the governments being made and unmade. Our people would remain busy in baseless and fruitless activities. Mr. Suhrawardy and some others emphatically stressed their point of view and consequently it was decided to have elections in Azad Kashmir but we did not let that decision take a practical shape. Some years later we persuaded Field Marshal Ayub Khan and others to give a serious thought to the issue. We told them that we were certain to damage the liberation movement by indulging in electoral strife. On our request the decision was ultimately nullified by Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan when he came to power.

Because of Quaid-e-Millat Ch. Ghulam Abbas we had cordial relations with Ch. Mohammar Ali. I met him and discussed the

Kashmir problem in the light of the new perspectives and gave some suggestions. I told him how we could reactivate the freedom movement. He asked me whether I had talked to President Sikandar Mirza. I told him that I had not yet talked to him. He asked me to discuss the plan with Sikandar Mirza and on his advice I talked to the President. When I talked to him he said we would have to discuss the matter with the Commander-in-Chief as well, and asked me to see him immediately. Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan was the Commander-in-Chief at that time. I met him. I told him that Ch. Mohammad Ali and Sikander Mirza had asked me to discuss the plan from a military view point as both feared that India would attack Pakistan if my plan was executed. Ayub Khan told me that we must undertake the struggle to liberate Kashmir and if India attacked Pakistan we were strong enough to counter it. I, later recounted the whole story to Ch. Mohammad Ali. The ensuing events proved that he himself had also talked to the Commander-in-Chief about my plan.

Ch. Mohammad Ali had great confidence in Ch. Ghulam Abbas, and he naturally deemed it proper that in Azad Kashmir the Muslim Conference should constitute the government. Ch. Mohammad Ali called me and said that he could not approve the execution of the plan whilst keeping the government of Azad Kashmir aloof from it. He, further, opined that the sort of plan we sought to execute necessitated bringing me into power as it was my brainchild, and that, otherwise the plan could fail at any turn. He was right in suggesting the vital role of the government of Azad Kashmir to carry out the plan. I was not then much interested in holding the government. Rather I was more keen to organize the freedom movement but he insisted on my being the President. He was quite a seasoned and experienced man. I had no choice but to accept the offer. Ch. Mohammad Ali did not

declare to our comrades as to why he preferred to make me, above others, the President of Azad Kashmir. Then he talked to Ch. Ghulam Abbas about my appointment. I also mentioned to him the desire of the Premier Ch. Ghulam Abbas and I discussed at length the modus operandi of the forthcoming government. I advised both these venerable leaders that we should be prudent and should invite Sardar Ibrahim Khan to join us, despite the fact that at that time Sardar Sahib was our political opponent. The fact was that he enjoyed considerable political status and respect at that time and we could greatly benefit from that. He had not yet tarnished his political image as he unfortunately did later on. I told them that we might hide our plan from Sardar Ibrahim Khan but his cooperation in governmental as well as political affairs was of no concern to him since these were our internal affairs, and for his part he did not place any restriction upon us. When this subject came up for discussion in the party meeting most of the participants were of the opinion that we must exclude Sardar Ibrahim Khan from the government and should form a government of the Muslim Conference with the help of Maulana Yousaf Shah and some other friends but my mind was firmly made up that without Sardar Ibrahim Khan we would not be able to make the government a success. Like it or not, we would have to ask him to join us. On this issue some ill feelings developed between myself and Quaid-e-Millat Ch. Ghulam Abbas.

I became angry and straight away went home, stating that I would not head the government, as its objectives could not be achieved. I, therefore, withdrew my consent to accept the responsibility. During this outburst a slightly unbecoming attitude was displayed by me. He later came himself to see me at Kakajee House. By chance I was standing on the main road waiting for a bus to take

me home. The bus had not yet arrived and we talked in the intervening few minutes. He asked me as to where I was going, to which I replied that I was going home. He said that he had something to talk to me about. I said that about that matter I did not care to talk further. I said, "You do what you like but I won't participate in the formation of any such government." The bus came. I boarded and left for home but after a few days he called me again and said that we were going to discuss the matter with Sardar Ibrahim Khan. Subsequently Sardar Ibrahim Khan and I met and discussed the subject. He was also of the opinion that the Muslim Conference must unite. The leaders of the party assembled and its General Council drafted a constitution in which the General Council of the party was given the authority to nominate a government, which would be answerable directly to that body itself. The council nominated Sardar Ibrahim Khan as the President of the party and me as the President of the government of Azad Kashmir.

Neither then nor at any other time did Sardar Ibrahim Khan have any interest to become the President of the party. Parties were of no importance in his opinion. In his heart of hearts he did not like his decision to join us. Soon after I took the oath of presidency Ch. Mohammad Ali was put aside from the political scene and I was replaced.

Mr. Suhrawardy was a party to the Karachi decision and he also claimed himself as a great democrat. The formation of my government was entirely a different matter. That was neither a democratic government nor had it come into being through such a process. We did not have elections. The working committee of the General Council of the Muslim Conference had nominated me for the office of the President. He would be answerable to the general council

and that body would have the powers to remove him. In its written form the constitution was actually framed at that very time. Mr. Suhrawardy and I had in fact agreed upon this constitution, but when he became the Premier of Pakistan he sent me a message through the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs that I should include persons nominated by him in my Cabinet. He asked me not to announce the Cabinet till his "men" were included in it. The Secretary of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs came to me and personally delivered the message of Mr. Suhrawardy. I flatly told the Secretary to tell Mr. Suhrawardy that the forming of the Cabinet was my exclusive prerogative and none else was supposed to interfere in my affairs. In the meantime, I formed my Cabinet on my own. The bitterness with Mr. Suhrawardy was increased and the door of discord and difference was opened.

Once, in response to a question, Mr. Suhrawardy furiously told me and Ch. Ghulam Abbas that he was not going to put Pakistan at stake for the sake of Kashmir. Probably he did not want to see any strong government in Azad Kashmir, which could take radical steps for the liberation of Kashmir on its own. This could be the only plausible reason for his negative attitude towards my government.

An important thing which happened during those days was that without consultation with the government of Pakistan I released the people involved in the insurrection of 1955. I had also obtained some aid for them from the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. In those days the Secretary of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs was one Mr. Azfar, who was a nice man and a great patriot. I was able to make him understand the facts, and he arranged for some financial aid for the affected people. Mr. Suhrawardy was told by Sardar Ibrahim Khan and his companions that I had been arrogant and disloyal by releasing

(without any consultations with Pakistani authorities), the people involved in high treason against the country. The secret agencies, as usual and some other people also made a unified forum in order to damage me but the manoeuvre could not succeed without the cooperation of Ch. Ghulam Abbas. Now their problem was to get the goodwill and support of Chaudhry Sahib. In order to achieve this end they assigned the task to a common friend of ours who was very much adept at such trickery. Sardar Ibrahim commissioned him to perform their dirty work. Besides other things he made a plan of sending some people with intervals of two to three hours to Chaudhry Sahib to tell him imaginary things against me. Someone would go to him and say, "I had gone to Muzaffarabad and met Sardar Qayyum. I enquired about you and he replied as to who was Chaudhry Abbas, and what has he to do with our government and our area?" Unfortunately there was already some misunderstanding between Chaudhry Sahib and myself. Actually it happened that when I was selecting the Cabinet, the Quai-e-Millat wanted Ghulam Din Wani to be taken in from the people of the valley but instead of taking him I took Professor Abdul Aziz. The fact is that previously when the Presidency of the Muslim Conference was assigned to me I was quite a junior man in the party. I had told Chaudhry Sahib to take some senior man as the President. On my repeated refusal and insistence he exclaimed, "You are not being made the President because of your seniority. Neither are you being taken because you are the best or have served the party most but the reason is that the rest of the people are quite depressed and disappointed about the Kashmir problem. You are being made the President because you are the one who still has the zeal and dedication for the liberation struggle." At the time of my nomination a meeting was held. As I was quite junior, no senior man was ready to be my Secretary General.

Ghulam Din Wani and Khawaja Sana Ullah Shamim refused to work with me in the capacity of the Secretary General of the party. Professor Abdul Aziz accepted the assignment, and worked hard with me to organize the party. When the time for forming the government came I told the Quaid-e-Millat that when earlier neither of them was ready to be the Secretary General of the Party and work under me, then why should they be made ministers in my cabinet and work under me now? I told him bluntly that it was the right of Professor Abdul Aziz and it should be his but Chaudhry Sahib had his own point of view on the subject. He felt badly about it and thought that I was not giving him due respect. My adversaries exaggerated the matter and told him that I did not care for him. Sardar Ibrahim and myself, both belonging to Poonch area had become Presidents of the party and the government. My adversaries told Chaudhry Sahib that I gave less weight to his advice and more to the opinion of Sardar Ibrahim Khan. Such things were repeatedly whispered into his ears with malicious intentions.

So far as Sardar Ibrahim Khan was concerned he was the head of the Muslim Conference. I believed that, being a party government, his status was higher than that of mine. Usually such niceties are not given due importance in our society. Here more importance and value is attached to the government than to the party. In a country where the freedom struggle is in progress, success cannot be achieved if the status of the party is not maintained. So I respected Sardar Ibrahim Khan very much but I never for a moment brought him at par with Chaudhry Sahib. From the very first day the position and status of Quaid-e-Millat which I had borne in my mind I always kept that intact. My differences with Sardar Ibrahim Khan also commenced with the arrival of Chaudhry Sahib. I still remember the dinner on the arrival of Quaid-e-Millat at Rawalpindi, where I met

him for the first time. Sardar Ibrahim Khan was sitting in our midst. Quaid-e-Millat was seated on his right side and I was on his left. During conversation, addressing both of them, I said that our freedom movement could only succeed if we discarded our internal differences, and that the differences could only end if we gave due importance and respect to the leadership of the movement. Quaid-e-Millat asked me "What do you mean". I replied that Sardar Ibrahim Khan and myself were the product of the revolt. A day earlier even the people of our village did not recognize us. We were sleeping, and when we got up, we had become important. Now it would be a great tragedy if we started considering ourselves celebrated leaders. I said that would create problems. I said, "The leader should be one and only one. Leaders are not produced every day. Ages are required for that." At this point I realized that Sardar Ibrahim also got disturbed. Afterwards Chaudhry Sahib enquired of me as to why I had talked that way. I told him that I had heard some ominous whispers and for that reason I had talked like that. Then I told him that if differences developed between him and Sardar Ibrahim Khan it would seriously harm the freedom struggle. I further told him that I had expressed my views for the betterment of both of them and our struggle. On hearing this Chaudhary Sahib asked me if I did not realize that Sardar Ibrahim would think that Ch. Ghulam Abbas had asked me to talk like that. I said if somebody thought like that it would be based on misconception and ill intention. Chaudhry Sahib knew my mind very well. He knew that whatever I said I did in good faith. It is my habit that I unhesitatingly express what I deem true. Probably Sardar Ibrahim Khan misunderstood me because he had a sceptical and dubious approach to political affairs. He might have concluded that Chaudhry Sahib had prompted me to say those words, while the truth is that he

never asked me to say like that. What I want to impress upon is that as Sardar Ibrahim Khan was the head of the party I paid him great respect and never conspired against him. Whatsoever he asked or wrote to me was executed immediately, to the extent that once he asked me, "Why do you do such hard work and reply to every letter of mine." I responded, "I must reply to every letter of yours". He said, "No, don't bother so much, when I write to you and you do the required, it is sufficient for me. It is not necessary to intimate everything to me all the time." This casual attitude of Sardar Sahib disturbed me a bit as it was against my habit. The leaders, in our society, recommend people in a casual way or for their own political interest but they never mean what they say. Some people reported to Ch. Sahib that Sardar Qayyum had acquired a bed at a cost of twelve thousand rupees. It was reported to Ch. Sahib that I had purchased a very expensive car whereas actually I had a simple car which was quite cheap but ill-intentioned people left no stone unturned to turn Ch. Sahib against me. These people even misinformed me of my views about him. They said that I had no respect for him and cared two hoots for him. When a man keeps on listening to one-sided stories he gets influenced ultimately, though he may be a man of stature. Many other things might have taken place at that time against me which I don't know. Ch. Sahib issued me a charge sheet. He sent me a letter and demanded an urgent reply to certain allegations. In the list of those charges there was something about the situation in Poonch as well. He was misinformed about the law and order situation in Poonch as well. Today, I don't recall exactly the nature of those charges. They were eight or nine in number. I gave a written reply to all the charges levelled against me. His sending a written charge sheet hurt my feelings because most of the charges were trivial and could have been

asked personally instead of being brought on record. I was his friend and follower and had great reverence and affection for him. About the charge of the costly bed I wrote to him that he himself could step into the President house and see with his own eyes how many beds I had and where they were kept. I wrote to him that he could have himself discerned the truth by a casual visit to the Presidency. My reply reflected my annoyance.

Then all these ill-intentioned people joined Suhrawardy against me and they also got Ch. Sahib involved to remove me from the Presidency. I was on a tour of Mirpur when I got the wind that the plan for my removal had been prepared. I came back and met Chaudhry Sahib. I enquired from him about the situation. He said I had better talk to Sardar Ibrahim Khan on the matter. He said it in a cold impersonal way. Later on I realized why he had given me the cold shoulder and talked in an indifferent tone. At that time with great clarity of mind I went straight to see Sardar Ibrahim Khan. I told him that I had heard about a scheme for my removal and I was asked by Chaudhry Sahib to see him. His son Javaid was standing near him. He put his hand on the head of Javaid and swore that there was nothing of that sort. He was in the habit of swearing like that and it was quite common for him. He further said that Chaudhry Sahib might be knowing something but as far as he was concerned he was totally ignorant. I again went to Chaudhry Sahib. I was by this time in an angry mood because the signs of the conspiracy were self-evident. On seeing me Chaudhry Sahib asked me if I had met Sardar Ibrahim Khan, to which I replied that I had met him and he had sworn that he knew nothing about the matter. Chaudhry Sahib flew into a rage and said, "He is lying. He has done everything for your removal." I said, "Chaudhry Sahib! you are our leader. Why do you say this?" I said,

“You could have rung me up or simply sent me a message for my resignation. I never insisted to be in the government. For certain reasons all of you people pressed me into being the President, and that reason ended with the coming of Mr. Suhrawardy as the Premier of Pakistan, who had already told us that Pakistan could not be put at stake for Kashmir”. I further asked him to talk to Sardar Ibrahim Khan and Mr. Suhrawardy on these lines. When he came to know about the reality of the matter his eyes were full of tears. Probably he had realized that he had been misguided and misinformed about me. He said that he was told I only accepted Sardar Ibrahim Khan and did not care for him. I asked him how he could believe that. I said that the time had passed for getting involved in a debate on the subject. Chaudhry Sahib said. “ Now what should we do”? By that he meant how to reverse the plan for my removal. I told him that nothing remained to be done except its execution. He asked me why. I said, “Because it is beneath your status. You planned for my removal and acted wrongly on a misunderstanding. It would be worse for you to say now that you did all that on a misunderstanding. Done is done. I shall leave the Presidency. You please complete your plan as you had decided.” On hearing this Chaudhry Sahib became distressed and he looked tortured. I went to Muzaffarabad to make preparations to vacate the President House. A meeting of the working Committee had already been called to be held at Muzaffarabad. My supporters were infuriated when I welcomed the members of the Working Committee. They would not have permitted the members to assemble there but I strictly prohibited them from taking any such action. I have always been of the opinion that the government is a trusteeship, we do not inherit it, and its slipping away from our hands should not make us sorrowful. Why to fight for it? The members of the Working

Committee were welcomed. They were made to stay comfortably. They were looked after well. The proceedings of the meeting were started in a cordial atmosphere. In the meeting they demanded my resignation. I replied that I would not submit my resignation to them, because according to the constitution I was answerable only to the General Council, and not to the Working Committee. Even today I remember the words which I said to Sardar Ibrahim Khan and other participants. I told them that if they doubted whether I would resign or not, let Sardar Ibrahim Khan bring two hundred men from his native village 'Hurna Mera' and say that they were the members of the General Council, and I would resign forthwith and they could elect their new President. I further stated that if I resigned before a meeting of the Working Committee that would be a breach of the constitution which I was not ready to do. I was ready to leave the Presidency but I was not ready to do anything unconstitutional. I replied that I was not keen to remain in the chair but I would not permit anyone to take unconstitutional steps. The resignation could be submitted only to the General Council and since the assembled people were not the General Council I would not resign.

Following this decision, when I came out, a leader who was involved in this conspiracy was talking to another man. He did not see me passing near him. He gleefully said, "Tell this man that today I have taken revenge from Chaudhry Sahib". I understood what he had meant. He had meant that Ch. Sahib had made me the President and I had not obeyed him or given him proper respect and had revolted against him and the vengeance was to be that after my removal from the Presidency, it was anticipated that I would work against Ch. Sahib. Then he would be able to tell Chaudhry Sahib that I was a bad man and he had mistakenly placed his trust in me but when Almighty Allah

guides a man he is sure to find the right path. I could never imagine opposing Ch. Sahib. The Presidentship was never the aim of my life. In 1947 when Sardar Ibrahim Khan became the President, I was also offered this portfolio. Some people had insisted on my becoming the President. I had said I could not leave the liberation struggle and sit in the President House. When I heard this thing from the horse's mouth I decided then and there to fail his scheme. On my return I wrote a letter to Ch. Sahib which should still be on record. I wrote to him that I had not liked what had happened, but my loyalty to him and to the party was unconditional. The Presidentship and the Ministries had no importance for me. I wrote that the grace of Allah I shall for ever be loyal to the party. I further wrote that he could fully depend on me. The next day I received a telephone call from Mr. Suhrawardy. The Chief Secretary told me that Mr. Suhrawardy wanted to talk to me on the telephone and that he wanted to settle the matter. I asked him, "Does he want to settle the matter of Presidentship on telephone?" He replied, "Yes Sir, everything will be in your favour". I said that I was not ready to talk about that. If there was some other issue I was ready to talk. After that I received a telephone from Mr. Sikandar Mirza. He asked me what was the matter. I explained the matter to him in detail. He said, "Should I talk to the Prime Minister"? I asked him not to interfere and told him that the matter was settled and I did not want that for my sake any misunderstanding between him and Mr. Suhrawardy should develop. He was very happy with my suggestion and kept on talking for a long time on the telephone. He further asked me to see him when I was free and desired that we should remain good friends and we remained friends afterwards.

That was a story of the odd times of 1956. I do not remember all the details of that period now. These were the salient points of the

events held in the repository of my mind which I have briefly expressed. Many people differed with Ch. Sahib in politics and on the making of the governments. The differences emerged even with Mir Wariz Sahib, but by the grace of Almighty Allah I never had any difference with Rais-ul -Ahrar on policies or on the matters of government. As the events of 1956 are replete with many sensitive political aspects I felt it incumbent upon myself to discuss them in some detail so that the present day politicians and youth interested in politics should know how much pains we had to suffer. People like me are not the product of any crisis. Throughout my life I have arduously and constantly struggled in the field of politics. I have put aside the pleasures and passings of youth and its charms and have struggled for the whole of my life for national objectives, which of course needs devotion and hard work.

ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE

An All Parties Conference was called by Ch. Mohammad Ali and another was called by Ch. Ghulam Abbas afterwards. Ch. Mohammad Ali had called the conference to achieve a national consensus on Kashmir. He had expressed his views before calling the conference. At that time it was absolutely necessary to provide a national view point on the issue. It was his initiative and was a great step. Probably that was the only conference called by the government of Pakistan on such a large scale, during all these years. In that conference it was decided that Mr. Din Mohammad would be appointed as an Advisor to organize the freedom struggle in Kashmir.

AYUB KHAN AND THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE

When Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan came into

power Azad Kashmir was being governed by Sardar Ibrahim Khan. We along with many other people tried to change the government. The Field Marshal did not like Sardar Ibrahim Khan. Anyway we were put behind the bars for a short period during those days. The Field Marshal finally made up his mind to change the government and invited Ch. Sahib for the purpose. Ch.Sahib declined to accept the responsibility. With his consent and approval Col. Adalat Khan, Mr.K.H Khurshid and myself were considered for the assignment. For certain reasons I refused to accept the offer. I had a distrust for Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan. I thought if I did anything against his wishes it would create a scene and would result in a clash. There was martial law in the country and we were only recently released from jail. I started opposing the imposition of Martial Laws. This was the reason for our differences. I don't remember now what happened about Col. Adalat Khan but it was decided ultimately that Mr. Khurshid would be the President of Azad Kashmir. Probably the government of Pakistan had regard for the close relationship between Mohitarma Fatima Jinnah and Mr. Khurshid. The late Mr. Qudratullah Shahab also played an effective role in the matter. Chaudhry Sahib also wanted to give a chance to Mr. Khurshid. Consequently, with our consent, Sardar Ibrahim Khan was replaced by Mr. K. H. Khurshid but soon after he became President. Mr. Khurshid started his activities against Chaudhry Sahib. I tried to dissuade him and told him that he was free to do whatever he liked but he should strictly refrain from opposing Chaudhry Sahib, because Ch.Sahib could create problems which none of us could resolve. If Mr. Khurshid had unpleasant relations with me or with somebody else it did not matter much. Unfortunately he started his affairs by antagonizing Chaudhry Sahib. He probably had no soft corner for Chaudhry Sahib, even though Ch. Sahib was the

had no soft corner for Chaudhry Sahib, even though Ch. Sahib was the person who had played an important part in securing the presidency for him. Had Chaudhry Sahib opposed, it was impossible for him to become President. It is again remarkable that Ch. Ghulam Abbas kept respecting him till the end. So far as the personality of Chaudhry Sahib is concerned all the Presidents of Azad Kashmir put together cannot be compared to him and because of Chaudhry Sahib we started opposing Mr. Khurshid's government. Field Marshal Ayub Khan considered Mr. Khurshid as a people's representative and he thought that we were the persons who did not let him function properly. Ayub Khan's relations got estranged with Chaudhry Sahib due to this misconception. Later this impression resulted in serious differences, which is a long story. These differences kept increasing till the appearance of Operation Gibraltar. When the news of the operation reached Muzaffarabad I immediately announced that we supported it unconditionally. I said that our differences with the government of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir had nothing to do with our freedom movement. The Quaid-e-Millat supported the government in a radio speech. Eventually the differences between the Field Marshal and ourselves started decreasing and, with the arrival of Sheikh Abdullah in Pakistan, there emerged a close understanding between us. In those days I went on a foreign tour, where the Field Marshal was to follow me. While out of the country I expressed myself in the background of the forthcoming tour of the President of Pakistan. That is a different story and it would be sufficient to say that a time came when no noteworthy differences were left between ourselves and Field Marshal Ayub Khan.

DEFENCE PACTS OF PAKISTAN

Chronologically I do not remember when Russia first started playing an anti-Pakistan role, but I do know that the Russian plan of Asian security was formulated a long time ago. According to that plan, as far as Kashmir was concerned, Russia sided with India against our interests. When Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan rejected the Russian invitation and accepted America's, the former went against us. That of course could be termed a political mistake. Had not that happened Russia's attitude towards us could have been different but the important point is that if we had succeeded in obtaining Russia's friendship what could we have achieved? Would Russia have provided us with all necessary economic aid and military paraphernalia? Clearly not. It is the American arms, ammunition and training which have helped us to defend our selves. No other country was capable of doing this. In order to establish and harmonize our relations with America, the Quaid-e-Azam and all successive Pakistan governments have had to take great pains and work hard. In order to save our country we had no alternative but to tilt towards America at that time. There is much idle gossip floating around. Certain type of people habitually indulge in a facile mental exercise while sitting in cosy air-conditioned rooms but the people who made those vital national decisions were the great men of their times. They left no explanations for their decisions nor did they try to justify themselves why they opted for a particular course of action under certain circumstances.

The Indians have also accused Pakistan of getting aid from America. They say that we should not have done that but in the given situation, there was no alternative course to save Pakistan from the impending threat of invasion by India. We will never know whether Russia could or would have taken any steps to counter Indian designs,

but it is an historical fact that America helped us to counter India who was always looking for an opportunity. With American assistance we saw a gradual growth of internal strength and stability in Pakistan and this is the main point which must be kept in mind. The people who have not the mental capacity to comprehend the practical difficulties simply criticise. They criticise our dependence on America. In this regard I would like to submit that as long as we remain incompetent and weak we can at least be sure enough to lean upon America. If we are ready to work hard and make our nation strong enough by our own resources then we will not need American aid at all. Till then we should be thankful to America for the support. Today most of the countries are weak like us. A country like India is wandering and roving for foreign aid. Sometimes they beg from America and at others from Russia.

POLITICAL STABILITY IN PAKISTAN

We have to be discreet while discussing certain matters, and the political stability in Pakistan is one of them. It is unfortunate that the political parties of Pakistan have by and large failed to play their role in achieving political stability in the country. Some semblance of stability prevailed during Martial Law, but that is another matter. I have kept expressing my opinion through newspapers that the political leaders should jointly try to create consensus on evolving a policy under which general elections could be held in 1990. I believe a decision should have been reached but some of the leaders have been demonstrating as if the prestige of their parties was more important than the prestige and honour of the country. There are two elements important for political activity where sometimes you can give priority to the interests of your party but there are occasions which demand

wisdom and statesmanship. You have to forego your personal or political interests in favour of some national cause. We should stop giving undue importance to individuals and parties, rather at every turn we must keep our eyes on our supreme national interests. Unfortunately, statesmanship declined in our country while common and second rate politics gained ground. Perhaps now people have started realizing the distinction. There was a time that whenever I tried to make our politicians see the objective realities I was branded as a government agent. It appears that now they have come to understand. If not openly then at least in their private conversation, they now admit that I was right at that time. May be elections cannot even be held in 1990.

Although Mr. Junejo and President Zia have been voicing their hopefulness, but the difficulty is that they themselves do not have total control over the situation. There was a time when the President promised to hold elections within 90 days but when the objective conditions forced him he simply had to announce the postponement. Nobody holds control over the changing events and the uncertainty prevailing in Pakistan. If the politicians sit together and consider the matter dispassionately they can save the deteriorating political situation and, moreover, they can save the country from confusion, vandalism and lawlessness. I talk on these lines with whosoever I happen to meet. When Benazir Bhutto came to Muzaffarabad I tried that she should become our guest while she was here. We don't have a dispute with them in Azad Kashmir. Unfortunately, instead of accepting our sincere offer, they made a scandal of it. They created an impression as if Sardar Qayyum was in serious trouble and only Benazir could save him. Sardar Qayyum is a person who fought elections against her venerable father.

In fact I wanted that while she was here she should have an exchange of views over Kashmir with us. In her public statements whatsoever she said about Kashmir was ambiguous, rather it carried no substance. She being the leader of a powerful political element should have unequivocally talked about Kashmir and declared her stand but she could not. Had she met us she would have done it. There is none in her party to advise her. Rather in accordance with its autocratic traditions, her party members are accustomed only to obey her orders. They are not permitted to give their opinion but we people are free and don't follow any such discipline. I think if we had met I could have persuaded her to say something valuable on Kashmir. When the Prime Minister of Pakistan came here he supported Kashmiris and declared that it was Pakistan's responsibility to achieve their right self-determination for them. This responsibility in fact rests with Pakistan, which it accepted at the time of the cease-fire. So far as Benazir is concerned she said nothing significant while she was here. I have to state it clearly that I don't believe in personal or political enmity. When the national interest is involved parties or personalities are not important to me.

I am striving to follow my line of action. We shall see where we reach. I seek guidance and help from Allah the Almighty.
