

# **The Kashmir Problem**

**By  
A. S. R. Chari**

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**New Delhi**



# THE KASHMIR PROBLEM

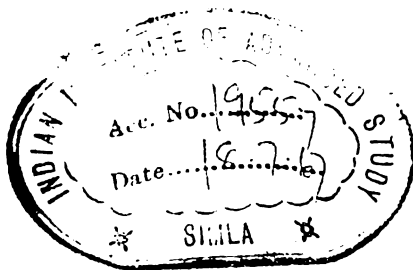
By  
A.S.R. CHARI

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# PREFACE

In this small book I have tried to show the origin of the problem of Kashmir, who created it, who keeps it alive and which are the forces that seek a solution and in which direction.

In the world today, the only big power that has consistently supported India's stand that Kashmir is an integral part of India is the socialist Soviet Union.

Many millions all over the world do not know what it is all about. World opinion, only when it knows all the facts, can work towards ensuring that Kashmir does not become the soil for a third world war with its disastrous consequences for humanity.

*New Delhi*

*30 October 1965*

A.S.R. CHARI



*Dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi  
who fell to a Hindu fanatic's bullet  
and died a Martyr to the cause of  
Hindu-Muslim unity  
and Indo-Pakistan amity.*





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## MEN AND MACHINES

The incidents that took place in August this year (1965) culminating in the fairly large-scale fighting between Indian and Pakistani troops before the cease-fire was accepted can briefly be stated as follows.

At several points along the straggling cease-fire line, the infiltrators from Pakistan have been entering Kashmir for the purposes of subversion and sabotage.

On 5 August 1965, several thousand fully armed Pakistani soldiers in civilian dress slipped across the 470 mile long cease-fire line. They came through the many small gaps and trails that criss-cross the hilly terrain that surrounds the beautiful valley of Kashmir.

The Pakistani expectation was that the re-arrest and internment of Sheikh Abdullah after his political roving in several countries would have created a fertile soil in fomenting a mass internal uprising scheduled to start on 9 August. While a considerable number of these infiltrators concentrated on this main political job, several groups tried to cut the Srinagar-Leh Road near Kargil, the Indian supply line to Ladakh.

Pakistan, of course, put on an air of virginal innocence and Bhutto said on 10 August: "that the responsibility for whatever is happening in Kashmir could not by any stretch of imagination be attributed to Pakistan."

The correspondent of *The Glasgow Herald* in his despatch (26 August 1965) said:

"The initial invasion of 'Indian' Kashmir by the Moslem (if not Pakistani) freedom fighters did not provoke the popular reaction from the Kashmiris that the Pakistanis had hoped it might. August 9, the twelfth anniversary of Sheikh Abdullah's first imprisonment by the Indians, passed without any of the

violent demonstrations that Pakistan had been expecting to encourage. Neither have the Kashmiris decided subsequently to give any significant support to the infiltrators roaming their country in search of ways to weaken Indian control."

From the captured infiltrators and by questioning, India was able to get a fairly clear picture of the plans and operations that had preceded these mass infiltrations. It must be noted that many of those who had been sent as infiltrators had been assured that the people of Kashmir were eagerly and affectionately waiting for them and that they would be received with all honours due to heroes and liberators. When they found that the actual situation in Kashmir was the exact reverse of what they were told, many of them in sheer disgust at having been thus cheated by the Pakistani authorities came out with the truth.

The correspondent of *The Baltimore Sun* reported under dateline 17 August 1965:

"They (the captured prisoners) said their followers around the state report no signs of the revolutionary movement which the Pakistan Government has said is operating in Indian Kashmir. Highly reliable sources here confirm Indian statements that the guerrilla raids which broke out here a week ago are conducted by infiltrators from Pakistani territory. The number of raiders is far from certain. Independent sources are sceptical that they number as many as 2500, the official estimate here.

"Whatever their number, however, the raiders seem to be inflicting more damage than has yet been admitted by government spokesmen. Although officially denied, the raiders are reliably reported to have fired upon two Indian army brigade headquarters and a battalion headquarters. There is evidence the raiders are receiving some assistance from local residents. However, there is no sign here of an uprising. Despite an influx of refugees from nearby villages and raids on the outskirts of the city, Srinagar remains calm. There is no sign here of tension between Muslims and Hindus which would almost certainly accompany any uprising by Kashmiri Muslims."

The preceding events were as follows:

(1) As early as January of this year, the so-called President of occupied Kashmir Abdul Hamid Khan after meeting President Ayub, told the *Pakistan Times* of Lahore that he felt reassured that Ayub "would take more drastic measures to bring about the liberation of Kashmir." He reiterated this in March and said that "Kashmiris" (sic) "in starting their jehad in 1947 did not consult anybody and they would not do so now."

(2) In May 1965, Gen. Mohammed Musa, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistani Army, paid visits to the areas near the cease-fire line along with his General Staff and the *Dawn* of Karachi published his opinion that "all steps had been completed" to deal with any eventuality.

(3) In the same month, the so-called Government of Azad Kashmir, which is an airy nothing which had no local habitation but a name, is said to have ordered compulsory military training for youth between 16 and 25 for the liberation of Jammu & Kashmir.

(4) In June, the Pakistan Government promulgated an ordinance making it obligatory on employers to release all those employees who were military reservists and steps were taken to set up a "mujahid" force as part of the Pakistani Army.

(5) The headquarters for the training of this army of infiltration was located near Murree and was under the Command of Lt. Gen. Akhtar Hussain Malik, GOC of the 12th Division of the Pakistani Army. The operation proposed was given the name of "Operation Gibraltar" probably by a curious irony of history anticipating the rock-like resistance that India would make to such a plan.

(6) Plans for the attack on Kashmir was finalised by the third week of May 1965 and it is significant to note that the Pakistan-India Agreement to arbitrate the Rann of Kutch dispute was signed on 30 June 1965, thus making it clear beyond doubt that the thrust of Pakistani Army in Kutch was merely a rap on the tuning board to find out whether India was soft enough, out of fear of Chinese invasion, to agree to arbitration.

(7) The army of infiltration was organised into eight "forces", each of them composed of six companies of 110 men each. Each of these forces were given names such as "Salaudin", the 'Crusading Sultan', "Ghaznavi", notorious for his numerous invasions of India, etc. Each company had at least three NCOs from the 19th Para Baluch, specially trained in guerilla warfare and was commanded by regular Pakistani Army officers of the rank of Major.

(8) Each company of the "Gibraltar" force was equipped with Pakistani arms and ammunition including light machine-guns, sten-guns, rifles, mortars, bombs, hand-grenades, rocket launchers, signal equipment, etc.

As early as May, Pakistan had made efforts to cut the Srinagar-Leh Road and Indian troops crossed the cease-fire line near Kargil to protect the road and seized Pakistani posts across the line near Kargil. It was only when the UN observers assured that they would guarantee the security of the road that Indian troops vacated those posts.

From 5 August when mass invasion through infiltrators began, Pakistan felt compelled to go to the assistance of its irregular army with its regular forces and artillery fire across the cease-fire line was kept up in a constant barrage so as to tie down Indian troops and relieve the pressure on the infiltrators who found themselves isolated, discovered by the Kashmiris and being mopped up by the Indian Army. This was not difficult because the infiltrators were not Kashmiris and could not speak the Kashmiri language at all.

The extent to which the local population, i.e., the Kashmiris, far from supporting or even adopting an attitude of benevolent neutrality, worked actively against the Pakistani raiders will be dealt with in a later chapter. Here I shall give only extracts from the despatches of the foreign correspondents to their respective newspapers:

*Le Monde*: "It is hardly in doubt that Pakistani side is eager to give much importance to an operation which is described in Rawalpindi as a spontaneous rebellion by Kashmiris. But in fact there is extremely little chance for the radio station of

'rebels' being really situated on the Indian side of the cease-fire line. It is more likely still that if a Revolutionary Council and Provisional Government were established those may not be located except on the part of territory in Pakistani hands since 1947. Everything leads one to think that Pakistani infiltrations in the valley were probably aimed at starting a revolt by throwing suburbs of Srinagar into trouble, which in reality is centre of political activity in Kashmir. For the moment it seems that this undertaking which recalls great deal the American adventure in Bay of Pigs has not had an immediate success. However, nothing indicates that the local population, in which sight of blood always inspires healthy repulsion, is inclined to forget its traditional prudence."

*The Manchester Guardian* (16 August 65): "By far the most refreshing elements in the situation are the courage and fortitude the Kashmiri people are showing. Although there has been considerable firing here the city is by no means complacent. Many tourists in Kashmir have cut short their stay and returned home, but the plane which brought me to Srinagar contained among its passengers many tourists, mostly American matrons, who were surprised to see how normal is the life of the town. 'What we are faced with', say responsible people, 'is a naked invasion by Pakistan and not merely infiltration and subversion'."

*The Daily Telegraph* (13 August 65): "Whatever basic rights or wrongs of chronic Kashmir problem may be, Pakistan's claim that the present armed conflict there is a purely internal rebellion against India stretches credulity a trifle far."

*The New York Times* (14 August 65): "Reports from Pakistan that the troubles in Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir are a popular revolt against Indian rule appear to be without foundation."

*The Baltimore Sun* (12 August 65): "Srinagar itself is relatively quiet despite the bustle of unusually heavy military traffic and stationing of armed guards at key intersections and installations. There is no evidence visible in or near the city to support reports from Pakistan of a popular uprising against

India nor of repressive measures against the population. Independent sources confirm Indian reports of the capture of arms and equipment left behind by the raiders of the sort issued only to regular soldiers. Indian sources say that some of the equipment has Pakistani markings. Independent sources report the discovery of equipment from which identification has been erased or which was manufactured without markings. Some flashlight batteries bearing Chinese identification have also been reported discovered. A government spokesman said in New Delhi that 21 policemen had been killed since the raids started."

The *Washington Post* (14 August 1965): "the lack of support from the strongest single organised group in Kashmir opposing Indian rule appears to have been the major factor accounting for the initial failure of the adventure. With the exception of Farooqi's stronghold in the Rajvori Kalal area on the outskirts of Srinagar, the raiders so far reportedly have not found sustained mass support."

The *Frankfurter Allegemine Zeitung* (26 August 65): "Kashmir would have been torn open by a rebellion apparently directed and supported by Pakistan. Pakistan's interpretation of the freedom fighters, who, she says, have risen in the Indian part of Kashmir can no longer be maintained; since New Delhi has shown to the world Pakistani officers who have been taken prisoners."

On 1 September, there was a massive attack in Chhamb and Jaurian sector when Pakistan crossed the international boundary in order to cut the forward supply routes of India via Jammu to Srinagar and Jammu-Naushera.

After the 1 September crossing of the international boundary, Ayub had said "how India could blame anyone from Pakistan occupied Kashmir, or for that matter any part of Pakistan for going to the assistance of those brave people of Kashmir." That is, Pakistan was taking full responsibility for these actions, and so India on 5 September marched its troops into Pakistani territory as a measure of self-defence in order to smash the supply bases of this aggression.



### Superior Equipment

According to the estimates based on evidence before Congressional Committees of the US, American military aid to Pakistan following the mutual defence assistance agreement signed at Karachi on 19 May 1954 up to 1963 totalled one and a half billion dollars and it provided for the following:

- (1) complete modernisation and equipment of 5½ Divisions of the Pakistani Army;
- (2) raising and maintaining at American cost 40,000 additional troops;
- (3) modernisation of equipment of the Air Force;
- (4) establishment of air bases at Mauripur, Sargodha and Peshawar;
- (5) establishment of a naval base in Chittagong;
- (6) expansion of Pakistani ordnance factories at Wah.

The army was supplied with 650 Patton, Sherman and Chaffe tanks, modern artillery and weapons of various calibres. The Air Force was equipped with two B-57 bomber squadrons, one F-104 supersonic fighter squadron, nine F-86 sabrejet squadrons, one C-130 transport squadron, six squadrons of various aircraft, 30 helicopters, falcon and sidewinder missiles and many types of bombs of 1000 pounds and 2000 pounds including napalm bombs.

On the other hand, India which refused to enter into American military pacts, had received only 76 million dollars worth of equipment and stores and a credit of two million dollars. Most of this equipment consisted of items like road building machinery, wireless equipment, transport vehicles, machine tools for ordnance factories but it is significant to note that no tanks, artillery, fighters or bombers were received by India from America. (*The Times of India*, 23 September 1965).

The American *Time* of 17 September 1965 wrote:

“While Nehru’s India preached neutralism, Pakistan early joined every alliance in sight. It was an original member of

CENTO, it belongs to SEATO, and would have joined NATO if it could have. Pakistan signed a bilateral defence treaty with the US in 1954 and supplied the US with the Peshawar airfield as a convenient base for U-2 spy planes flying over Russia.

"Once aligned with the US, marvellous things happened to Pakistan. Tanks, jet planes, new weapons, experts, food poured in. By last year, Pakistan had received 1.5 billion dollars in military aid and \$3.5 billion in economic aid—about \$50 per person. Relations reached their peak in 1961, when Ayub Khan rode a wave of popularity through the US. Speaking before a joint session of Congress, he said: "The only people who will stand by you in Asia are the people of Pakistan—provided you are prepared to stand by them'."

What is important to note is that the military equipment, given to Pakistan such as Patton tanks, etc., are no use for war against the Soviet Union or China. None of these tanks can fly and they cannot cross the Hindu Kush or the Karakoram. Because of Pakistan's readiness to be the military stooge of America, it was supplied with weapons which it was fondly hoped would place her in a militarily superior position in regard to India.

It must also be remembered that after the mass Chinese invasion of India in the northeast in October 1962, and Indian faith in a friendly China was completely shattered, Pakistan drew closer to China.

There is nothing in common between Pakistan and China. Neither in the socio-economic systems nor in their political approach nor in ideology. Pakistan is a feudal military dictatorship and is part of the imperialist military bloc led by America and had agreed to play its part in the cold as well as hot war against the socialist camp.

As *Time* admitted, it was from its base in Pakistan that the U-2 spy plane went to the Soviet Union where it was shot down.

However, one thing was common in the present.

Both China and Pakistan want parts of Kashmir. Pakistan wants the valley, China wants Aksai Chin in Ladakh. Both

are parts of Kashmir and India is their common enemy, for India claims that Kashmir is an integral part of India.

So China, in an indefensible opportunist move, became more than friendly towards Pakistan. Pakistan which did not mind giving Gilgit to the Americans for establishing their own military base sealed this opportunist alliance by ceding to China part of Kashmir territory in the north. The whole idea appears to have been that by recognising China's claim to that strip, Pakistan negates India's claim to Aksai Chin. For the strip was above the Karakoram, thus recognising that the Chinese border lies on the northern side of the Karakoram. If this be correct, then almost the whole of Aksai Chin belongs to China.

On 10 April 1963, Chou En-lai in an interview to the AP of Pakistan said:

"the leaders of Pakistan had assured him (Chou) in 1954 that Pakistan had joined the Western military alliances only to gain political and military ascendancy over India and that Pakistan had no other motivation in joining the pacts."

Only the politically blind can believe that joining the anti-socialist military pacts and alliances could mean only this.

It is quite true that Pakistan wanted to take such an advantage and asked for the kind of weapons most useful against India. It is equally true that America knew very well for what purpose those weapons were likely to be used.

But to believe that the aims of the alliances and pacts are limited by the desires of those who have agreed to play their part in the anti-socialist war alliance is to talk with tongue in the cheek.

The Indian retaliation as a measure of self-defence, by marching into Pakistani territory towards Lahore and Sialkot and the bombing of the air bases at Sargodha and Chaklala near Rawalpindi was totally unexpected.

The *Peking Radio* was blaring forth day after day about so called "aggressions" by India on the Sikkim border. It was saying that India would be called to account. It was fondly

imagined that the fear of a Chinese invasion would hold India back from military retaliation of this kind. It was thought that even if Pakistan crossed the international border in the Chhamb and Jaurian sector to cut India's supply lines to its forward base, India would not enter Pakistan territory for fear of world opinion.

When China made its massive invasion of India in October 1962, India appealed to other countries for supply of weapons for defence. It must not be forgotten that even under such circumstances, both Duncan Sandys and Averill Harriman attempted to bring pressure on India and reopen the question of Kashmir as a precondition for any help—which, of course, Pandit Nehru rejected.

It was thought that therefore India would now meekly take the blows rained by Pakistan and only make frantic appeals to Johnson and Wilson to intervene and prevent Pakistan from further attacks. What a hope? When for 18 years the Security Council of the UNO had been unwilling and unable to get Pakistan to vacate its aggression in Kashmir.

So in Britain a big anti-Indian propaganda was let loose. Conservatives and Liberals, Labour and Capital were unanimous in criticising and condemning India for 'invading' Pakistani territory. Even fantastic theories were put forward. Bertrand Russell, who is as capable of saying the most surprisingly absurd things as he is of saying the right things, issued a statement that India had attacked Pakistan at the instigation of America to teach Pakistan a lesson for flirting with China. A more preposterous theory could not have been expounded. To fancy that India, which had been loudly calling for stopping of American bombing of North Vietnam, was regarded by America as more of a friend than Pakistan, a member of its military alliances and which was its ally by the US-Pakistan Military Pact of 1954 and to which it had been supplying in a steady stream sophisticated military equipment ever since, is to speculate in a direction opposed to all realities.

But life does not wait upon the confused opinions of Liberal intellectuals. Independent nations do not barter away their

rights in order to earn good opinions. Nations in order to protect their own interests will take such action as is urgently needed and assure themselves that in course of time those who have no reason to be its enemies will see that there was no injustice or oppression in such actions taken in self-defence.

The sophisticated equipment which Ayub thought gave Pakistan a political and military ascendancy were largely in ruins. The Indian Army and the Indian people showed that there was no defeatism, incompetence or lack of courage and the Indian people with nearly 60 million Muslims stood united against Pak aggression.

One of the major contributory factors to the success of the Indian Armed Forces has been the magnificent demonstration of communal harmony and the heroic courage and skill exhibited by the people and the Armed Forces. The luminous example set by the Keeler Brothers in their use of the Indian Gnat with such great successes against the much vaunted sabrejet and the use of the Indian recoilless gun by Havildar Abdul Hamid against the Patton tank are talked about by everyone in India.

The UN military commentator Hanson Baldwin wrote:

"a minimum of 200, perhaps as many as 300 tanks, of her American model M-47 and M-48 Patton tanks had been lost by Pakistan."

*The Washington Post*, wishing to assure Americans that their ally Pakistan is not altogether in a helpless condition yet, said through its New Delhi despatch of 30 September:

"Pakistan may have lost 225 tanks. This would still leave 450 tanks of all grades in field formations and 350 more in workshops and depots."

The plans of Anglo-American imperialists had once again failed. Instead of India appealing to them to come to their aid against Pakistan, Pakistan was frantically shouting for more weapons. How to give it was the problem.

In the first week of October, *The Post Intelligence* of Seattle reported that large shipments of arms and equipment were made to Pakistan just before Johnson announced stoppage of arms to both countries in order to enforce a cease-fire. These

included it is said 70 Patton tanks. A Pentagon official is reported to have said:

“It seemed a good idea not to annoy any one by telling how much we give to the other.”

Apart from this, Washington approves of the NATO and CENTO members in Europe and Middle-East helping Pakistan with replacements.

Turkey has already sent a squadron of F-86 sabrejets. *The Luxemburg Radio* announced that the Bonn Government have given to Pakistan seventy-eight F-86 sabrejets to be supplied through Lisbon and Istanbul. Saudi Arabia is to give 15 crores in foreign currency to Pindi to get essential supplies through Lisbon and Istanbul. Iran has promised to supply oil.

What Pakistan and her allies thought would be the final act for the solution of the “Problem of Kashmir” in their interest lies in ruin just like their Patton tanks and sabrejets.

Underground preparation is going on for the further act.

## HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM

The present century is a turning point in the history of the world and inevitably of all subject peoples.

By the closing years of the 19th century the whole world had been divided up between the imperialist powers.

Britain had nearly two-fifths of the inhabited world as its colonies. America under the Monroe Doctrine had vast Latin America as a protected field of operations for its corporation billionaires. Tsarist Russia had a far-flung empire imprisoning several nations. France had her own colonies in Africa, in the Middle and Far East and so on.

The Tsarist and Austro-Hungarian empires differed from the others in the fact that there a feudal autocracy was faced with the wrath of the serfs who had not even been emancipated. It was in these conditions that the Jewish population was condemned to live in ghettos. It is the experience of history that a reactionary ruling class faced with the rising wrath of the people against it, divides the people on the basis of religion or caste or tribe and disperses the common hatred of the people against it into mutual hatred between sections of the people. Thus the pogroms against the Jews in Russia and Poland were the outcome of such a planned policy. I have seen the old ghetto in Prague and it is incredible that human beings belonging to the Jewish faith were compelled to live at a ground level about six feet lower than the rest as if they were human rats. In a small Jewish synagogue built by a rich Jew I found nearly 1000 names of Jews who had been killed by the Nazis in Oswiecim and Maidanek. It was a silent but most damning indictment of imperialist-fascist tactic of making scapegoats for popular discontent.

The first world war was fought out essentially to decide

whether German imperialism was strong enough to enforce a redivision of the world and win colonies for itself. It resulted in the defeat of Germany and the status quo ante bellum of the imperialist domination over colonies remained but out of the fires of this war and under the leadership of Lenin, a breach, a serious one, was made in the world system of imperialism. Tsarist Russia, a member of the imperialist alliance against the new rival Germany was overthrown and a new, Soviet power from which capitalists and landlords were excluded was established.

Even before this successful Soviet Revolution Lenin was far-sighted enough to see that the colonial peoples would fight against imperialism for their freedom and he hailed and welcomed the national liberation movements as allies of the Soviet Revolution.

Dealing with the several nations forcibly held under the Tsarist knout it was Lenin again who first, even before the Soviet Revolution, fought for the principle of self-determination for nations even to the point of secession. He made it clear that the drive behind the recognition of the principle of self-determination for nations was not the desire or encouragement to partition and division but to substitute for the unstable unity imposed by the imperial knout and force, a new voluntary unity based on the recognition of common interests and the need for cooperative effort to solve these problems.

What is clear however is that there cannot be any question of self-determination except as an integral part of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. Nor can there be any question of self-determination to religious groups and castes. They have to be nationalities, who have a common territory, common economy, common language and who on the basis of their common history have developed their own specific culture. Finland, in fact, was allowed to secede, by Lenin's Government.

Such was the world of the twentieth century in which India and other imperialist colonies woke from their hibernation under foreign rule.



In India the British found very favourable factors. A vast sub-continent, rich in natural resources and with 400 million people of whom 100 million were Muslims. Nearly 60 million more were untouchables, i.e., those who were outside the social pale, the caste system, of Hinduism and condemned to landless labour and unclean and unpleasant tasks.

It is another fact of historical experience that the common people in a land get converted in fairly large numbers to the religion of the rulers, either because of force, promises or of hope that by such conversions they will be able to better their lot. So millions became Muslims under Muslim rule, and further millions became Christians under British rule.

What is important and relevant for the purpose of this book is that the mere living side by side of people professing different faiths cannot and did not lead to mutual hatred. For instance for fully three centuries of Moghal rule there were no riots between Muslims and Hindus even though Hindu rulers often led their armies against the Moghal Emperor or his Muslim satraps. A fanatical Aurangazeb took measures against the Hindu religion and imposed a poll tax on Hindus. Akbar however was more tolerant and regarded Indians whether Hindus or Muslims as one family. Similarly a Hindu Raja might confer the loaves and privileges of administrative office more on Hindus just as Muslims were given preference in a state ruled by Muslims.

When British imperialism found itself facing the rising wrath of the colonial peoples, it adopted the basic strategy of divide and rule. To serve its own imperialist interests, it had indifferently deposed Hindu and Muslim rulers alike. It had deposed and exiled the last of the Muslim Emperors, Bahadur Shah, better known under his pen name of Zafar to Mandalay, whose poignant poems written in exile are still sung with tears by Hindus and Muslims alike. They had also deposed several Hindu kings and integrated their territory into British India. The first Indian Rebellion of 1857 led by Hindu and Muslim rulers alike against the British was put down with great difficulty.

But from then on the British policy was to retain the parcellisation under feudal rulers, and make those rulers subservient to their will. Nearly 565 such feudal states were allowed to continue.

On the other hand to disrupt the growing forces of anti-imperialism in British India, the British under Lord Curzon effected the partition of Bengal. The eastern part of Bengal had a majority Muslim population. The west was majority Hindu. The partition of Bengal led to a big movement in which terrorism and individual assassination of British administrators was the specific weapon. The partition of Bengal had to be rescinded. It was realised that the partition was premature and it was necessary first to have a separate organisation of Muslims and play it up against the national forces. That is how under British inspiration, the Muslim League was first formed by the Aga Khan in 1909. The British were quick to accept the memorandum submitted by him and made public their promise to redress the disabilities under which the Muslims were said to be suffering.

Through the Legislative Reforms introduced in 1909, 1919 and 1935, they resorted to another method by which the process of uniting into a common stream all the national forces could be prevented by setting up separate and opposing movements, allowing the British to play one against the other. This was the introduction of separate electorates. This meant that the Legislative Assemblies were composed of general as well as special seats reserved for Muslims and "Scheduled Castes", the untouchables. The election to such seats would be by members of that religion or caste alone. It is obvious that separatist propaganda directed against the majority community would be the normal campaign in such elections.

The Muslim League was once again revived by Mohamed Ali Jinnah in the thirties. The Scheduled Caste Federation was organised by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who though an untouchable by birth had become a barrister and a successful lawyer.

In addition to all this, from the twenties, the British rulers engineered through their agents-provocateurs and lumpen

hirelings in the cities, riots between Muslims and Hindus. Hindu temples and Muslim mosques have existed in India for 300 years of Moghal rule. But suddenly under the British on the plea of music before mosque or the slaughter of cows, riots were engineered. These riots engendered mutual suspicion, mutual hatred and drove a wedge between the communities. The soil had thus been well prepared.

The Indian National Congress was the premier multi-class anti-imperialist organisation. It had in its fold members of all religions. It demanded freedom from foreign rule. By mobilising the people and organising mass defiance of British rule, it sought to exert pressure on the British to transfer power to Indians. It did not believe in a united violent overthrow of British rule. If it had the history of freedom movement in India might have been different. The hatred with appalling conditions of life in every Indian breast could have found a healthy outlet against foreign rule.

But where mass mobilisation was used only as pressure to strike a bargain, the British were able to counter every demand of the Congress by pointing to the organisations led by Jinnah and Ambedkar.

The Muslim League never in its life took a single action protesting against British rule. It busied itself with separately organising Muslims, roused in them fears of Hindu domination and threatened all kinds of calamities if the British transferred power to the Congress. There is no doubt that though a large section of Muslims did not succumb to the communal appeal, the majority of Muslims in India did back the Muslim League in the hope that it would help them to better their lot.

Nevertheless, it would be a travesty of the truth to equate the Congress with Hindus or the Muslim League with Muslims.

In spite of the fact that the majority of members of the Congress were Hindus, which is inevitable where the majority of the population is Hindu, Congress endeavoured throughout to take a secular national stand. A large section of Muslims and many very important Muslim leaders remained all along

with the Congress and were described as "Nationalist Muslims". Furthermore wherever any section of Muslims fought against British rule, they became part and parcel of the Congress or identified themselves with it and not with the Muslim League.

Khan Abdus Samad, leader of the Baluchi people, and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, reverently described as "Frontier Gandhi", the leader of the Red Shirt Pathan movement against the British in the North West Frontier Province, were both members of the Congress Working Committee.

The Congress had in 1929 adopted the resolution on complete independence and set one year limit to its ultimatum. But repression was let loose by the British rulers and the civil disobedience movement spread all over the land. The high water-mark was reached in Peshawar when the Garhwali platoon, consisting of Hindu soldiers, refused to fire on a demonstration of Pathans though they were Muslims.

In 1940, the Muslim League led by Jinnah adopted the resolution on Pakistan, which demanded that a Muslim state should be carved out of India.

Meanwhile in Europe, Nazism had arisen and was encouraged to gather strength by the Anglo-French imperialists in the hope that Hitler would march to the East, i.e., against the Soviet Union. Thus the new imperialist rival, Nazi Germany would fight the class rival, the Soviet Union, and both of them would thus meet their destruction or at least be too weak to challenge them.

When Hitler turned not to the East but to the West, Britain reluctantly declared war on Germany—and India was automatically at war by reason of Chamberlain's declaration.

The Congress held at Tripuri just a few months prior to this had declared:

"The Congress disassociates itself entirely from British foreign policy which has consistently aided the fascist powers and helped in the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to imperialism and fascism alike and is

convinced that world peace and progress required the ending of both of these."

The mass of Indians would not come forward to cooperate with war efforts. British interests in the Far East were falling like ripe tamarinds into the advancing Japanese arms. Hong Kong, Singapore, Burma had fallen. The war came to India's shores.

Stafford Cripps was sent out in March 1942 and his attempt was to get Indian leaders to man a national government but with the substance of power still in the hands of the British Governor-General. He said there could not be a Cabinet Government. He said such a Cabinet with a majority of members nominated by the Congress "would be rejected by all minorities in India since it would subject all of them to a permanent and autocratic majority in the Cabinet. Nor would it be consistent with the pledge already given by His Majesty's Government to protect the rights of these minorities."

So it was clear that in spite of war and the series of defeats, the British imperialists were still playing the old game.

In August 1942, the Congress in Bombay passed the "Quit India" resolution calling upon the people to "do or die" to get the British to quit.

The entire leadership of the Congress was arrested and put in prison and "leonine violence", as Mahatma Gandhi called it, was let loose upon the people.

The Quit India Resolution said that if the British declared India independent—

"a Provisional Government will be formed and Free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The Provisional Government can only be formed by the cooperation of the principal parties and groups in the country. *It will thus be a composite government, representative of all important sections of the people of India.*"

It was obvious that the British imperialists did not want to transfer power and they cloaked it in the garb of protection of the rights of minorities.

In 1944, the Congress realised that unless it came to terms with the Muslim League, the British would continue to deny power. Mahatma Gandhi had opened talks with the Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. I was reporting those talks as a Press Correspondent and I secured an interview with Jinnah for the *Daily Worker*. I pointed out to him, in order to provoke an explanation that Sindhis, Punjabis, Baluchis, Pathans, Bengalis, could be regarded as nationalities but how could Muslims be regarded as such. Here is Jinnah's characteristic reply:

"We are one-fourth the population. Give us one-fourth the territory and be done with it, baba."

I said: "What will the world say, if we Indians said we are one-fifth the world population, we should have one-fifth the territory."

Jinnah was quite angry and shocked. He said: "It is not like that."

One thing was clear, namely, that Jinnah had not even thought about a theoretical justification for his Pakistan demand, but was wholly relying on the British to help him realise it. It was curious to see Jinnah, himself to the tip of his fingers a modern Englishman in taste, dress and approach, argue without a case for Muslims having a separate Islamic state.

## DIVISION OF INDIA

The end of the second world war was not at all like the first. For one thing, the calculation of the imperialists that the Soviet Union due to the colossal destruction of men and material would emerge from it in a crippled state and must yield to imperialist intimidation went wholly wrong. In spite of tremendous losses of nearly 15 million men and considerable destruction of property, the socialist system rose like a phoenix from the flames and ashes of war. On the other hand, the defeat of Nazism and fascism resulting in the liberation of several countries that had fallen under fascist yoke could not restore the status quo of old imperialist domination. The post-war world saw hundreds of millions not only awake but conscious of their rights to freedom and democracy and with a will to fight and realise it.

In India, the anti-imperialist wave significantly started with the "Rashid Day" demonstrations in Calcutta. It was a demonstration against the British attempt to put on trial officers of the Indian National Army. After the fall of Singapore when Indian troops were left to their own fate by the British armies, many Indians from the army joined the Indian National Army formed by Subhas Chandra Bose with German and Japanese assistance. The British wanted to try such officers who according to them had turned traitors to the British cause.

Indian people did not feel like that at all. They regarded them as patriots who even in the most difficult conditions concentrated on how to liberate their own motherland. This wave of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles and people's anger swept the whole country from Kashmir to Cape Comorin.

In backward Bharatpur, the angry peasants stoned Viceroy Wavell's plane. In Bombay, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh naval

ratings of the Royal Indian Navy unitedly revolted against the British, one of their demands being the straight political demand that Indian independence be declared. The whole of Bombay rose up in support of these brave RIN boys in a general strike. The British in desperation tried to break the people's spirit and in February 1946 they shot dead over 230 in the streets of Bombay in just 48 hours.

It was clear however that the British could no longer rule in the old way and the Indian people were in no mood to let them rule in any way. So on 20 February, Attlee announced in the House of Commons that a Cabinet Delegation would go out to India to discuss with Indian leaders the problems of transfer of power.

A Cabinet Delegation arrived in India and following the usual imperialist tactic interviewed not only leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League but also leaders of numerous minority organisations. It must be remembered that a Constituent Assembly had been convened without British sanction during the period 1946-47 and was going ahead with the framing of a Constitution for a free India. The Muslim League, however, did not participate in that Constituent Assembly.

The statement of 3 June 1947 of the British Government was in broad outlines as follows:

- (1) the Constituent Assembly in session was not to be interrupted;
- (2) that no constitution framed by such an assembly would apply to those parts of the country which were unwilling to accept it;
- (3) in Punjab and Bengal, the members of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies were to meet in separate groups, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province;
- (4) each of these groups was to vote whether or not the province should be partitioned and if a simple majority of either part decided in favour of partition, division would be made accordingly;



- (5) such Muslim majority parts would decide whether they should have a separate Constituent Assembly for themselves, i.e. for the new and separated parts;
- (6) the Legislative Assembly of Sind was similarly by a simple majority to decide on this question;
- (7) regarding the North West Frontier Province, representatives of which province were already participating in the Constituent Assembly, it was declared that if the Punjab Muslim majority areas decided not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, a referendum would be made to the electors of the then existing Legislative Assembly in NWFP to choose which of the alternatives they would adopt;
- (8) similarly Baluchistan was also to be given such an option but since there was no legislative assembly there, the Governor-General was to decide which was the most appropriate method;
- (9) the Sylhet district in Assam being a Muslim majority district, a referendum was to be held in that district under the control of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of Assam Province or amalgamate with the Muslim majority part of East Bengal.

Finally that the British Government wished to make it clear that these decisions related only to British India and not to the territories which were called Indian states ruled by feudal kings and nawabs.

This plan gave Jinnah and the Muslim League the separate state they had demanded but what is of greater importance is to note that by such a plan even the dominion of Pakistan was partitioned from the very outset. East Bengal with or without the district of Sylhet was fully separated by one thousand miles of Indian territory and more than double that distance by sea and ocean. Secondly that the dominion of Pakistan would not and could not constitute a single homogeneous unit which could be called a nation but had Sindhis, Pun-

jabis, Baluchis and Pathans in the west and Bengalis in the east, each of whom could be described as a nationality having their own language, their own areas and their own economy and history.

It was not enough however for the British to create two separate states because if these two states formed by agreement with the British plan came into existence, it might not serve imperialist interests if instead of old suspicions, the new separateness led to friendly relations between Pakistan and India. Furthermore the division of Punjab and Bengal involved thousands of the minority communities on these borders who would not easily relinquish the soil fertilised by the toil and sweat of their ancestors. This became fertile ground once again for the British imperialists to organise the very thing their plan was devised ostensibly to prevent.

In other words, the plan of partition was put forward on the plea that with the withdrawal of the British power, the Hindus and Muslims in India would cut each other's throats and there would be no impartial power protecting the minority. What really happened was that large-scale riots developed almost into a communal war which was unleashed in Punjab and Bengal and colossal carnage was witnessed, the casualties on both sides being far more than in a regular war with modern military weapons. Millions migrated out of fear for their lives, creating a tremendous problem for both the dominions.

Lastly at a time when the British were in de facto control both in Pakistan territory and in India, this communal war was allowed to go on with troops under British command more or less sympathetically watching the systematic destruction of minorities. Retaliatory action spread all over India and the new dominion was racked with problems such as no other country had witnessed in history. It must be said, however, that in spite of the rousing of the most bestial passions directed against Muslims, Congress leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru feverishly tried to stem this rot and put a stop to communal killings in India, and the measure of the confidence they inspired in Muslims both through government and otherwise

could probably be gauged from the fact that nearly fifty million Muslims never left India. As is well-known, Mahatma Gandhi was shot dead by a Hindu communalist in January 1948.

Lastly these communal killings and carnage were used in support of imperialist propaganda that subject peoples were generally savage, that they had no political wisdom or understanding and that grant of independence to them would only facilitate insecurity in the area and inhuman conduct and therefore imperialist rule over them was in their own interest.

In so far as the territories ruled by Indian rajas and nawabs were concerned, the Cabinet Delegation had already given them an assurance

- (1) that the British Government could not and would not in any circumstances transfer the Crown's paramountcy over the states to an Indian government;
- (2) that all the rights surrendered by the states to the paramount power would return to the states and that it was for the rulers of the states to decide how best they should act.

Mountbatten as representative of the Crown addressing the Chamber of Princes in New Delhi on 25 July 1947 said:

"Now, the Indian Independence Act releases the states from all their obligation to the Crown. The states will have complete freedom—technically and legally they become independent. Presently I will discuss the degrees of independence which we ourselves feel is best in the interests of your own states. But there has grown up during the period of British administration, owing to the fact that the Crown Representative and the Viceroy are one and the same person, a system of coordinated administration on all matters of common concern which meant that the sub-continent of India acted as an economic entity. That link is now to be broken. If nothing can be put in its place, only chaos can result, and that chaos, I submit, will hurt the states first—the bigger the state the less the hurt and the longer it will take to feel it—but even the biggest of the states will feel that hurt just the same as any small state."

He also pointed out that out of 565 states which had theoretically the liberty to link up with either of the dominions, the vast majority were *irretrievably linked geographically* with the dominion of India. Such a speech by Mountbatten was regarded by leaders of the Congress as proof of his sympathy for Indian freedom and unity. He also pointed out that the existing states would do well to agree to defence, external affairs and communications being surrendered to the Central Government.

Finally he said: "You cannot run away from the dominion government which is your neighbour." To give rulers time to decide what was known as a standstill agreement could be entered into by the ruler, which in short meant that until new agreements were made all agreements and administrative arrangements as to matters of common concern existing as between the British Crown and the Indian state shall in so far as appropriate continue as between the dominion and the particular state concerned.

Junagadh was one of the numerous small states in Kathiawar. The nawab of Junagadh was a Muslim and though separated from Pakistan territory by the waters of the sea, was induced somewhat foolishly to accede to Pakistan. As soon as the local population came to know of it, the masses got on the move, the nawab fled and Junagadh became part of India.

In fact, it could be said that the rapid integration and accession of Indian states to the Indian Dominion was mainly the achievement of the states peoples. In this connection, it would not be out of place to refer to a question put by me as a correspondent at the Press Conference held by Sardar Patel who was the Minister In-charge of the States Ministry, meaning thereby the problem of Indian states. The instruments of accession were signed by numerous rulers and in return they were assured that their dignity, respect and privileges would be preserved and that in addition to keeping their personal lands and property, they would be remunerated by what is known as the privy purse as a dynastic inheritance paid annually, in return for relinquishing their autocratic power.

*My question:* Don't you think, Sardar Patel, that if you had left the states peoples alone, they would have solved the problem of Indian states without the burden of privy purse?

*His answer:* Quite so. Come to my place if you like to-morrow morning at 5 o'clock and see how many rulers are waiting there. They cannot go back to their states because the people there will not let them. I have to solve their problem.

Thus the integration of Indian states was achieved on the basis of the people's movement and the fear that if it developed they would lose everything, whereas if they acceded constitutionally, they would be able to save their personal lands, their personal wealth, their privileges and dignities and also have a not inconsiderable sum as privy purse. In all these cases, if the state was too small, it was integrated in the adjoining Indian territory. If it was big, then the ruler was given the dignity of a constitutional head called Rajpramukh. On the basis of elections, a Council of Ministers administered the affairs of the state, i.e., responsible government was introduced in all these states as a consequence of integration.

## STORY OF KASHMIR

Kalhana, who wrote a history of Kashmir in verse round about the year 1149 has this to say:

“Such is Kashmir, the country which may be conquered by the force of spiritual merit but not by armed force . . . where there are not baths in winter, comfortable landing places on the river banks, where the rivers being free from aquatic animals are without peril, where realising that the land created by his father is unable to bear heat the hot-rayed sun honours it by bearing himself with softness even in summer. Learning, high dwelling-houses, saffron, iced water, grapes and the like—what is a commonplace there is difficult to secure in paradise.”

This panygeric in poetry shows how when Kashmir is mentioned, it is the beautiful valley that is in the mind and not the hills to the south or the high mountains to the north. One version has it that the name is derived from Sanskrit *ka*=water and *shimira*=to drain or desiccate and geologists have confirmed that the valley was once a lake and when it dried up it became habitable.

It is said that Buddhism went to Kashmir in the wake of Asoka's conquest in 250 BC and it is a fact that Ladakh is still Buddhist by faith.

The Jammu & Kashmir state, to give it its full name, is the northern most part of India and has an area of 84,471 sq. miles and a population of over four million. Much of the sufferings of its people is due to its extremely strategic location.

The Kashmir valley is surrounded by hilly and mountainous terrain. The areas of Jammu, Poonch, Muzaffarabad, Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh constitute the ring of high land that stands sentinel over the valley. They border on India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Sinkiang and Tibet parts of China and only

a few miles separate it from the territory of the USSR, the Central Asian Republics of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan being nearest.

The portion of history relevant to this book is when a Sikh army 30,000 strong led by the warrior king Ranjit Singh went through the Pir Panchal pass and defeated the Afghans in 1819. Sikh governors were appointed and Sikh sway extended beyond Jammu and the valley up to Ladakh.

In 1820, Jammu was farmed out by the Sikh ruler to one Gulab Singh who had distinguished himself in the siege of Multan and he was given the title of Raja.

The Anglo-Sikh war fought in 1846 afforded Gulab Singh his opportunity. As Prime Minister of Duleep Singh, the then Sikh Ruler of Punjab, he negotiated a treaty by which his master Duleep Singh would be recognised by the British as ruler of the Punjab but on condition that the Sikh ruler ceded the territory between the Beas and the Sutlej and also paid 15,00,000 pounds sterling as indemnity. This huge indemnity could not be paid and it was agreed that in lieu of it, Jammu & Kashmir should also be ceded to the British. Gulab Singh who had negotiated this had already struck a deal with the British that Jammu & Kashmir ceded by the Sikh ruler should be handed back to him on his paying Rs. 75,00,000.

The treaty of Lahore of 9 March 1846 gives clear proof of this backstairs intrigue, for it declares:

*"In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu & Kashmir state . . . the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hill as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government."*

Seven days later, that is on 16 March 1846, the seal was put on this treachery by the Treaty of Amritsar. By Article 6, Gulab Singh bound himself and his heirs to join with the whole of his military forces the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

By Article 7, he undertook 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.

He was thenceforth styled Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir. The great poet Iqbal wrote:

“Their fields, their crops, their streams,  
Even the peasants in the vale,  
They sold, they sold all. Alas!  
How cheap was the sale.”

It is thus that the modern history of Kashmir begins.

At the time of the partition of India, the great grandson of Gulab Singh was the Hindu ruler. The whole of the valley was populated by an overwhelming majority who had become Muslims during the periods when Muslims ruled over Kashmir from the 14th century and particularly under the Moghal rulers Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb.

Maharaja Gulab Singh assisted the British against the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and with British support and encouragement, the areas of Gilgit, Yasin, Nagar, etc., had been brought under the sway of the Maharaja.

It was in the early thirties that the democratic movement of the Kashmiri people against imperialism and feudalism began. Sheikh Abdullah, product of the Aligarh University, and a band of like-minded persons started in a modest way with reading rooms and study circles where political discussions were carried on.

They first formed an organisation called the Muslim Conference which had a communal name because the people of the valley were Muslims and the ruler was a Hindu.

In July 1931, the leaders were arrested and heavy repression was let loose over the people. Legislative reforms permitting elections to 33 out of 75 seats in the Assembly were later introduced and the Conference candidates were returned as the largest single party.

The anti-feudal problem, as indeed the national question, is mainly a peasant question. Soon, the leaders realised that these problems were mainly of an economic character and the com-



munal garb had to be cast off. In 1938, Sheikh Abdullah declared the problem was to organise joint action and a united front against the forces that stand in the way in the achievement of the goal. "This will require the remodelling of our organisation as a non-communal body."

Problems similar to those that faced the Kashmir people were faced by the people of other Indian states. A distinct organisation called the All-India States People's Conference had been formed to discuss and decide about the common problem of how to achieve popular governments in the states against the resistance of the rulers and their British overlord. It was in this Conference Sessions that I first met Sheikh Abdullah. Here the leaders of the Congress like Pandit Nehru played a leading part.

Mir Qasim writes in his "Rejoinder to Sheikh Abdullah" as follows:

"The struggle of Kashmiris against autocratic rule which had its initial start in the early thirties of the present century passed through various stages of growth. Originally confined to the upper crust of the Muslim intelligentsia who were eager to secure better and more jobs in the State Government, in the course of just over a decade, the movement became broad-based to embrace within its fold all communities under the auspices of the National Conference. The new party under Sheikh Abdullah's influence and pressure exerted by democratic sections led by Mr. G. M. Sadiq, the Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir, came out of the old narrow grooves to press for a representative and democratic form of government for the people. With this transformation of the content and character of the movement during the period 1931-44, Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues in Kashmir moved closer to the Indian National Congress and the national struggle for independence which it espoused. The adoption of socialistic principles to guide the future course of political action in Kashmir by the National Conference in 1941 made a deep impression on the progressive opinion throughout the country. The Muslim League with its reactionary and sectarian policies got more and more estranged

from the National Conference. The late Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, came to Srinagar personally in the summer of 1944 to dissuade the leaders of the National Conference from converting a Muslim majority area like Kashmir into a base of the Indian National Congress and thereby damaging the cause of Muslim solidarity. Unfortunately for Mr. Jinnah, the leaders of the National Conference simply refused to listen to him and he had to depart from Kashmir in somewhat humiliating conditions."

By 1946, the All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference led by Sheikh Abdullah and G. M. Sadiq had adopted the programme of "New Kashmir". It called for the abolition of Maharaja's rule, for elections based on adult suffrage and a government responsible to the legislature, for abolition of landlordism without compensation and land to the tiller and for steps to industrialise Kashmir and build the basis for a socialist Kashmir. It was the most advanced democratic programme adopted by the people of any state in India.

Meanwhile Jinnah did not at all like the close cooperation, common understanding and the fraternal relations between the National Conference of Kashmir and the Congress leadership. Efforts were made to build up a communal organisation and Jinnah himself spent some time in Kashmir but it must be said to the undying credit of the Kashmiri Muslims that they did not succumb to his communal approach. In the struggle for "New Kashmir" in 1946, Jinnah was expected to support the Kashmiri peoples fight against the ruler, even from a purely communal approach. What he did however was to condemn their struggle as an agitation whipped up by malcontents to create disorder in the state. Thus he provided an alibi for the Hindu ruler's repression against the Muslim population.

Pandit Nehru, however, wishing to demonstrate clearly the sympathies of the Congress and its solidarity with the Kashmiri people's struggle against the feudal autocracy, went to Kashmir in June 1946. He was to go to Srinagar but he was arrested near Kohala Bridge and not allowed to enter the state of Kashmir.

This study in contrast will show how the real issue of the people's struggle against feudal autocracy cannot be effectively concealed by the religion of the ruler or of the ruled. Here was no question of Hindu and Muslim. Here was a question of people's rights as against the prince's powers.

Mir Qasim further writes as follows:

"When partition came in 1947, Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues were still in jail. Their release, however, could not be delayed long due to pressure of public opinion both within the state and outside. On their release a month later, they found themselves inevitably allied with the nationalist forces led by Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Nehru. Arraigned in opposition were Hindu and Muslim communal forces represented by RSS and the Muslim League who for different reasons had backed the Maharaja against the people of Kashmir during the Quit Kashmir agitation.

With partition, cropped the question of Kashmir's accession to India or Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah demanded that before the people are asked to pronounce their opinion on accession, they must become masters of their own fate. The Indian leaders fully backed this demand. This was made clear to the Maharaja when he approached New Delhi to enter into a standstill agreement with his government. The Maharaja evaded the issue and consequently right up to the time the state was invaded by Pakistan on 22 October 1947, the matter remained undecided, the Maharaja making no move to transfer power and the Indian Government refusing to have any agreement with him in consequence.

"Contrary to this, as before, the attitude of the Pakistani leaders provided every encouragement to the Maharaja. The Pakistan Government imposed no conditions that he should make concessions of any sort to the people. As a matter of fact, prominent Pakistani leaders expressed open displeasure at his action in having released Sheikh Abdullah from jail. Private emissaries of late Mr. Jinnah assured the Maharaja that by linking Kashmir with Pakistan, he would not find his prerogatives threatened or privileges reduced. According to a

public statement made by Mr. Jinnah it was the Maharaja's sole right to decide the question of accession without any obligation to consult the wishes of the people. As a further assurance of their solicitude for the Maharaja, the Pakistan Government readily agreed to sign a standstill agreement with the Maharaja. That Kashmir would inevitably move into their lap, they thought, was only a matter of time.

"But within Kashmir itself things began to shape badly for Pakistan. The masses who had just gone through the fire of repression in connection with the Quit Kashmir movement, became restive at the delaying tactics adopted by the State Government, in collusion with vested interests in Pakistan, to cheat them of their goal. They felt that the question of their freedom was inevitably linked with the decision on accession: That if Kashmir became part of India, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal policies of the Indian National Congress would compel the Maharaja to part with power, that in a democratic and secular society which the Congress leaders were striving to build in India, their aspirations for New Kashmir would have a fair chance for fulfilment; that even for their material good such as expanding markets for trade, employment and economic help they had everything to gain and nothing to lose in India. Contrary would be the position, they felt, if Kashmir became a part of Pakistan where vested interests were strongly entrenched who had entered into a stand-still agreement with the Maharaja behind the back of the people.

"The real temper of Kashmiris became manifest on 15 August 1947. Every shop and house in Srinagar hoisted the Congress tri-colour and all over the valley people flocked in their thousands to read the Congress pledge. At places where pro-Pak sympathisers tried to put up the green flag, people simply tore these flags to shreds in fury and anger."

At a huge rally of the people to welcome Sheikh Abdullah on his release from prison on 29 September 1947 in Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah said:

"During the period of our struggle, several political parties

of India extended their sympathies to us but the greatest assistance was rendered to us by that pride of Kashmir and the shining star of India, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. He courted imprisonment for our sake in Kashmir and later on, Gandhiji personally travelled to Kashmir to see us. Almost all the great Congress leaders came to Kashmir to offer us their sympathy and the entire people, the press and newspapers of India wrote about us in understanding and sympathetic terms.

“Today while I was being conducted in a river procession I heard stray shouts of “Pakistan Zindabad”. I wish you all to remember that these shouts emanated from those who up till now have been ranked amongst oppressors and opponents. This is but a small group which today is trying to masquerade in this new garb. In 1931, when the Muslim Conference was founded, these people tried to set up their little group and called it “Azad Conference”. When the Muslim Conference was transformed into National Conference, these people found it convenient for their existence to adopt the label of Muslim Conference which we had abandoned. When we started our freedom struggle, these people allied themselves with Pandit Kak (Prime Minister of Kashmir 1945-47) against us. And today these very people are trying to appear in the garb of Pakistan. I wish you to understand the character of these people and judge for yourselves from their past behaviour, whether these people are motivated by their personal interest or by their sincere faith in a particular political creed.”

## PLOT AGAINST KASHMIR

From this brief history, it will be clear that as between the two dominions India and Pakistan, imperialist advice and influence would be more readily acceptable to Pakistan than India.

The Congress had as we have seen, throughout opposed imperialism. It had repeatedly stated that India must have its own independent foreign policy. It had repeatedly supported freedom and democracy for all people.

The Muslim League could not be accused of having at any time taken an anti-imperialist stand.

In so far as Kashmir, because of its strategic importance was necessary for imperialism, it would be much better if it was part of Pakistan, rather than part of India.

The world of imperialism had shrunk. Many countries in Eastern Europe had gone out of its orbit. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had already become part of the Soviet Union. Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia were no longer countries in which the capitalist landlord class could rule.

America, which suffered least in the second world war, saw a world in which its striving for world domination found in the socialist countries the only obstacle. After the great Roosevelt's death, it had already announced its atomic might to the world by needlessly devastating Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Both political and military opinion, other than official, is unanimous that Tojo Japan was on its last legs and the atomic bombing was wholly unnecessary. Prof. Blackett, the British atomic scientist, put it pithily when he said "They were not the closing shots of world war II but the opening shots of world war III."

America became the leader of the imperialist world, with Britain playing second fiddle. Once the undisputed leader of large parts of the world, Britain had become the 49th state of the USA, faithfully dittoing American policy and carrying it out except to the extent that it directly harmed British financial and trade interests.

Anglo-America was therefore busy building a ring of strong military bases all round the Soviet Union and the socialist states. Kashmir was essential for their plans. In fact, when Mountbatten went to Kashmir in June 1947, he hinted to the Maharaja and his Prime Minister that looking to its geography and the Muslim majority population, Kashmir should accede to Pakistan.

Already in 1935, the British had obtained from the Maharaja the lease for sixty years of Gilgit. Article 1 of this Agreement gave the Viceroy and Governor-General of India the right "to assume the civil and military administration of so much of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province of the State of Jammu & Kashmir as lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus."

The ruler of Kashmir had been advised by Kak that looking to the Muslim population and his being a Hindu ruler, it might be best if he remained independent of both Pakistan and India. His Prime Minister Kak, and it must be remembered that all Prime Ministers of Indian states were appointed only with the approval of the British rulers, had kept this picture dangling before the Maharaja. Three days before the transfer of power, on 15 August 1947, Kak was removed because his task was over. He had prevented the Maharaja from acceding to India.

The Maharaja, in order to have time to decide offered to sign standstill agreements with Pakistan and India. Pakistan accepted it by telegram on 15 August.

The offer of standstill agreement to India was not accepted. India wanted the Prime Minister or some other minister for negotiation. India wanted the ruler to take steps towards satisfying the Kashmiris' demand for a popular government.

It has to be noted that Kashmir had road and rail connections only with Pakistan. All the necessities of life like salt, etc., had to come from there. Pakistan had a double advantage. It starved Kashmir of these supplies which led naturally to public agitation for them. The raja's regime met it with repression in Poonch. A number of demobbed soldiers of the second world war were from Poonch. They took leadership of the public agitation. In Jammu, the Hindu communal elements in retaliation organised riots. Meher Chand Mahajan, who later became Chief Justice of India, became Prime Minister of Kashmir on 18 October 1947 and he sent a protest to Jinnah. In his reply Jinnah said shortage of supplies was due to shortage of coal supplies from East Punjab and the communal disturbances but protested against the organised killing of Muslims in Jammu.

Meanwhile preparations in North West Frontier Province had been completed. The services of a notorious British stooge called Khan Bahadur Kuli Khan were requisitioned by Sir George Cunningham, Governor of North West Frontier Province. Tribal Pathans were recruited. Col. Ingall, British Commandant of the Military Academy in Pakistan, and Brigadier Scott, who had been the head of the raja's forces in Kashmir, trained these recruits. Scott was invaluable because as head of the state forces he had dispersed the state forces in such a way that no serious resistance would really be encountered by the tribal raiders.

While this recruitment and training of the "irregulars" was going on for the forcible incorporation of Kashmir in Pakistan, the American Charge d'Affaires in Pakistan, Mr. Lewis, went to the N.W.F. Province evidently to supervise the preparations.

So on 22 October 1947, the Irregular Army of raiders invaded Kashmir. They came along the Mansehra-Muzzafarabad road in trucks and lorries fully armed with quite a few modern weapons.

The Maharaja had made a request to India for troops on 24 October. But India's stand was that not only must there



be an accession but it must have the backing of the popular organisation.

Sheikh Abdullah had been released only a few weeks earlier. To give it in his own words :

“But events have moved fast. Soon after my release, I heard of preparations along the western borders of Kashmir for some kind of invasion or raid. Armed people infiltrated into the state territory and in many places there were armed conflicts. I came to Delhi to preside over the Standing Committee of the States People’s Conference. The very day I returned to Srinagar, news came that a large party of armed and well-equipped raiders travelling on motor lorries had entered Kashmir via Abbottabad road near Muzaffarabad. These raiders created havoc and looted Muzaffarabad and other places. They marched towards Srinagar. It was obvious that this raid had been carefully prepared and every kind of help had been given to it in the shape of arms, equipment and motor transport. It was obvious also that this invasion was meant to coerce and compel the people of Kashmir to act in a particular way, namely, to accede to Pakistan. Every Kashmiri was shocked by this raid and the ruin in the trail of this raid. Every Kashmiri resented this compulsion on his will. The question of accession to India or Pakistan became a secondary issue and the first duty of every Kashmiri was to defend his motherland against the intruder. They refused to be compelled to accede to Pakistan in this way.

“I came to Delhi for a few hours to consult my colleagues and to explain the present critical position in Kashmir to members of the Government of India. *I asked them on behalf of the people for help in resisting this brutal raid.* The Maharaja’s Government had also made this request to the Government of India. *I am now going back to my people in Kashmir to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in defending our heritage and our homeland and to share with them the perils and sorrows that may be in store.* I know the spirit of my people and I am sure that we shall triumph in the end. I appeal to all lovers of freedom in India or Pakistan to stand

by the people of Kashmir in this hour of trial and to denounce the raiders who have come to bring sorrow and disaster to our country."

I can personally testify to this fact for I met Sheikh Abdullah when he came to Delhi with Mahajan and the Instrument of Accession duly signed by the Maharaja on 26 October 1947. The very next day, Indian military aid was sent.

It was on 28 October that at our request Sheikh Abdullah took me and the late S. L. Kapoor of the *Globe News Agency* with him in the Maharaja's private plane, a beechcroft four-seater from Safdarjang to Ambala. From there the Sheikh and Mahajan went to Jammu to see the Maharaja and Kapoor and I were sent in a military plane which was carrying a mountain battery to Srinagar.

When the raiders were 35 miles from Srinagar, the Maharaja had fled to Jammu, with all his property including carpets, leaving Srinagar and its people to their fate.

I was in Srinagar when the National Conference literally picked up power from the streets where the raja had abandoned it and Sheikh Abdullah became the head of the Emergency Administration.

Those were inspiring days. The whole people of Srinagar under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, Bakhshi and Sadiq had risen as one man against the raiders. Not one Kashmiri said that the raiders should be welcomed because they were Muslims. They only shouted "Aggressors beware! We Kashmiris are prepared!" My daily despatches to the *Daily Worker*, London, gave a vivid picture of those inspiring days when the raiders were only 1½ miles away, i.e., on the outskirts of Srinagar.

The combined action of the popular will and Indian military forces led to a turn in the tide. The raiders were beaten and before long were being chased back into Pakistan. This was not at all to the liking of the British imperialists. Their best laid plan had gone haywire. If the Indian army cleared

Kashmir of the raiders, then Kashmir would go out of their hands for ever. The British were quick to intervene.

It must be remembered that the British commanded both the armies of India and Pakistan. The Indian Army had chased the raiders up to Uri. Mountbatten had already won the affection of the Congress leaders by his sweet smile and sympathetic understanding. He was a past-master in diplomacy and could disguise imperial interests in the cloak of sweet reasonableness. As if he was letting the Indian leaders into a secret, he told them it appears that he had received word that Pakistan was fully prepared for an all-out war against India and that if Indian armies advanced beyond Uri, such a war would be inevitable. He argued that since India was interested only in getting the raiders out of Kashmir, the peaceful way of securing it was to make a complaint to the Security Council of the United Nations against Pakistan.

The Indian leaders, who had already on their hands the colossal problem of millions of uprooted Hindus and Sikhs who had come from Pakistani areas, fell for this advice. India lodged its complaint against Pakistan to the Security Council on 1 January 1948. It walked thus into the Anglo-American imperialist trap wherein it has been held for 18 years.

In its complaint India said that:

“The Government of India request the Security Council to call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately to the giving of such assistance, which is an act of aggression against India.

*“If Pakistan does not do so, the Government of India may be compelled, in self-defence, to enter Pakistan territory, in order to take military action against the invaders. The matter is therefore of extreme urgency and calls for immediate action by Security Council and for avoiding a breach of international peace.”*

The Security Council has acted so promptly that for 18 years Pakistan is still on Kashmir territory!

In its complaint, India explained that it accepted accession by the Maharaja only when “an appeal for help was also simultaneously received by the Government of India from the

largest popular organisation in Kashmir, the National Conference headed by Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah. The Conference further strongly supported the request for the state's accession to the Indian Dominion. The Government of India was thus approached not only officially by the state authorities, but also on behalf of the people of Kashmir, both for military aid and for the accession of the State to India."

India went on further, in the erroneous belief that imperialists attach value to noble aims and stated:

"But in order to avoid any possible suggestion that India had utilised the state's immediate peril for her own political advantage, the Government of India made it clear that *once* the soil of the state had been cleared of the invader and *normal conditions* restored, its people would be free to decide their future by recognised democratic method of a plebiscite or referendum which, in order to ensure complete impartiality, might be held under international auspices."

The complaint detailed that 19,000 "raiders" face the Indian Army in the valley, that about 15,000 are operating against the western and south-western border, i.e. the Poonch-Jammu border and that 1,00,000 have been collected in Pakistan at different centres and were being given intensive training.

On 15 January 1948, Pakistan sent a brief reply to India's complaint. In its reply Pakistan said:

"the Pakistan Government emphatically deny that they are giving aid and assistance to the so-called invaders or have committed any act of aggression against India. On the contrary and solely with the object of maintaining friendly relations between the two Dominions the Pakistan Government has continued to do all in their power to discourage the tribal movement by all means short of war. This has caused bitter resentment throughout the country; but despite a very serious risk of large-scale internal disturbances the Pakistan Government have not deviated from this policy. In circumstances which will become clear from the recital of events set out in Document III, it may be that a certain number of indepen-

dent tribesmen and persons from Pakistan are helping the Azad Kashmir Government in their struggle for liberty as volunteers, but it is wrong to say that Pakistani territory is being used as a base of military operations. It is also incorrect that the Pakistan Government are supplying military equipment, transport and supplies to the 'invaders' or that Pakistani officers are training, guiding and otherwise helping them."

In other words, Pakistan had no dispute with India about the military action taken by India against the raiders, who it was alleged had nothing to do with Pakistan.

Pakistan in turn made a separate complaint against India that though the rulers of Junagadh and Manavadar states in Kathiawar had acceded to Pakistan, India by taking over these areas had committed aggression on Pakistan. Secondly that India obtained the accession of the state of Jammu & Kashmir "by fraud and violence" and it asked the Security Council to restore Junagadh and Manavadar to Pakistan, to secure withdrawal of Indian Union forces from Kashmir, allow those who had left that state to come back, establish an impartial and independent administration fully representative of the people of that state and thereafter to hold a plebiscite to ascertain whether they wish to accede to India or Pakistan.

That is how Kashmir has been kept imprisoned in the Security Council ever since, with both Pakistan and India treated as complainants.

On 20 April 1948 however the British Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan army, Sir Douglas Gracey, egged the Pakistan Government thus:

"If Pakistan is not to face another serious refugee problem with about 2,750,000 people uprooted from their home; if India is not to be allowed to sit on the door step of Pakistan, to the rear and on the flank, likely to enter at its will and pleasure; if civilian and military morale is not to be affected to a dangerous extent, it is imperative that the Indian army

should not be allowed to advance beyond the general line Uri-Poonch-Naushera". (Aslam Siddique, p. 21)

Mountbatten had got the Indian leaders to halt their troop movements on that line. Gracey got Pakistan later to advance their troops to that line!

No two countries in history were ever made to move like pawns in a master's game of chess!

## SECURITY COUNCIL ACTS!

The fly having walked into the spider's parlour, the Security Council immediately revealed its main political aim.

India had been advised that the Security Council would peacefully get the raiders out of Kashmir.

This is how Warren Austin, the American representative set the tone:

"How are you going to ask the tribesmen to retire? Only when *they are satisfied* that there will be a fair plebiscite assured through an interim government, can you have a peaceful settlement."

The Security Council took no time at all to reveal its real face. No one has brought that great and noble organisation, the UNO, into disrepute so much as the Anglo-American imperialists who with their assured majority in the Security Council cynically used it to serve their own interests and not the interests of Peace, Democracy and Progress of the world.

Noel-Baker, the British representative, echoed his master's voice. He said:

"The main thing is the plebiscite itself. The plebiscite is a *vital part of the whole settlement*. This plebiscite must inspire confidence in *everybody including those fighting*. I, therefore, arrive at the conclusion as other members that impartial interim administration arrangements must be made."

Even the blind can see how all concepts of law and justice and fair play are turned topsy turvy to ensure success of the imperialist design. The lawful, legal government must be set aside. Under the guise of impartial administration, the imperialists and their stooges were to take control of Kashmir. The raiders, whom even Pakistan did not claim as representing its interests, were to be treated as if they had a legitimate

right to be in Kashmir and were to be assured that an impartial plebiscite would be held and then gently persuaded to leave Kashmir. What in the name of justice had the raiders to do with a plebiscite?

Only Gromyko, the Soviet representative, underlined that all this talk had nothing to do with the substance of the issue, namely, India's complaint that Pakistan be asked or Security Council bring about or allow India to remove the raiders from Kashmir.

On 17 January 1948, the Security Council adopted a resolution put forward by Belgium calling upon both Pakistan and India to take steps immediately to improve the situation and asking them to report any material change and it set up a commission of three members, one to be chosen by each of the dominion governments and the third to be designated by those thus chosen. This commission was to find facts, exercise its mediatory influence and it was also to investigate not only the complaint of India but also the complaint of Pakistan.

Sheikh Abdullah who attended the UNO and who addressed the Security Council in February was quick to grasp what had happened and in his report to the National Conference in April 1949 declared:

"The strange attitude shown by the imperialist powers has convinced me that nothing can come out of our talks with the members of the Security Council and I have accordingly, asked Mr. Ayyangar to withdraw the case altogether. Mr. Noel-Baker flatly denied the complicity of Pakistan in the raids, which, he said, were of a local nature. Mr. Warren Austin, the American delegate, insisted on a 'neutral administration' for Kashmir, which he, frankly said, would include a few members of the Security Council. Most of the members see Kashmir only as a neighbour of Russia and therefore an essential base in the encirclement of Russia for future aggression."

Unfortunately India did not withdraw its complaint even though Pandit Nehru himself charged the Security Council with "refusal to face the straight issue and considering it not



on its merits but subordinate to the use of power politics."

We have it on record that even here the Indian leaders were prevailed upon by Mountbatten who (according to Campbell Johnson in his *Mission with Mountbatten*) "with his overwhelming persistence and flair for argument in detail" finally prevailed on the Indian leaders to discuss matters with the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP).

It is unnecessary to go into details of the many attempts made by the Security Council to bring India to heel.

The UNCIP resolution of August 1948, envisaged:

- (1) a cease-fire,
- (2) withdrawal of all raiders and Pakistan nationals not normally resident in Kashmir,
- (3) withdrawal of Pakistan's armed forces (now admitted to be present on Kashmir territory),
- (4) India to withdraw the bulk of its forces when Commission informs it that Pakistan forces are being withdrawn,
- (5) Both Governments to cooperate with Commission in ensuring proper conditions for plebiscite.

This was broadly agreed to by both India and Pakistan but vigorous efforts were being made to get (4) and (5) implemented even before (2) and (3) were first fully implemented.

In December 1949, Gen. McNaughton of Canada submitted his proposals for demilitarisation which also could not work since Pakistan and India each proposed amendments unacceptable to the other.

Then in March 1950, the functions of the UNCIP were directed by the Security Council, at Anglo-American instance, to be handed over to the UN nominated Sir Owen Dixon, an Australian jurist.

Dixon asked India what would be its attitude to:

- (1) a plan of plebiscite by areas instead of one for the whole state,

- (2) a plan by which some areas would be conceded by each side to the other being certain of the result and plebiscite only for the uncertain areas.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan protested as the proposal would be in breach of India's agreement to settle the destiny of whole of Kashmir by a single plebiscite. Dixon in order to get Pakistan's consent suggested that UN officers were to be "interposed temporarily in the administrative body of the state so far as it controlled the plebiscite area." This meant that the constitutional and lawful Government of Kashmir and its control over the valley was to be pushed aside temporarily thus almost reducing its presence there to illegality. This could never be acceptable either to India or to the Government of Kashmir and Nehru agreed with Dixon that there was nothing he could do in the sub-continent and Dixon went back.

The persistent attempts to impose on Kashmir Admiral Chester Nimitz of the UN Navy as the plebiscite administrator also did not therefore succeed.

The only thing that succeeded was the freezing of the cease-fire line in January 1949.

In October 1950, the All-Jammu and Kashmir National Conference declared that the time had come for the people of Kashmir to take their destiny in their own hands and put an end to all this uncertainty and decided to convene a Constituent Assembly. The Security Council woke up to this democratic threat and adopted at its meeting of March 1951 an Anglo-American sponsored resolution appointing Dr. Frank P. Graham as the new UN representative to go to the sub-continent. Hostile demonstrations were staged against him in Kashmir.

The only improvement he could be said to have brought about is to give a local habitation to the so-called Azad Kashmir forces on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line.

His proposal of September 1952 was that on Pakistan side of cease-fire line at the end of the period of demilitarisation,

the Azad Kashmir forces will have an armed force of 6,000, the remaining Azad Kashmir forces will be no longer under Pakistan High Command but will be officered by neutral and local officers under the surveillance of the UN. For this generous gesture by Graham, India was to withdraw all its forces except a force of 18,000. Both India and Pakistan rejected certain parts and Graham also failed in his endeavour.

Ultimately Pandit Nehru and Mahomed Ali, Prime Ministers, had direct talks in Karachi in July and New Delhi in August 1953 and their joint communique issued on 20 August 1953 stated:

“The Kashmir dispute was specially discussed at some length. It was their firm opinion that this should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of that state with a view to promoting their well-being and causing the least disturbance to the life of the people of the state. The most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people was by fair and impartial plebiscite. Such a plebiscite had been proposed and agreed to some years ago. Progress, however, could not be made because of lack of agreement in regard to certain preliminary issues. The Prime Ministers agreed that these preliminary issues should be considered by them directly in order to arrive at agreements in regard to this. These agreements would have to be given effect to and the next step would be the appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator.

“In order to fix some kind of a provisional time-table, it was decided that the Plebiscite Administrator should be appointed by the end of April 1954. Previous to that date the preliminary issues referred to above should be decided and action in implementation thereof should be taken. With this purpose in view Committees of Military and other experts should be appointed to advise the Prime Ministers. On the Plebiscite Administrator's formal appointment and induction into office by the Jammu and Kashmir Government he will examine the situation and report on it. He will then make such proposals as he thinks proper for preparations to be made for the holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite in the

entire state and take such other steps as may be considered necessary therefor."

It was clear that the Security Council weapon which the imperialists tried was neither as swift nor as sharp as they had imagined.

Following the well-tried American method of achieving its imperialist purpose through the UNO if possible and outside it if necessary, it brought Pakistan into its anti-Soviet, anti-socialist military alliances. Pakistan and Turkey were asked to negotiate for the Baghdad Pact. America in return promised Pakistan considerable military aid.

Pakistan entered into an Agreement for friendly cooperation on 21 April 1954 with Turkey and on Iraq's joining Turkey, the Baghdad Pact came into existence on 24 February 1955, Britain became a member and by September 1955, Pakistan had become a full member of the pact. This is the notorious CENTO. It must be noted that the League of Arab States severely opposed this imperialist game.

Nasser declared "the Baghdad Pact represents foreign domination in the region and... through our opposition to the Baghdad Pact we aim at achieving true liberty, Arab solidarity and Arab unity."

The Baghdad Pact crumbled at its very foundations by the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Suez in 1956 and by the Revolution in Iraq in 1958. So in March 1959, Pakistan and Turkey signed the Bilateral Agreement of Cooperation with the USA.

To get back to the American plan of getting Pakistan fully under its influence and control, Pakistan also attended the Conference in Manila in September 1954 for setting up the SEATO. The USA wanted it to be restricted to "defence" against communist (meaning Chinese) aggression only. Zafrulla of Pakistan wanted it to be against every aggression and said that it was a "mistake to imply that one kind of aggression, rather than another, required speedier action". America whose main purpose was to line up as many countries as possible behind it in its war aims was not prepared to

extend it to any and every aggression. So it appended an explanation that while American responsibility arises automatically in the case of communist aggression "in the event of other aggression or armed attack it will consult".

As quid pro quo for Pakistan's support to the United States own policies on the world plane, in CENTO and SEATO, America entered into Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement on 19 May 1954. But news of this was splashed forth much in advance.

President Eisenhower wrote to Pandit Nehru a letter in advance regarding the above agreement to be entered into with Pakistan.

The text of President Eisenhower's letter regarding military assistance to Pakistan, handed over by Ambassador Allen to Prime Minister Nehru on 24 February 1954:

"My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

"I send you this personal message because I want you to know about my decision to extend military aid to Pakistan before it is public knowledge and also because I want you to know directly from me that this step *does not in any way affect the friendship we feel for India*. Quite the contrary. We will continually strive to strengthen the warm and enduring friendship between our two countries.

"Our two Governments have agreed that our desires for peace are in accord. It has also been understood that if our interpretation of existing circumstances and our belief in how to achieve our goals differ, it is the right and duty of sovereign nations to make their own decision. Having studied long and carefully the problem of opposing possible aggression in the Middle East, I believe that consultation between Pakistan and Turkey about security problems will serve the interests not only of Pakistan and Turkey but also of the whole free world. Improvement in Pakistan's defensive capability will also serve these interests and it is for this reason that our aid will be given. This Government's views on this subject are elaborated in a public statement I will release, a copy of

which Ambassador (George V. Allen of the United States) will give you.

*“What we are proposing to do, and what Pakistan is agreeing to, is not directed in any way against India. And I am confirming publicly that if our aid to any country, including Pakistan, is misused and directed against another in aggression, I will undertake immediately in accordance with my constitutional authority appropriate action both within and without the UN to thwart such aggression. I believe that the Pakistan-Turkey collaboration agreement which is being discussed is sound evidence of the defensive purposes which both countries have in mind.*

*“I know that you and your Government are keenly aware of the need for economic progress as a prime requisite for stability and strength. This Government has extended assistance to India in recognition of this fact and I am recommending to Congress a continuation of economic and technical aid for this reason. We also believe it in the interest of the free world that India have a strong military defence capability and have admired the effective way your Government has administered your military establishment. If your Government should conclude that circumstances require military aid of a type contemplated by our mutual security legislation, please be assured that your request would receive my most sympathetic consideration.*

*“I regret that there has been such widespread and unfounded speculation on the subject. Now that the facts are known, I hope that the real import of our decision will be understood.*

*“I am, my dear Mr. Prime Minister,*

Sincerely,  
Dwight D. Eisenhower”

Meanwhile the Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage met at Srinagar on 5 November 1951. The issue of Kashmir might have been locked up in the Security Council. But the land, the people and history moved on.

Sheikh Abdullah addressing the inaugural session said:

“The most powerful argument which can be advanced in Pakistan’s favour is that it is a Muslim state, and a big majority of our people being Muslims the state must accede to Pakistan. This claim of being a Muslim state is of course only a camouflage. It is a screen to dupe the common man so that he may not see clearly that Pakistan is a feudal state in which a clique is trying by these methods to maintain itself in power. In addition to this, the appeal to religion constitutes a sentimental and a wrong approach to the question. Sentiment has its own place in life, but often it leads to irrational action.”

Speaking on the question of accession to India, Sheikh Abdullah said:

“The real character of a state is revealed in its constitution. The Indian Constitution has set before the country the goal of secular democracy based upon justice, freedom and equality for all without distinction. This is the bedrock of modern democracy. This should meet the argument that the Muslims of Kashmir cannot have security in India, where the large majority of the population are Hindus. Any unnatural cleavage between religious groups is the legacy of imperialism and no modern state can afford to encourage artificial divisions if it is to achieve progress and prosperity. The Indian Constitution has amply and finally repudiated the concept of a religious state, which is a throwback to medievalism, by guaranteeing the equality of rights of all citizens irrespective of their religion, colour, caste and class.

“The national movement in our state naturally gravitates towards these principles of secular democracy. The people here will never accept a principle which seeks to favour the interests of one religion or social group against another. This affinity in political principles, as well as in past association, and our common path of suffering in the cause of freedom, must be weighed properly while deciding the future of the state.

“We are also intimately concerned with the economic well-being of the people of this state. As I said before, while referring

to constitution-building, political ideals are often meaningless unless linked with economic plans. As a state, we are concerned mainly with agriculture and trade. As you know, and as I have detailed before, we have been able to put through our land to the tiller' legislation and make of it a practical success. Land and all it means is an inestimable blessing to our peasants who have dragged along in servitude to the landlord and his allies for centuries without number. We have been able under present conditions to carry these reforms through; are we sure that in alliance with landlord-ridden Pakistan with so many feudal privileges intact, that this economic reform of ours will be tolerated? We have already heard that news of our Land Reforms has travelled to the peasants of the enemy-occupied area of our state, who vainly desire a like status, and like benefits. In the second place, our economic welfare is bound up with our arts and crafts. The traditional markets for these precious goods, for which we are justly known all over the world, have been centred in India. The volume of our trade, in spite of the dislocation of the last few years, shows this. Industry is also highly important to us. Potentially we are rich in minerals, and in the raw materials of industry; we need help to develop our resources. India being more highly industrialised than Pakistan, can give us equipment, technical services and materials. She can help us too in marketing. Many goods also which it would not be practical for us to produce here—for instance, sugar, cotton cloth and other essential commodities—can be got by us in large quantities from India. It is around the efficient supply of such basic necessities that the standard of living of the man-in-the-street depends."

On the supposed alternative of a Kashmir independent both of India and Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah said:

"We have to consider the alternative of making ourselves an Eastern Switzerland, of keeping aloof from both states, but having friendly relations with them. This might seem attractive in that it would appear to pave the way out of the present deadlock. To us as a tourist country, it could also have certain obvious advantages. But in considering independence we must



not ignore practical considerations. Firstly, it is not easy to protect sovereignty and independence in a small country which has not sufficient strength to defend itself on our long and difficult frontiers bordering so many countries. Secondly, we must have the goodwill of all our neighbours. Can we find powerful guarantors among them to pull together always in assuring us freedom from aggression? I would like to remind you that from August 15 to October 22, 1947, our state was independent and the result was that our weakness was exploited by the neighbour with whom we had a valid standstill agreement. The state was invaded. What is the guarantee that in future too we may not be victims of a similar aggression."

Fearing that pressure of the strong and well-entrenched finance capitalist interests in India might be used to hamper the democratic advance found so urgent and necessary in Kashmir, the National Conference leaders arrived at what are known as the Delhi Agreements by which Kashmir though part of India was accorded a special status. This was in 1952.

This special status agreed to by the Government of India was made the basis for a communal agitation and riots by the Hindu communalists in Jammu.

The American Ambassador Loy Henderson, Adlai Stevenson and several others began to work on Sheikh Abdullah. He was assured the choice need not be between accession to India or Pakistan. Kashmir could remain friendly with and independent of both. Kashmir with unlimited American dollars could be built into a great Switzerland, a MECCA for all world tourists. The independence of Kashmir would be guaranteed by the American military colossus. Kashmir could build itself as a bridge for better relations between India and Pakistan. Such a rosy picture was too tempting, the prospects were breath-taking and Sheikh Abdullah started the slide down on the inclined plane of imperialist blandishment. The question as to why America should be so generous with its gold and guns towards Kashmir and what was behind this grand offer was never raised.

The Sheikh found himself in a position at the end of this process when all those like Bakhshi and Sadiq and others who had worked with him and respected him for over 25 years fundamentally disagreed with him. His flirtation with the American proposal for an independent Kashmir was clearly seen as nothing but handing over Kashmir to America, not merely making its independence a mere word but endangering the existence itself of Kashmir and its people as the forward base for imperialist war against the socialist world.

So Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed, he and a handful (not more than six members) were detained and the Constituent Assembly went on and in November 1956, declared that "the State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India." The will of the people had at last prevailed.

The significance of a Muslim majority state like Kashmir thus voluntarily and by the well-known democratic process of a Constituent Assembly deciding that it will be an integral part of the Union of India is a great catalyst for the development of a secular democratic approach in the sub-continent. Quite apart from the recognition of the secular character of the Government of India, such action by the representatives of the Kashmiri people helped to strengthen the forces of secularism in India, helped to stem the forces fomenting fratricidal strife which had been considerably strengthened as a result of the communal carnage at the time of the partition of India. This will explain why the Indian people as a whole resent any suggestion of trading away Kashmir as part of a settlement for peace, for Kashmir is vital to the continued secular character of the Government of India and the growth of a secular democracy so vital for Indian society which has large religious minorities like Muslims and Christians.

Unluckily for Pakistan, the situation inside Kashmir under the Chief Ministership of G. M. Sadiq was not at all favourable. As we have seen, the infiltration was organised in the hope of a massive upheaval. However, the Kashmiri people

actively worked against the Pakistani raiders of which the following facts may be noted :

1. It was Mohammad Din, a local Kashmiri gujjar who gave the first information report to the authorities that a band of 2 to 3 hundred armed Pakistani infiltrators had crossed over to the Gulmarg side on 4 August 1965.

2. In the fierce fighting which took place on the outskirts of Srinagar on 8 August 1965 night, the advance of the infiltrators into the city was repulsed by a section of Kashmiri Armed Police. Inspector O. N. Dhar, Asstt. S.I. Ram Lal, H.Cs. Bhola Singh, Harbans Singh, Makhan Lal and constables Abdul Rashid, Ghulam Hassan, Abdul Rashid, Bashir Ahmed, Mohd. Maqbool, Mohd. Sidiq, Chatru Ram, Pritam Singh and Ghulam Ahmad Zargar laid down their lives in this engagement to defeat the enemy at the gates of Srinagar.

3. People in all parts of the state mobilised themselves to track down the raiders. Because of the timely information supplied by the local population to the Security Forces, large numbers of the enemy were either killed or captured.

4. Except in cases of extreme duress, the raiders received no support locally. In some places, the infiltrators tried to bribe the villagers with money and gifts but almost in every such case, their movements and hide-outs were revealed to the local authorities.

5. Getting no support in the villages, the raiders preferred to hide in the security of ravines and jungles.

6. The wrath of the raiders against the local population for the latter's refusal to start an uprising was given full vent to by the enemy by razing to the ground a number of villages, viz., Gangabug, Yechgam, Khunmoh and Berwa, etc., and the residential locality of Batamaloo outside Srinagar. Schools, dispensaries and panchayat-garhs were looted and burnt. The number of Kashmiris shot as traitors by the so-called mujahids makes a total of 22 in Srinagar, Badgam, Beerwa and Chodra Tehsils, all of them Muslims.

7. The capture of a number of strategic features by the Indian Security Forces on high altitudes through difficult

terrain became possible only as a result of the cooperation of thousands of local people who volunteered to serve by the side of the army.

8. At no stage in the fighting and in no area was there even a minor break-down of the administration. Actually since the start of the emergency, the administrative machinery is working at full gear in all parts of the state. Essential services are running normally. Life in Srinagar which was reported by the enemy to have been cut off on several occasions has been running perfectly well.

9. Since the time Pakistan struck with its armed might to destroy the peace and security of the state, the people have risen resolutely and unitedly forgetting petty differences in defence of the motherland. Huge public meetings and rallies have been held in all parts of the state to express the solid resolve of the people to frustrate and defeat the enemy. The Chief Minister G. M. Sadiq and his colleagues have addressed thousands of people assuring them that the state would be immediately cleared of the raiders and Pakistani aggression beaten back to the raiders' bases.

10. Representative Citizens' Committees have been set up in Srinagar and other urban areas by the people to channelise the national will to resist the invasion. Women have taken a leading part in this effort in Srinagar, Anantnag and Baramulla.

11. Chief Minister G. M. Sadiq has received hundreds of messages from individuals and institutions from all parts of the state pledging full support in the war effort.

12. Even opposition leaders like Maulana Masoodi and Mohi-ud-Din Kara have come out with denials about their association with the so-called Revolutionary Council.

13. It has been established that there is not a single person in the mujahid force who knows or talks Kashmiri.

The myth of an internal uprising has been fully exploded by the published accounts of the situation by leading foreign correspondents who have visited Kashmir.

## CHINA QUEERS THE PITCH

The year 1954 of Pakistan-US military alliance marked a turning point both for Pakistan and India.

India became more and more pronouncedly non-aligned, the spirit of Bandung and Panchsheel was sought to be carried everywhere and Indian policy of friendship towards the USSR and China became more apparent. It steadily worked for world peace and for the Geneva Conference on Vietnam, while it raised its voice in favour of freedom for all subject peoples and against intervention by imperialism. India and particularly Nehru were happy that the world trends were growing towards cooperation for peace, mutual respect and a world free from imperialist domination. Aid without strings was becoming available from the new socialist market. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, became the exponent of this line.

On the other hand with the US military alliance Pakistan moved away from democracy and into dictatorship at home and imperialist alliances abroad. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was seven years in making a Constitution. Ghulam Mohammed became the Governor-General and when the elections in East Pakistan resulted in a debacle for the Muslim League, the Constituent Assembly was dissolved. He brought in Gen. Iskandar Mirza as Minister of the Interior and Gen. Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, as Minister of Defence.

A new Constituent Assembly was formed by indirect election and it produced an Islamic Republic with a parliamentary system. In July 1955, Gen. Mirza became Governor-General.

On 14 October 1955, all the administrative units in West Pakistan were merged into one province thus denying to the

nationalities in Pakistan even a measure of local autonomy. In India this was the period when Andhras, Maharashtrians and Gujaratis fought for their own linguistic states.

Within three months, the Constitution was suspended in East Pakistan. As elections under the new Constitution drew near, Gen. Mirza realised that there was precious little popular support for the regime. The Bengalis, Baluchis, Sindhis and Pathans were becoming more and more vocal for their rights. In October 1958, he abrogated the Constitution, dismissed all governments, banned all political parties and appointed Gen. Ayub Khan as Martial Law Administrator. Within a month of this Gen. Ayub Khan edged Mirza off into obscurity, assumed the rank of Field Marshal with the words "My authority is revolution. I have no sanction in law or Constitution."

The problem that faced the Field Marshal was how the field could be made safe for his marshalling of the people of Pakistan. He took vigorous measures against corrupt officials and ministers and many thought Ayub would be a Nasser.

But while Nasser was not afraid of the people and relied on their support for his anti-imperialist, anti-feudal moves, Ayub could not but fear the people because of his pro-imperialist, pro-feudal policies. So he evolved the concept of "basic democracy". For this Ayub is credited with the idea of doing away with 'national' politics which the backward masses were unable to understand and so they were asked to concentrate on local politics. Direct elections were allowed only to choose the "basic democrats". Each constituency had an average of 533 persons. The total of basic democrats thus elected is 80,000.

Noorul Amin, leader of the opposition said:

"The Constitution does not envisage association of the masses with the administration. This way a political cartel has been created by giving a monopoly to 80,000 basic democrats for shaping the destiny of the nation of 100 million people."

Meanwhile since the American military pact the defence expenditure has been sky-rocketing.

(In millions of rupees)

Year	Revenue	Defence Expenditure
1954-55	1172.7	713.4
1955-56	1435.8	814.3
1956-57	1298.3	820.0
1957-58	1495.8	742.9
1958-59	2070.2	1044.2
1959-60	1758.4	1055.4
1960-61	1713.7	1012.2

(Aslam Siddique, p. 64)

The picture in contrast was of a Pakistan as military dictatorship in alliance with imperialism and an India which was non-aligned and working for freedom and peace in the world.

China however led by the Communist Party of Mao Tse-tung had by then liberated the vast mainland and driven Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan. There the American imperialists established a strong guard of the Seventh Fleet over his political mummification. The picture of a representative from Taiwan speaking in the Security Council at the instance of the USA on behalf of the great land and human mass of China makes a mockery of the Security Council itself.

In China itself many things were happening. Every communist was taught to regard "the thought of Mao Tse-tung" as the only true Marxism. The Chinese leadership took up positions opposed to that of Khrushchov on every important aspect of world reality. It is needless to go into details of their ideological dispute but it is sufficient to point out that China's outlook on the world is sectarian, its approach to questions is dogmatic and its tactics is adventurist.

In the world of new nations that were emerging out of

imperialist control into freedom, the socialist system could aid them to build and develop through government-to-government aid, respect their non-alignment which is but the immediate form of anti-imperialism and desire for freely deciding their own destinies without political or military or economic pressures. This was what the USSR and European socialist countries were doing. Mao Tse-tung in his *On People's Democratic Dictatorship* wrote differently :

"Sitting on the fence will not do; nor is there a third road. We oppose illusions about a third road. Not only in China but throughout the world, *all the people without exception must lean on imperialism or on socialism. Neutrality is merely a camouflage: a third road does not exist.*"

Foster Dulles said neutrality was "immoral". R. G. Casey of Australia said "all of us must take our place in a team. You cannot be neutral." And Suhrawardy, when he was Prime Minister of Pakistan, went to America and said evidently with India in his mind :

"It is neutralism which now tries to do for communism what communism cannot do for itself. The neutral bloc is neutral only in name; for in fact and in effect, it is a friend and ally of communism."

In October 1950, Chinese troops had entered Tibet and India in a letter to China pointed out the harmful effect of military action there as it would not only lead to unrest and disturbance on India's borders but might also lead to delay in the admission of China to the UNO. China replied characteristically that India appears to have been "affected by foreign influences hostile to China in Tibet."

In 1954, India-China Agreement on trade and intercourse between India and Tibet was arrived at wherein India recognised Tibet as a part of China and gave up extra-territorial rights and privileges which the British Government had enjoyed in Tibet.

In 1956, China built the highway between Sinkiang and Tibet which passed through Aksai Chin area. Most of this as the map will show is the portion north of the Karakoram



range and goes up to the Kuen Lun and comes down again. Sinkiang is on the western side of this projection and Tibet on the eastern. It is largely uninhabited mountain territory ranging from 14 to 20 thousand feet in height. Due to its wild desolate nature India had posts only to guard the trade routes on this side of the Karakoram and only sometimes sent patrols to the border. This is part of the Ladakh district of Kashmir. Thus, India did not know about this road till the Indian Ambassador in Peking saw the People's Liberation Army celebrating its completion.

The dispute between China and India became acute mainly as a result of the Dalai Lama's flight to India with several hundred khampas and the red carpet treatment given to him in India. It was obvious that the anti-feudal measures in Tibet would be a big blow to the Dalai Lama, the monasteries being the biggest land owners in Tibet.

Though the Indian Government regarded its action as a mere provision of political asylum, the Government of China under the influence of the thought of Mao, felt that India's non-alignment was only a camouflage and that India was allowing its territory to be used as a base for aggressive preparations against Tibet.

On 10 July 1958, a Chinese note said inter alia:

"Since the peaceful liberation of the Tibetan region of China, reactionaries who have fled from Tibet to the Kalimpong and have been carrying on subversive activities against China's Tibetan region under the instigation and direction of the US and the Chiang Kai-shek clique and in collusion with local reactionaries in Kalimpong.....The Chinese Government regards the criminal activities of the above-said reactionaries and special agents as a direct threat to China's territorial integrity and sovereignty and yet another malicious scheme of United States imperialists to create tension in Asia and Africa."

The note called upon the Government of India to "repress the subversive and disruptive activities against China's Tibetan region." India replied that it would not permit any activi-

ties on its territory directed against Tibet and China. The fact that in India there has always been considerable freedom for the spokesmen of the big vested interests and that the press owned by them splashed forth noisy demands for recognition of the Dalai Lama as the "Refugee Government of Tibet" and irrational appeals that India should take action to liberate Tibet from 'communist tyranny' and so on confirmed the purblind Chinese leaders in their belief that India while making professions of friendship was in reality closely allied with America against China.

This led to Peking attacking India day after day as an American stooge and all the goodwill of the earlier Panch-sheela days was hacked away.

The border disputes, border skirmishes sometimes bursting into large-scale action developed mainly in the Aksai Chin area.

On 20 October 1962, however, when it looked as if a world war would break out between the USSR and the USA over Cuba, the Chinese made a mass invasion in the eastern sector, occupied four out of five frontier districts of the North East Frontier Agency and the Kameng, Subausiri Siang and Lohit frontier divisions.

When good sense prevailed and both the US and the USSR averted the war that seemed inevitable, China withdrew her forces from Assam thus showing that the massed invasion had no real connection with the border dispute but was the basic Chinese strategy if a world war between imperialism and socialism broke out.

However a "wise" retreat does not wipe out the consequences of an unwise, even foolish advance. Instead of the old friendship and goodwill for China, in India there is not only distrust but a fear of further aggression and considerable hatred. Many thousands scorn the days of "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" as indicative of India's foolish trust.

This action of China queered the pitch for progress in India and to some extent in the whole of Asia. The world trends as seen developing along well-recognised and under-

standable lines had all been upset. Everything became confused. The world picture that all progressives had envisioned collapsed. Pandit Nehru's spirit was broken.

Pakistan which all along had built up India as a Hindu demon wanting to swallow up the Muslim state now found an ally. In spite of being a member of the CENTO and SEATO, in spite of the US Pakistan Pact it drew closer to China. The military feudal dictatorship gave up none of its anti-socialist and anti-democratic policy, nor its imperialist alliances.

When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee discussed US military aid to Pakistan and some views were expressed that Pakistan had an excess of army units, Ayub issued a statement on 22 June 1959: "Our American friends will find us dependable and trustworthy; but if they think they can lead us to confused thinking against the hard facts of life, then we just cannot oblige.....In the event of a general war, 1400 miles of our very sensitive frontier on the north-west and the security of East Pakistan cannot be achieved by five and a half divisions alone. And even if it were possible to do so, how could we guarantee that whilst *we are engaged elsewhere*, India with three times our military strength would not march into our country." (Aslam Siddique, p. 107)

Gen. White told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee "What the Pakistanis are given under our strategic objectives are those forces, which in the opinion of the joint chiefs of staff, *are needed in Pakistan* to support the United States objectives." (Ibid., p. 107)

Is it not clear that as late as 1959, Ayub referred to "engaged elsewhere" and obviously had the socialist countries including China in mind?

The Chinese leaders who saw in Pakistan an ally against India's claims to Kashmir also forgot all about the class approach they accuse the Soviet leaders of abandoning. As we have seen they started making apologies for Pakistan's membership of the CENTO and SEATO.

Finally to cement this opportunist alliance and in order to win China's support against India, Pakistan "generously" gave away a large strip of territory nearly 2000 sq. miles in the northern part of Kashmir which was under her occupation to China in December 1962. China realised that such a gift would have to be ratified by whoever got ultimate control of Kashmir and described the agreement as provisional. The main idea was thus to strengthen China's claim that her borders were on the Karakoram and not on the Kuen Lun.

What is of utmost importance to note is that against this action of Pakistan, there was no protest from the Governments of the UK or USA. Was it because the advance of China's borders at India's expense and bringing it closer to the striking bases of Anglo-America was in fulfilment of imperialisms' objectives? That is at any rate President Ayub's interpretation. In a BBC interview President Ayub Khan said:

"The Sino-Pakistan friendship is in fact fulfilling the objectives of the Western alliance."

It is obvious that both America and China though operating from opposite poles are busy hacking away at non-alignment.

Thus Sino-Pakistan friendship is an alliance against India. China hopes that in course of time, it will make Pakistan lean on it and not on imperialism. Pakistan hopes that such leaning will last only till she gets Kashmir valley and Gilgit for itself. It may even trade away the whole of Aksai Chin, if only China helps Pakistan to get "the rest".

For 18 years, Pakistan hoped the imperialists would get Kashmir for her. It is clear also that China's false accusations against India of military provocations in Sikkim and threatening that India would be called to account was part of an agreed plan to try to put India into panic about an imminent Chinese aggression when Pakistan started her recent undeclared war on India in Kashmir. Meanwhile China had probably hoped that Pakistan would not accept the cease-fire called by the Security Council and defy the UNO. Then it

would join with China in the "revolutionary socialist" UNO to be formed.

Pakistan however seems to be of the opinion that it is better to give an ultimatum to the imperialists that if within six months no political settlement of the Kashmir problem to her benefit is made, she will walk out of the UNO. Where else can she go except to China? The cease-fire, though it operates only as "less fire" is a very unstable thing. Pakistan's imperialist allies cannot give Kashmir to her. The prospects therefore of Pakistan turning to her Chinese ally to achieve her aims in Kashmir cannot be ruled out.

## CONCLUSION

The problem of Kashmir was created by the imperialists and kept alive as an issue of vigorous contention and acute dispute between Pakistan and India.

They support Pakistan as against India unfailingly, but in order to bend India to their will they sometimes issue statements that they sympathise with or understand India's position also. It is significant that the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson condemned India for her "invasion" of Pakistan territory on 6 September 1965. Barely a month later Freeman, the British High Commissioner in India, made a laboured apologia for his Premier that Wilson was not in possession of all the facts when he had condemned Indian action and that Britain was now satisfied that Indian troops went into Pakistan territory as a measure of self-defence. The game is fairly obvious. The idea is to keep India under the illusion that the imperialists were friends and could be still relied upon to bring about a peaceful solution of the problem without invading India's legal and constitutional rights.

The American lobby in India is busy trying to sell the idea that the American attitude is much more friendly to India than Britain's. The bereaved families of our officers and jawans can never forget that it was American military equipment that killed their near and dear ones.

The latest performance of Goldberg, the American representative, who despite India's vigorous insistence that no domestic matters should be allowed to be discussed in the Security Council took up the position that Bhutto should be given complete freedom of speech in the Security Council speaks volumes about the American attitude. Pakistan is look-

ing more and more to her allies America and Britain to see that she is supplied sufficient military equipment for the further round of fighting with India. India too hopes that by a judicious selection of spokesmen who are to be sent to America, Britain, etc., she would be able also to get a sympathetic understanding and aid.

It is now clear that the question of Kashmir will never be solved peacefully as long as Pakistan and India keep turning to the imperialists to help in the solution. If they help at all, their help will be directed against the interests of peace and democracy and, therefore, inevitably against India.

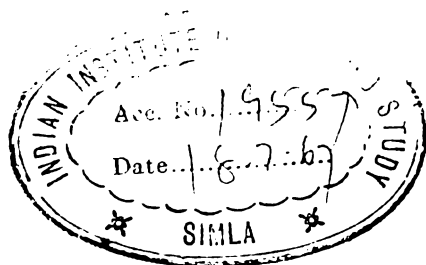
What is needed is that the faces of both Pakistan and India must turn away from the imperialists. They must turn towards each other. This is what the Soviet leaders have suggested. The cease-fire must be honestly implemented and both Pakistan and India must resolve that since they have a backward economy with millions of people who need food, clothes and education, neither of them can afford the luxury of a war. This is not only not easy but in the present mood in both countries seems well nigh impossible.

Meanwhile there is grave danger that if in the period of six months the imperialists are unable to give Pakistan what she wants, viz. a political settlement which will assure the valley for her, she might turn to China as an ally to secure what she wants. It is also to be hoped that better counsel will prevail with China and that the situation is not worsened by her entry into the arena.

The future of Kashmir will be assured only when no foreign bases are allowed to remain on its soil. Gilgit is already with Anglo-Americans. No foreign armies and no foreign observers should be permitted to roam around in Kashmir. We have seen that all those who want the "problem" of Kashmir to be solved are those who want to get there and settle it in their own interest, Anglo-Americans, Chinese and Pakistan.

The people of Kashmir have exercised their democratic will in three general elections. Their desire cannot be in any

doubt. No question of a plebiscite survives any more, for a communal plebiscite will be only to turn the clock back and try to plunge the Kashmiri Muslims into the bog of communalism.





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