

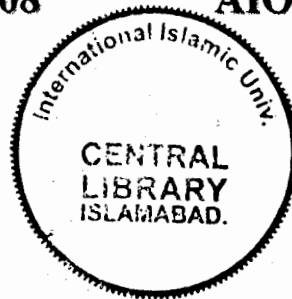
**Party Politics in Azad Jammu and Kashmir:
A Case study of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim
Conference, 1947-1977**

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ISLAMABAD

Accession No. TH-8006

M. S. I.
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MS
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2. Jammu and Kashmir — politics
and governance

**Party Politics in Azad Jammu and Kashmir:
A Case Study of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim
Conference, 1947-1977**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
Degree of Master of Philosophy in the discipline of History
with specialization in Modern South Asia
at the Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University
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22 January 2010



In the Name of

اللَّهُمَّ

Most Merciful and Compassionate the Most Gracious and
Beneficent whose help and guidance I always
Solicit at every step, at every moment.

اقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ هـ

الَّذِي عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ هـ

عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ هـ

Surah Alaq: (3-5)

Read: and thy Lord is the Most Bounteous,
Who teacheth by the pen,
Teacheth man that which he knew not,

To

*Yaqoob Butt(Late), who supported me like father, my
aunt Suria Begum (Late) and uncle Muhammad Hussain
Khan for their encouragement and support*

APPROVAL SHEET

PARTY POLITICS IN AZAD JAMMU AND KASHMIR: A CASE
STUDY OF ALL JAMMU AND KASHMIR MUSLIM CONFERENCE

1947-1977

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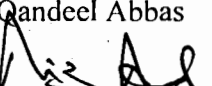
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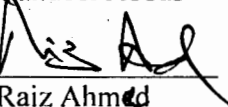
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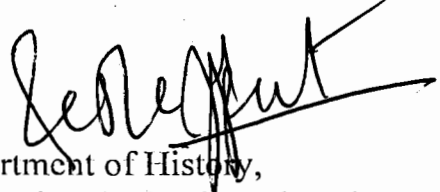
Dr Qandeel Abbas

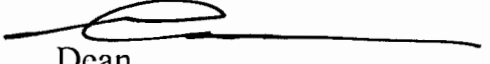
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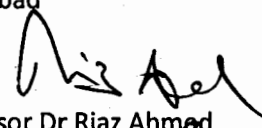


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Abstract

The All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference is the first ever political party, representing the wishes and aspirations of the people of the State. Since the first day of its creation, it has been struggling to uplift the masses of the State. It was due to its vital role that the Maharaja was compelled to grant the rights, though at a minor level, to the people and the State of Jammu and Kashmir. As per 3 June Partition Plan of the Indian Subcontinent, in 1947 Maharaja of the State Jammu and Kashmir was requested to accede to Pakistan but he decided to accede to India. This was against the wishes of people of the State. The Party representing the people started a movement against the ruler. AJ&KMC liberated an area of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and formed interim government under the Presidentship of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. The party politics of AJ&KMC during 1947-1977 has been discussed in this dissertation in the light of the material collected from different sources (published and unpublished). The thesis is mostly based on primary sources like party papers, interviews, newspapers and Journals. This has enabled me to present new facts. This dissertation is divided into five chapters along with introduction and the conclusion. In introduction a precise summary of AJ&KMC is addressed as a political party with critical dissertation. First chapter discloses the history of AJ&KMC as a political party and how it manipulated with hurdles during its formative years. Second chapter discovers about AJ&KMC as a political party during and after the freedom war. Third chapter elaborates the political crisis of AJ&KMC and its struggled for Kashmir Dispute. Chapter four is devoted to Political reconciliation of AJ&KMC. Chapter five highlights the relations and achievements of AJ&KMC up to 1977.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To begin with the name of Allah who inculcated in me the strength and spirit to fulfill the task of writing M.Phil thesis. My humblest words of thanks to the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) who is far ever a torch of guidance to humanity and who exhorts his followers to seek knowledge 'from cradle to grave'. I dedicate this work to my deceased mother, for her unyielding love, prayers and encouragement. I owe my deep gratitude to my late father who guided me to the right direction in my life.

I acknowledge valuable instructions and constructive criticism from my supervisor Dr. Samina Awan and her timely support for me to continue my research. I express my profound gratitude to my teacher Dr Mujeeb Ahmad, Sayyed Akmal Hussain Shah and Safiullah Khan Marwat for their enormous help, invaluable suggestions and constant guidance at every step during the course of completion of this research work.

I owe my gratitude to worthy, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, Sardar Atique Ahmad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Mukhtar Khan, Muhammad Sadiq Secretary Department of Customs, Sajid Baig Advocate, Shabbir Akbar Advocate and Aftab Hayat Khan for their cooperation. I am extremely grateful to my sister, parents in-law and brothers and sisters in-law, for their patience and moral support who prayed all the time for the completion of my work.

My obligations are also due to my wife, daughter Shifa Shakeel and sons Ahsan Shakeel, Hasham Shakeel, Shazaib Shakeel and Irtakh Shakeel for their encouragement from time to time and for sparing me to work for long hours. I am grateful to my parent-

department (Education Department of the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir) for allowing me to complete this task.

My sincere thanks to my colleagues Raja Muhammad Atique Khan, Shafique Raja, Abdul Basit Mujahid, Naeem Ishaq, Syed Wajahat Hussain Shah, Mchmood Iqbal, Abid Ali, Dr Akhlaq Ahmad, Raja Ajaib, Shaukat Khan, Khalil Khan, Sardar Muhammad Asif Khan, Usman Khan Arif, Khurshid, Ghulam Nabi, Syed Ahsan Shah, Aftab Ahmed, Shahid Hussain, Faisal Khurshid and Zarab Abbasi, Muhammad Abdullah (IIUI), Afsar Khan, Dildar Shah, Ijaz Shah who happily shared with me long and tiring hours in encouraging by doing what ever they could and letting me not go astray. In the end my heartiest thanks are due to Azhar Rashid and Zulfiqar Rashid who took keen interest in composing my work.



Shakcel Ahmad

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ABBREVIATIONS

AJ&KMC	All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference
AJ&KNC	All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference
EBDA	Elected Body Disqualification Act
EBDO	Elected Body Disqualification Order
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
Cr PC	Criminal Penal Code
NDC	National Documentation Centre
KPKP	Khyber Pakhtoon Kha Province
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
RSS	Rashtriya Sewak Singh
SEATO	South-East Asian Treaty Organization
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
US	United States
UNO	United Nations Organizations

Introduction

All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference is a political party of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. It was organized by the Muslims of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1931. The first elected president and general secretary of this party were Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass Khan respectively. The State was entirely independent during 1846-1947. The Hindu Dogras were the rulers of this State. During the Political awakenss of the Indian Subcontinent the British were forced to grant the people of Kashmir some political rights. This provided them a chance to make them a political entity. The State of Jammu and Kashmir is geographically linked with the North East territory of the Subcontinent. Gradual ideological and political developments like conversion of AJ&KMC into AJ&KNC in 1939 and restoration in 1940 influenced the atmosphere of the State's politics. The fifth decade of twentieth century proved a critical period for the polity of State of Jammu and Kashmir. Thus they organized the first ever political party, which is the subject of this project. Since its beginning the Maharaja imposed severe restrictions on the observance of Religious Ceremonies, and cow-slaughter was regarded against law by him. So many Kashmiri Muslim families faced economic hardships; therefore they had to migrate to the neighboring Punjab and KPKP to seek better economic opportunities.¹

Under such Circumstance Muslims of the State of Jammu and Kashmir organized themselves as Young men's Association (1909)² and they struggled against Maharaja's rule. The turning point in the struggle of the Kashmiri Muslims was in 1931, when two major incidents occurred; the dissanctity of the Holy Quran at the hands

of a Hindu, Khem Chand, and the interruption of Eid Khutba by the State authority at a mosque in Jammu on 29 April. Similarly on 13 July 1931, the trial of Abdul Qadeer was being held. The police opened fire to disperse the crowd, killing twenty two people. This tragic incident was the beginning of the disturbance in the State³.

In this perspective AJ&KMC, the political party was organized by the Muslims of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1931⁴ with the president Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass its general secretary. AJ&KMC up to 1947 had many ups and downs in political development, such as partition of subcontinent and demand for Pakistan, internal friction and ideologically one faction become AJ&KNC and other revived as AJ&KMC. Many scholars worked on its historical development. After the partition of the Subcontinent, two separate states India and Pakistan came into being. AJ&KMC has to face a loss not only in terms of area but also in party structure. AJ&KMC played practical role to liberate an area of 41,144⁵ square miles with Gilgit and Baltistan from Maharaja Hari Singh's Administration (1925-1947) 'Azad Jammu and Kashmir'⁶ an independent (Azad) Government was formed in the area. This was constituted by the office bearers and members of AJ&KMC. It was only the political party of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. With the passage of time many other political parties came into being by the development in constitutional process in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. AJ&KMC has always been a dominating political party of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and still is an influencing political party of the State.

There is no organized research work regarding this leading political party of Azad Jammu and Kashmir from 1947 to 1977. Therefore, it will be first attempt to cover the details of the status and working of this party in the above-cited period. The

thesis will be significant by both empirical and theoretical standpoints regarding party politics in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

Empirically the study contributes to the sense of relations with Pakistan and Indian occupied Kashmir. Theoretically, AJ&KMC is the only political party of the state origin which wins the favour of Islamic Republic of Pakistan and its people. This study will explore that the party promoted the national consensus on certain issues related to the status of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Muhammad Sarwar Abbasi's *Kashmiri Musalmano ki Jadojehd-i-Azadi*, has the details about the AJ&KMC up to 1947. The same author has a research work in *Siyasiyat-i-Kashmir* 1946 to 2006, describes the political history but administrative problems and political system have not been dealt in details.

Nazir Ahmed Tishna's *Takreekh-i-Kashmir* partly describes AJ&KMC. Syed Mehmood Azad's *Tareekh-i-Kashmir* has a lot of material on this political party but it has no critical research. Safeer Akhter's *Azadi ki Jadojehd* gives a passing reference about AJ&KMC. M.A Khan's *Kashmir Tarikh Ke Aiena main* describes briefly about AJ&KMC. Muhammad Sead Asad's work *Kashmiyat* has a brief touch of AJ&KMC. Mirza Shafique Hussain lent a valuable contribution about AJ&KMC in his *Kashmiri Musalmanu ki siyasi Jadojehd*, but it is only up to 1939. Sardar Muhamamd Ibrahim Khan's *Kashmir Saga* is the most authentic approach about the AJ&KMC as well as the composition of Azad Kashmir government but it requires further improvement. Same author gives short details about AJ&KMC in his *book Mata-i-Zindagi*. Sardar Mukhtar Khan's *Azadi ka khab-i-Pareshan* gives brief information about the division and rift the political party, and gives details about Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference.

Sarfraz Hussain Mirza's *Tarkeekh-i-Pakistan* narrates the history of this political party up to 1947. Muhammad Yusuf Saraf's *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom* is a valuable work and gives the authentic details about the background of AJ&KMC and National Conference up to 1947. Safdar Mehmood's *International Affairs* discusses the role of AJ&KMC up to 1947.

Suria Khurshid's book *Tareekhi, Mushahidat wa Waqiat: Quaid-i-Azam ke Secretary K.H.Khursheed ki Yadashton se Makhiz* describes the main theme of AJ&KMC with its merits and demerits. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan's *Muqadma-i-Kashmir* describes the political role of AJ&KMC but it does not follow the critical approach of the party during crisis. The organized research work about the AJ&KMC has not been addressed as a formal political party from 1947 to 1977. The material is available about Kashmir history, Kashmir Movement and Kashmir Dispute but not on the political parties, particularly about AJ&KMC. Thus a critical form of research work of AJ&KMC has not been properly formed.

During my research work, I visited almost all over Azad Jammu and Kashmir but unfortunately due to Earthquake of 8 October 2005 a lot of material has been destroyed. So my research work mostly depends upon primary sources like party papers, interviews, newspapers and journals. The available material is scattered in various places. I found some authentic record which is available in NDC Islamabad and personal diaries of the freedom fighters as well as politicians and workers who are still alive. The related material lies with warlords of 1947 to 1949, Political Hero's office books and diaries etc of the party and office bearers.

This research work deals with AJ&KMC as a political party to understand and explore its commitment with Kashmir Dispute and its relations with Pakistan in fluctuating situations. In fact, this research is an attempt to discover the causes which have remained the factors of rift between the leadership of the AJ&KMC itself and Government of Pakistan. Its role and development also explored during the concerned period (1947-1977).

Notes and References

- 1 Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol.I, (Lahore: Feroze Sons Ltd, 1977), p.482.
- 2 Muhammad Saeed Asad, *Jammu Kashmir Book of Knowledge*, (Mirpur: National Institute of Kashmir Studies, 1997) p. 55.
- 3 Annual, *Social Sciences & Humanities*, (Allama Iqbal Open University, Autumn 2007), pp. 19-20.
- 4 It is written 1931 on the wall plate of tomb of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.
- 5 Rasheed Ahsan, *Tahrik-e-Azadi Kashmir ka Hamnoha*, (Mirpur: Sonatcall Truc Kashmir Publication, 1989).
- 6 (Government of AJ&K), *Law Secretariat: The Azad Jammu and Kashmir Interim Constitution Act, 1974*, (Muzaffarabad Official Printers, 1978, p. 2.

Chapter 1

Background and Formation of AJ&KMC (1931-1947)

1.1. Geography of State of Jammu and Kashmir

Ensnconced in the lap of the Himalayas, the State of Jammu and Kashmir with an area of 84,471 square miles is surrounded by India, Pakistan, China and Afghanistan. The valley of Kashmir, a region of the State is 85 miles long and 25 miles wide, called a 'Paradise on Earth' its scenes are picturesque and bewitching. Its beauty has entranced the prince and the pauper alike over the centuries.¹ The State of Jammu and Kashmir was founded in the first part of the 19 century by Gulab Singh, a Hindu Dogra (Of Rajput Descent.²) His ancestor Ranjeet Dev had once ruled over a considerable tract of hilly territory between the Punjab and the Pirpanjal range as well as several Jagirs (fiefs) in the Punjab; but Jammu lies at the core of his dominations.³

The State of Jammu and Kashmir had strategic importance on account of its international boundaries. Tibet in East, the Xinkiang province of China to the North-East, Afghanistan and Gilgit remained a part of the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.⁴ The entire State, with the exception of Kashmir valley and a small area in Jammu province is hilly with varying elevations. Ladakh is a plateau. Most of the mountains are over 4,500 meters above sea level.⁵ The State of Jammu and Kashmir came into existence in 1846 as a result of the treaty of Amritsar, and it was handed over to Gulab Singh, chief of Hindu Dogra's tribe, for the amount of 7,500,000 (Nanak Shahi). Lord Lawrence, who sold the State to Gulab Singh, committed the inhabitants

The Muslims in the State had no rights, if any clash arose, it was considered as a religious rivalry or disputes. The first political event happened in the silk factory in Srinagar. Where five thousands¹¹ labourers were working. The employees protested against the Hindu Officers.¹² Government appointed a commission to investigate the matter. There was a persecution on the labourers on 22 July, 1924.¹³ It was the first milestone of political development of Jammu and Kashmir. This event aspirated in other areas and public opinion severely turned against the ruler. There was also some disgrace of 'Khanqah-i- Mualla' and restriction on the procession of "Muharram-ul-Haram". The turning point in the history of State Jammu and Kashmir was 13 July, 1931 when,

A very important historical incident took place in Srinagar Jail, 22 Muslims were killed by the Dogra police on 13 July, 1931. This incident created a crisis and public agitation both in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Punjab. The Punjabi Muslims and the press got also involved for the cause of Kashmiri Muslims.¹⁴

1.2. Formation of AJ&KMC

As a result of these circumstances the first political party of the Muslims of the State came into being in 1931,¹⁵ with its name 'All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference' under the Presidentship of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah (1905-1982), educated at 'Aligarh Muslim University' and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass (1904-1967), a Law graduate from Jammu became the General Secretary of the party. Both leaders were popular and widely known in Jammu and Kashmir.

The first political party of the State, Jammu and Kashmir was 'AJ&KMC' and its first inauguration meeting was held on 15-16-17 October 1931 at Srinagar in 'Pathar

Masjid'. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was elected as the first General Secretary of the organization in 1932.¹⁶ The date of AJ&KMC session was declared on 15 to 17 October 1931 but due to the burden of work it was extended for more than two days. For this purpose, the large compound of 'Pathar Masjid' was suggested. The stage was prepared toward Southward of the Masjid, its height was 15 feet. On the stage there were 200 representatives and 100 pilgrims. Press representatives were also present there. Later on the office of National Conference was constructed there. A house boat was arranged for this meeting¹⁷.

On 15 October 1931 in the evening an inaugurating session of the conference was held there. Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed Eshai M.A. made a speech and elaborated the significance of the formation of AJ&KMC. After that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah delivered the presidential address, "he expressed the objectives of movement and said that this movement is not against Maharaja or the State".¹⁸ Three sub-committees were formed to (i) analyze the constitutional recommendations of the Glancy Commission, (ii) prepare the manifesto of the AJ&KMC. The Kashmiris had never seen such an educational and organizational procession. It was very first time when they saw such a revolutionary meeting in favour of freedom and slogans were raised against the Government. The gathering was 30 to 40 thousands in this conference.¹⁹ On this occasion All India Kashmir Committee sent a deputation including prominent people like Abdul Rahim Dard, Maulana Ismail Ghaznavi and Syed Habib (editor 'Siasat').²⁰ "It was a unique gathering", writes Saraf, especially, "in the sense that all Muslims, irrespective of their religious differences or social distinctions, sat shoulder to shoulder on the same platform, with the common objectives of providing Muslims a common political

accommodate the unexpected audience.³¹ It was decided that according to the constitution of AJ&KMC a fund to finance the party would be launched as 'Muslim Qumi Fund' with one lakh. This amount would be deposited as a trust in the cooperative banks with title of AJ&KMC. Its profit would be used for the needs and objective of the General Council.³²

1.3. Conversion of AJ&KMC

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, the president of AJ&KMC attended the annual session of Congress on March 1939 at Tiripura accompanied with Pandit Kheep Bendu, Prem Nath Bezaz and Maulavi Muhammad Saeed Masoodi.³³ In an interview to the daily English 'Hindustan Times' he criticized Muslim League³⁴ because he was very much influenced by Nationalism of Congress.³⁵ For this purpose on 27 April 1939, a proposal Conference was held in Jammu in which Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Baig, Khawaja Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq Bakhshi, Ghulam Muhammad, A.R.Saghar, Sofi Muhammad Akbar, Mian Ahmed Yar, Sheikh Muhammad Akbar, Abdul Mujeed Qureshi and Maulavi Muhammad Hussain and other representatives of the State participated. In this session Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah indicated that, "AJ&KMC demands responsible government but non-Muslims oppose the suggestions, so the voice of AJ&KMC had become ineffective in Government".

On June 28 in the Working Committee of the AJ&KMC, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah had placed a resolution recommending to the General Council that in the forth-coming session of the AJ&KMC, name and the constitution of the organization be altered and amended that all such people who desire to participate in the political struggle could become members irrespective of their caste, creed or religion.³⁶

A special session of the AJ&KMC was held at Srinagar on 10 and 11 June, 1939 under the Presidentship of G.M. Sadiq, which was attended by all the prominent leaders and workers of the party.³⁷ On the 27 April, 1939, the AJ&KMC was converted into AJ&KNC (All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference).³⁸ After the name of the political party of AJ&KMC was changed, Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq said, 'any responsible government can not be the government of any particular class or party or religious group but on the other hand, every individual amongst the forty lakhs inhabitants of the State will be a component part of the same and will have the same share in ruling it'. Therefore, it is essential that in the struggle for the attainment of responsible government, every adult citizen of the State, irrespective of religion or race, should be able to participate and make his contribution, sacrifices and the movement in an orderly manner, because a common platform in a single organization is the first important step'.³⁹

Some of the foreseeing heads disliked the conversion. They could not believe that the Hindu and Sikhs would support sincerely in knocking down the Dogra hegemony which was a source of so many special privileges to them.⁴⁰ The new name of the party could not brush away the worries of the Hindus. They remained aloof as earlier with AJ&KMC.⁴¹ During the formation of the National Conference in 1939 Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was still an associate of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. However, in Jammu the Muslims renounced Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, thinking him being Pro-Congress and Pro-Gandhi.⁴²

1.4. Revival of AJ&KMC

The name of AJ&KMC was renamed as All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, the top leadership of the State Jammu and Kashmir had support from all communities of Kashmir. But Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah had been facing difficulties in Srinagar, and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass in Jammu. "Where there was a strong middle class Muslim community, much influenced by Punjabi politics".⁴³ In Srinagar Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah obtained support for his Nationalist cause. "In Srinagar a group of young workers under the leadership of Qureshi Muhammad Yousuf alienated from the National Conference.

On 15 December, they organized a big procession which paraded in various localities of the city and eventually, though unsuccessfully, tried to capture the 'Mujahid Manzil'. The new headquarter of National Conference which was built on Muslim 'Wakf' land with funds solely contributed by the Muslims. Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad came with a large mob of volunteers. Consequently, some workers of the AJ&KMC including Qureshi Muhammad Yousuf were severely beaten".⁴⁴ Nazir Ahmed Shah and several policemen were also injured.⁴⁵ In the evening the National Conference held a public meeting at 'Pathar Masjid', addressed by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad and Pandit Jia Lal Killam. Though the public was advised to be calm but as the meeting ended, a large crowd had gathered to protest against the National Conference.⁴⁶

Realizing the situation Chaudary Ghulam Abbass restored the AJ&KMC".⁴⁷ On 10 October 1940, another prominent political leader of Jammu Sardar Gohar Rehman

organized a special session under the Presidentship of Munshi Muhammad Din Fouq.⁴⁸ In this session, the signatories were Sardar Gohar Rehman, Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Karelvi, Mirza Ataullah, Hamidullah Khan, Munshi Muhammad Din Fouq, Syed Hassan Shah Jillani, Khawaja Muhammad Yousuf Qureshi, M.A. Saghar, Ghulam Haider Ghorri and Syed Mirat Shah⁴⁹.

On 6 December 1940, Ghulam Haider Ghorri waved the flag of the AJ&KMC and declared "AJ&KMC will survive until there is a single Muslim left in the State".⁵⁰ Under the Presidentship of Haider Shah In 'Zameendar Mohallah' office of the AJ&KMC was established. Sardar Gohar Rehman was the president and Qureshi Muhammad Yousuf was elected as the General Secretary of AJ&KMC and other workers joined AJ&KMC enthusiastically.⁵¹ After the reviving structure of the party, workers utmost tried to convince Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah (1891-1968) to join the AJ&KMC. He was a political rival of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah; therefore Qureshi Muhammad Yousuf and M.A.Hafiz made an effort and convinced Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah to accept the membership of AJ&KMC. At last Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah accepted the offer.

Consequently, the AJ&KMC grew up gradually⁵². On 25 March 1940, a delegation went to Lahore and met Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang and invited him to visit Kashmir. Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang discussed the matter with Hassan Shah Gardazi and his colleagues, Maulavi Ghulam Haider Jandalvi, Sardar Gul Ahmed Khan, Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Karelvi, M.A. Aziz, M.A. Hafiz, Professor Ishaq Qureshi, Pir Zia-ul-Din Indrabi and Sardar Gohar Rehman. He promised to visit Kashmir with condition that both the leaders of Kashmir, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass who seemed to be inline with Congress, should declare 'flagrant support' to join the AJ&KMC.⁵³ Maulavi Ghulam Haider Jandalvi reached Jammu after Lahore Resolution (23 March 1940) and met Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. The Muslim leaders of Jammu played their role to convince Chaudary Ghulam Abbass to lead the AJ&KMC again.⁵⁴

Chaudary Ghulam Abbass took this responsibility on the demand of Muslim Community. The Kashmiri public realized the situation; as a result a campaign was launched all over the State in the mode of deputations. To break the ice many letters and other intimations were served to Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and it was demanded of him to lead them. He was compelled to reorganize AJ&KMC within two to three weeks.

In 1941, he made tours to consult the workers of Jammu for the revival of AJ&KMC⁵⁵. On this mission he was strongly opposed by the Dogra regime. He was banned to enter in the Poonch for six months.⁵⁶ In Rajuri a number of people joined the AJ&KMC. Now Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had started to support the All India Muslim League while National Conference favoured the Congress. Both had fallen apart forever.⁵⁷ In February 1942, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass Stated that;

The only course left open now is to organize public opinion and this can be due to only by strengthening the AJ&KMC. I know it is a difficult task but after due consideration I have come to the conclusion that the time was opportune. I therefore, appeal to every one to strengthen the AJ&KMC which has the same aim and objectives as before, namely, constitutional reforms for the attainment of the responsible Government and equal rights and opportunities for all Muslims.⁵⁸

A meeting of political workers, who were annoyed with National Conference, was held in Jammu on 5 February, 1942 at the residence of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. It was decided to convene a special session within two months to revive the party.⁵⁹ The revival declaration of the AJ&KMC was done in first regular session, held in Jammu on 17, 18, 19 April, 1942 under the Presidentship of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (editor daily Zamindar). It was an inaugurating session in which he stressed for solidarity and unity of the Muslims.⁶⁰ The session was presided over by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass; he condemned the Statement of Prime Minister of the State Sawami Ayingar.⁶¹ Befor- the

session of AJ&KMC, a session of Kashmir Assembly was held in Jammu. The Cripps Mission was in negotiations with Indian politicians. It was the final stage for removal of 'Raj'. Prime Minister of Kashmir boldly showed intention to accede the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Indian Union while the Muslim League opposed this plan.⁶² In this session Chaudary Ghulam Abbass supported the demand for Pakistan and the slogans "Pakistan Zindabad, Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad" were raised.⁶³ As a result of his speech, in Jammu, the Dogra Maharaja and Hindus became aware of his intentions.⁶⁴ AJ&KMC raised the slogan of Pakistan for the cause of the Muslims of the Subcontinent to support them, but Hari Singh, Ayingar and Dogra Hindus became opponents and AJ&KMC launched 'Jihad' against Hari Singh.

1.5. Political Activities of AJ&KMC before partition of Subcontinent (1940-1947)

Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was selected as the head of the revived party and he devoted himself to contribute the Two Nations Theory inline with the All India Muslim League.⁶⁵ For this mission, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass decided to launch a State tour.⁶⁶

According to the plan Chaudary Ghulam Abbass reached Kotli. Then he reached Bhadec Rest House via Rawalpindi and from Bhadec he entered Poonch. A large number of volunteers gathered in Poonch. The news of restriction on entry of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was spread like wild fire. An emergency meeting under the Presidentship of Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Karelvi was called at 'Masjid Mian Nizam-ud-Din' in Poonch. In this meeting, Syed Nazir Hussain Shah Advocate appealed the workers to remain calm until they are dictated by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. So they organized a deputation including Fateh Muhammad Khan Karelvi, Syed Khadim Hussain Shah,

Sardar Gul Ahmed Khan, Abdul Rahim Durrani Advocate and Syed Hassan Shah. This five members' deputation set off Bhadeè to meet Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. When the deputation reached at Aliabad, it came to be known that Dogra force detained Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and sent him to Srinagar. Then the deputation threatened the government to bring back Chaudary Ghulam Abbass in Poonch by force.⁶⁷

Annual Session of AJ&KMC was held on 13, 14 August, 1943 under the Presidentship of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.⁶⁸ President of All Indian State's Muslim League Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang was also invited in this session⁶⁹.... Sir Kailash Narain Haksaq imposed humiliating conditions on the holding of the session Nawab Bahadar Yar Jan with his wife reached Srinagar a few days before the session. But the State's Government ill conceived the matter and provocatively mistreated Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang.⁷⁰ After this humiliating attitude of the police, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass cancelled the meeting and protested against attitude of State's Government.⁷¹

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was honoured by the people of Kashmir particularly in the Valley. But every Muslim was frustrated due to humiliating attitude of the Government to the Muslims. So the Muslims of the Valley supported the ideology of Pakistan where as Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah turned against the Pakistan scheme.⁷² Reorganization of AJ&KMC under the leadership of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was not commenced yet in Kashmir Valley but AJ&KMC had grasped dominant hold in Muzaffarabad.⁷³ Later incidents changed the political scenario in Poonch and Kashmir Valley. AJ&KMC was strengthened in these areas, in reaction against humiliating treatment to Nawab Bahadar Yar Jang as well as the affiliation of Sheikh Muhammad

Abdullah with Indian National Congress. AJ&KMC associated its political future with Muslim League. National Conference had already become a sub party of National Congress. In concern of political activities, Kashmiri people turned down the influence of National Conference.⁷⁴ In this political scenario, during Prime Ministership of Sir B.N.Rao the leaders of All Indian National Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan decided to visit Kashmir. Political workers of National Conference planned a rousing reception on their arrival, because the future of National Conference was associated with National Congress.

It was the time when there was an extreme conflict between the two parties. The political prestige of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was declined. Instead of intense sufferings AJ&KMC was progressing day by day. The future of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was very clear to him..... to restore his political influence in Kashmir he wanted to use two renowned Muslim leaders as a last resort.⁷⁵ The river procession traveled two miles at least, on the way Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan and Maulana Azad were honoured. At the same time a historical protest of AJ&KMC was arranged against these leaders. More than two hundred political workers of AJ&KMC were arrested and one worker of National Conference was killed. Qureshi Muhammad Yousuf was playing the key role in the protest, along with him Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Rehber, M.Ismail Saghar and Mir Abdul Aziz were also leading the protest.⁷⁶ The efforts of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah to restore his political future went in vain; his flaming speeches became fruitless and could not affect the Pakistan's theory.⁷⁷ This incident declined the reputation of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in Srinagar, along with his National Conference. Maharaja's government realized unstable

itself.⁷⁸ In 1944, All India Muslim League had become on its way to Pakistan. The demand for Pakistan had become the dreams of Muslims and resulted in bringing about an unprecedented show of strengths.⁷⁹

In Kashmir Valley, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah's Nationalism and particularly in some parts of Srinagar had been progressing, whereas Mir Waiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah had literate Muslim workers.⁸⁰ In early 1944 Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, after the maneuvering with his comrades, including Mirza Muhammad Afzal Baig, Maulana Muhammad Saeed Masudi, Khawaja Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq and Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad, decided to invite Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) to Srinagar for consensus between the National Conference and the AJ&KMC.⁸¹ It appears that the Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah also had received such invitation from the AJ&KMC.⁸²[Chaudary Ghulam Abbass] did not meet Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah since 1940 until arrival of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to Srinagar in 1944 and tried to resolve their differences as so many other had done before.⁸³

On 10 May⁸⁴ 1944, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah came to Srinagar to eliminate the differences between the two factions the AJ&KMC and National Conference. He was accorded a rousing reception by both the factions. However, at the end of his tour, the mood of the people had been changed. In this perplexing situation, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah faced hostile crowds when he said that 99 percent of the Muslims who met him were of the opinion that the AJ&KMC is only the representative party of the State.⁸⁵ Jinnah's public meeting was disturbed and before leaving Srinagar, he issued a Statement that when he, after careful consideration

suggested that Muslims should organize themselves, under one flag and on one platform, but Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah denied.⁸⁶ The Annual Session of AJ&KMC was decided to hold in Rawalakot in 1945. Sir B.N. Rao requested Chaudary Ghulam Abbass to relocate the session from Rawalakot to Poonch city. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was agreed then Maharaja warned to cancel the session, so he asked Sir B.N. Rao to cancel the session which was to be held in Poonch on 1 , 2 July 1945⁸⁷ but Sir B.N. Rao refused to do so. He was apprehensive of Maharaja's interference.

The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah launched 'the Quit Kashmir Movement' on 10 May 1946. Jinnah condemned it and remarked on the 'Quit Kashmir Movement' that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah will lose his political future if the State joins Pakistan.⁸⁸ The revived AJ&KMC officially, adopted a policy of non involvement in 'Quit Kashmir Movement'. Because it was perceived by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah's factions that AJ&KMC is following National Congress's policies in British India. ⁸⁹In 1946 when the AJ&KMC started the agitation in Srinagar for the 'Pakistan Movement' they wished that Chaudary Ghulam Abbass should not be confined by the court. They wanted him to remain free and should continue the work. But alongwith his political colleagues Agha Shaukat Ali, Mir Waiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah and Maulavi Muhammad Noor Din were arrested by the court in a civil disobedience campaign.⁹⁰ For the time being Mir Waiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah suggested his followers to support Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. At the end of 1946, the Maharaja decided upon fresh elections to the Legislative Assembly (Prajya Sabha) to be held in January 1947.

They were boycotted by the National Conference but contested by the AJ&KMC (despite many of its leaders being in prisons). The AJ&KMC won fifteen of the Muslim elective seats in the Legislative Assembly.⁹¹

Total number of seats reserved for Muslims were 21, in the very next year of 1947 Subcontinent was partitioned and the struggle for freedom from the Maharaja's rule was still continuing in Kashmir".⁹² "

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan (1915-2003) leader of AJ&KMC had foreseen the situation and realized that the State authority Maharaja wants to kill the Muslims.⁹³ He traveled to Plandari, Bagh, Tararkhal, Mang, Dhirkot and spoke to people and addressed large gatherings.⁹⁴ When worsening situation developed in Poonch, Dogra ruler Maharaja Hari Singh sent army in these areas.⁹⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was restricted to enter Poonch⁹⁶ He sent Chaudary Hamidullah Khan on behalf of President of AJ&KMC to observe the situation of Poonch. Before reaching Srinagar, Chaudary Hamidullah Khan informed of his arrival by telegram to Hassan Shah. Sardar Muhammad Sharif , the President of AJ&KMC of Rawalakot , and Syed Nazir Hussain Shah Advocate , the president of Poonch AJ&KMC .

Syed Hassan Shah contacted Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum (who at the time was not in AJ&KMC) and motivated him to join the AJ&KMC. After two or three days' negotiation he promised to go with him to Rawalakot. Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan stayed at Hassan Shah's house. Next day all the four persons went to Rawalakot by foot via Topi (Singola). Chaudary Hamidullah and Syed Nazir Hussain Shah already reached Rawalakot. Due to restriction they were not allowed to conduct open meetings. The emergency meeting was called in the house of Maulavi

Muhammad Iqbal Khan at Pothy Makwalan⁹⁷ On 22 June, 1947 at night a number of political workers and 'Razakars' were present there. Lt. Sardar Ashraf Khan was their commander. This meeting was held under the Presidentship of Sardar Muhammad Sharif Khan. In this meeting, Sardar Makhtar Khan, Sardar Muhammad Latif Khan, Sardar Suleman Khan, Sardar Muhammad Khan, Maulavi Muhammad Iqbal Khan, and Saad Khan, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, Syed Khadim Hussain Shah, Sardar Dost Muhammad and Hassan Shah were present. They emphasized to declare war against the Dogra who were tyrannizing the Muslims in the State. Chaudary Hamidullah and others decided that the AJ&KMC's convention should be called in Srinagar on 17, 18 and 19 July, 1947. The dates were announced unanimously.

AJ&KMC was a largest elected Muslim's representative in the Legislative Assembly. The Executive Body of AJ&KMC and members passed a resolution in a session advocating accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan". When Hassan Shah and his colleagues reached Srinagar the Dogra put ban on convention which was arranged in boat houses. Immediate substitute was impossible to arrange the convention so it was held at Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan's residence called 'Aabi Guzar Gah' (property of Amin Advocate).⁹⁸ There were 59 representatives in this convention.⁹⁹ On 19 July, 1947 at night en-camera meeting of AJ&KMC commenced. They took oath with swords in their hands that, they resolved that if Maharaja Hari Singh did not accede the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan, then a group of volunteers would take appropriate action. Arrests would be offered all over the State. It was felt that two Tehsils, Bagh and Sudhanoti, are very sensitive. If any resistance occurred in these areas the movement of freedom would start.¹⁰⁰

1.6. Inspiration of AJ&KMC toward Liberation Movement

After this convention two serious incidents occurred in Tehsil Bagh at two different places. One of the incident occurred at village Narr Sherali Khan, where two sons of a widow were killed by Dogra army on 25 July, 1947.¹⁰¹ It was violation of the strict decisions of 19 July, 1947. The second incident occurred in Village Koteri Najam Khan. The nature of event was that on slaughtering of a buffalo, the Sikh inhabitant of the area accused that Muslims like Muhammada Khan Son of Hassna, Abdul son of Bala, Saleh Muhammad son of Ghulam Muhammad, that they had slaughtered a cow.¹⁰² Sikhs of this area were powerful and in majority, Qaiser Singh, Dalair Singh, Perdita Singh, (Jamadar in army) Jeyo Sing (Jaildar) Aqtar Singh and Bechna Singh attacked them. The house of Muhammada Khan was surrounded by the Sikhs, and a severe clash developed.

At that time the neighbour of Muhammada Khan, Ali Akbar son of Sher Khan immediately informed Syed Hassan Shah and Syed Khadim Hussain Shah who were in village Hullar, opposite of village Koteri Najam Khan, away by almost half an hour by foot. Between two villages there was a canal 'nallah' called 'Mahl'. Syed Hussan Shah received this message and very next day he called a meeting on this communal incident, in which the following persons were present: Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, Malik Iqbal Advocate, Sardar Behram Khan Advocate, Pir Ali Asghar Shah, Sardar Gul Ahmed Khan, Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan, Syed Khadim Hussain Shah, Syed Kiramat Shah, Syed Ali Asghar Shah, Sardar Akram Khan, Sardar Muhammad Sher Khan, Sardar Muhammad Hussain of (Dharray main), Ghulam Muhammad, Sardar Saleh Muhammad Khan, Sardar Abdullah Khan (Topi), Sardar Jivar Khan, Mistari Maqbool of (Bani

Pasari), Sardar Abdullah Khan (Harrighal), Raja Muhammad Akbar Khan Minhas, Khawaja Ghulam Akbar Maulavi, Mir Alam (Kharl Abbasian) and Sardar Muhammad Zaman (Dhal). Hassan Shah was the President of AJ&KMC Bagh, under whom Presidentship the meeting was held. He informed the participants about the secret meeting and decision of 19 July, 1947 in Srinagar. In this meeting Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan, Syed Khadim Hussain Shah voluntarily declared that the situation after the resolution deserved to proclaim action of freedom movement immediately. On 3 August, 1947 section 144 (Cr. PC, 1898) was imposed in the area. On 2 August, 1947 the State authorities raided the houses of Syed Khadim Hussain Shah, Sardar Dost Muhammad Khan, Sardar Muhammad Sher Khan and Sardar Muhammad Akram Khan. Syed Khadim Hussain Shah and Hassan Shah, three were arrested by Dogra Police.

It provoked the sentiments of the general Muslim public. Next day on 4 August 1947 there was a tremendous procession held at Bagh. Before the violation of section 144, Mistari Maqbool waved the flag of Pakistan. Hassan Shah strongly criticized the Dogra's brutality in his speech on the 'Chubara' place where the office of the All Jammu and Kashmir AJ&KMC was situated. (It was near the 'Jamia Masjid' . Now it is called 'Zaman Chowk'). That was starting point of the movement according to Srinagar resolution. Hassan Shah and Dost Muhammad were arrested, Mistari Maqbool, escaped on the way. Hassan Shah and Dost Muhammad were taken in a single 'handcuff' to the Poonch Jail. The same night, Sardar Behram Khan Advocate, Sardar Muhammad Sher Khan, Sardar Akram Khan, from Rawalakot. Sardar Latif Khan, Sardar Khan Bahadur Khan, Maulavi Iqbal Khan, Sardar Habib Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ashraf Khan, Sardar

Muhammad Afsar Khan, Sardar Muhammad Khan and Khawaja Amcer ud Din, who had been arrested earlier, were shifted from Poonch Jail to Beldev Singh's house where the Dogra officers were present. Both Syed prisoners were sent to Srinagar's 'Hari Parbat Jail'. When Hassan Shah and Khadim Hussain Shah were passing through the city of Srinagar they raised slogan 'Pakistan Zindabad'. The public and press gathered, but at once they were sent to jail. Then the police raided Maulavi Abdullah's house to arrest him. The people of the area snatched the rifles and threw stones on them. The police officers and constables got injured. The State authorities restricted the movement of Ghulam Abbass in Poonch. Later he was released by the Indian Government. Ghulam Abbass opted for reconciliation. He appreciated the strength of people of Sudhanoti and Bagh. He stressed that any achievement would be done by the Muslims of the State themselves.¹⁰³ The future of Pakistan and India was decided by the implementation of 3 June Plan, into two separate sovereign States. As a consequence Pakistan came into being and India became independent respectively on 14 August 1947 and 15 August 1947. As the partition of Subcontinent was announced, communal riots broke out all over cities and a large population migrated in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.¹⁰⁴

The Government of Pakistan was being established, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was elected as the first Governor General. Pakistan's Independence Day proved a meaningful message for the Kashmiri Muslims. It was the message of salvation for the Kashmiri Muslims from the yoke of Dogra rule.¹⁰⁵ Kashmiri villages, valleys, cities and mountains, felt the waves of joy which paved a struggle for the freedom. It was on 'Jumma tul Wida' for the progress, development, prosperity of Pakistan in every Mosque. The green bunting's flags were waving on the houses and official buildings.¹⁰⁶ It

was a symbol of everlasting relations between Pakistan and Kashmir.¹⁰⁷ Before 17 August it was not clear to the public where the territorial boundaries of Pakistan would be marked.

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Chapter 2

Role of AJ&KMC in Kashmir's Freedom War and Political Activities (1947-1949)

2.1 AJ&KMC's Role in Freedom War (1947-49)

The Radcliff Award was not announced until the eve of Pakistan and left considerable areas in uncertainty. ¹“As independence approached, violence on both sides of the border began. Communal riots burst out from the Punjab, and refugees poured in with stories of massacre and looting. An anti-Muslim movement in the State was initiated with systematic persecution”.²The tense circumstances in the State were worsened.

On 23 August³ 1947 a revolutionary meeting was held at Nila Butt (2 ½ miles far from Dhirkot) on top of a mountain⁴ Presided over by Syed Muzaffar Nadvi.⁵ Sardar Abdul Qayyum a young “Zimindar”⁶ decided to revolt against Dogra. In this meeting Sardar Abdul Qayyum and his companions motivated the people to protest in Huda Barri (a ground near the Bagh city) on the 26 August. When procession reached there, the Dogra army killed five persons Ali Hussain (Nindrai), Noor Din (Saver Kalu), Kabal Khan (Sohawa), Muhammad Sher (Naryola) and Abdul Karim (Birpani)⁷. After this clashes erupted. On 29 August, under the command of Captain Hussain Khan Dogra army persons were captured at Dothan. They were marching to Bagh.

Majority of Kashmiris was Muslim and was attached to Pakistan naturally but the leadership of this party of Kashmiri Muslims was divided. Anyhow the situation in Srinagar was not favourable for AJ&KMC. AJ&KMC was facing wrangle behaviour

from both Maharaja and National Conference. Everyone was confused and worried about himself and his family in the State. It was very bad for the leadership of AJ&KMC to gather and has a stand to play an effective role. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim was the only leader of AJ&KMC who was struggling for the cause. In this situation the acting president of AJ&KMC Chaudary Hamidullah wrote a letter to Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan on 17 of September 1947⁸, in which he was authorized to take any step to maneuver the challenges.

After being an elected party leader, Sardar Ibrahim Khan came back from Rawalpindi and went to Muree thereafter. Muree is near the Jehlum River which is near to the border of Kashmir and easy to communicate across the border. From here he communicated with the leaders of AJ&KMC so that struggle against the Dogra should be organized which already had secretly underway. Fairfield hotel was selected as the centre of such activities by the leaders of AJ&KMC where all the aspects of consultation and planning were discussed.⁹

The war council contained leaders of AJ&KMC as well as retired army officers and soldiers. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, Syed Sadiq Hussain Shah, Pir Ali Asghar Shah, Sardar Gul Ahmed Kausar, Maulavi Sardar Sharif Khan Ghulam Haider Jandalvi, Sardar Feroz Khan(burried at Palandri), Subedar Afsar Khan, Captain Hussain Khan Shaheed, Subedar Bostan Khan, Captain Rahmatullah Khan, Colonel Hussain Khan(Gourah), Yaseen Khan (Mang), Ameer Alam Khan (Kafalghar).¹⁰A Comprehensive master plan was formed and weapon transmit had been started from Murree. Tehsildar Sultan Muhammad Abbass played a vital role in the

supply of weapons. Because of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, Abbassi tribe from Murree, Hazara and Rawalpindi also actively participated in the war (1947-1949). All the leaders of AJ&KMC from Poonch were ready to war and waiting for weapons. Maulavi Muhammad Khan and his brother Abdullah Khan also reached Murree.¹¹ According to the war strategy Bagh sector was given to Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan and Poonch (Rawalakot) was given under the command of captain Hussain Khan, similarly Kotli was under the command of colonel Sher Ahmad Khan,¹² and Mirpur was under the command of Khan Muhammad Khan (Khan of Mang).¹³

The civil management was appointed at once in liberated area. It was the planning of AJ&KMC. The government of Pakistan and was unaware about political activities of AJ&KMC in the State. There were three routes for bringing weapons in Poonch.¹⁴ The house of Shaker Muhammad Khan Satti was the transitional point of weapons. All the regular passes were being watched by Dogra army.¹⁵

Twelve thousand State's army was posted at different areas of the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of sectarianism. Risala, the Hindu Dogras was in Jammu centre, First Kashmir Infantry the Hindu Dogra in Srinagar, Second Jammu and Kashmir Rifles consisting on Ghorkhas and Muslim equally in Noshera, Third Hindu and Gorkha rifles were put in Mirpur, Fourth Jammu and Kashmir infantry Dogra and Muslims were put in Muzaffarabad, Fifth Jammu and Kashmir light Infantry were Hindus and Dogras in Sakardu, Sixth Jammu and Kashmir infantry Dogras and Muslims were equal in Gilgit, Seventh Jammu and Kashmir infantry were Hindu Dogras put in Poonch, Eighth Hindu Dogras infantry Jammu, Ninth Jammu and Kashmir rifles Hindu Dogra in Poonch. In

Jammu Battalion Training School was a mixture of all sects, Jammu and Kashmir training school was appointed in Srinagar, mechanical transport mixed in Srinagar, animal transport mixed in Srinagar, Poonch, Remount lands and farms mixed in Srinagar. On 1947 twelve more reserves infantry companies were appointed in Poonch.¹⁶

After being a follower of Maulana Muzaffar Hussain Shah Nadvi Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan crossed the Jehlum River by a lag with his seven companions on first October 1947.¹⁷ Pir Ali Asghar Shah, Muhammad Saleem Khan Raja Muhammad Sadiq Khan (Dhirkot), Ghazi Ismail Khan, Maulavi Muhammad Baksh (Arja), Muhammad Latif Khan Abbassi, Shah Zaman Khan (Bagh), Raja Ali Akbar Khan (Harrighel) Raja Kala Khan, Hakeem Abdul Qayyum Khan (Hellsurrong), Syed Muhammad Hussain Shah (Sudhanghali), Muhammad Sharif Khan (Sehnsa).¹⁸ These people gathered near Dungigali on 2 October, the same day they attacked on Dhirkot police station and snatched the weapons. These weapons were seized by the Government from local people. Raja Muhammad Saddique Khan burnt out the police station which was established in the house of Raja Arif Khan and Raja Sayyad Khan it was consisted of two rooms.¹⁹ On 3 October a clash broke out between Dogra army and freedom fighters in the jungle near Dhirkot. In which a young man Raja Latif of Kotli (Dhirkot) was martyred. An encounter took place in the village of Nara Kot in which four soldiers and one Subedar of the enemy was killed.²⁰

Dogra army station of Chirala demanded more ammunition and ration from Kohala Barsala, the platoon which was assigned to supply the needs of the army, reached Sahlian so here Muhammad Saleem Khan attacked on them with his group of freedom

fighters. The Dogra's army reached Sasser secretly. Dana was the next place where the war was fought full day. Without any loss of freedom fighters, seven Dogras were killed.²¹ Major Khajor Singh moved towards Nila Butt. They reached Makhiala near high school and installed three guns with two companies. Here under the command of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan the freedom fighters defeated the Dogra army. On 7 October 1947, Dogras had to vacate Chirala.

The next target of the freedom fighters was Nangapir after Dhirkot and Chirala where there was news of arrival of the Dogra troops at large scale. One day before the campaign of Nangapir, all the people specially Katkair, Danna and near lying areas became ready for war and they decided to fight the battle under the command of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. They decided to crowd at the place of Jagir Katkair, because it was a vast ground where more than two hundred people gathered. They had Topidar arm gunpowder and explosive guns. Most of them were unarmed; they had traditional tools like sticks, axes, swords etc. They practiced war tactics in the ground, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan informed the people about the war strategy and tactics that how they could stop the raid of Dogra army and safe themselves from such raids. The houses of Alisher Khan and Rangi Khan were situated near Larri Medaan. They were very brave persons and people were trusting in their power. They promised to join Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan in the case of war against the Dogra invasion. Ismail Khan, Mast Khan, Suleman Khan, Muhammad Zaman Khan, Faqeer Muhammad Khan, Shera Khan, Muhammad Roshan Khan, Hashmatullah Khan, Fatch Khan and Ali Gohar Khan also sided with Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. Abdul Rahim Shah and Abdullah Shah from Lowerkot who were retired persons from

British Army along with Syed Habib Shah Son of Syed Alam Shah, Syed Feroz Shah Son of Mubarak Shah took fulsome part in the freedom campaign of State of Jammu and Kashmir.²²

The passion of freedom fighters for war was worth-seeing. Alisher Khan of AJ&KMC slaughtered an ox and fed all the people. He prepared to fight to the last against Dogras. The obvious aspect of this campaign was that women worked shoulder to shoulder with men in this war. They arranged for the meals of the people, they collected wood and cooked food for them. Certain women like Hayara Begum, Mastani Begum, Resho Begum, Mubaraka Begum were included in them, such women did not only cooked food for freedom fighters but also worked a lot to encourage them for war. It was the occasion when Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan with his freedom fighters directed the people to settle a camp at Dhrikot (Bagh) where from the confiscated property (Mal-i-Ghanimat) of the Hindus could be distributed among the freedom fighters.²³

On the border of Nangapir hill, Lowerkot and Channat, the height of 9000 feet from sea-level. The freedom fighters suspect a large scale Dogra Army from Srinagar has come, which is proceeding to Bagh. After reaching Bagh it will move to the western areas posts. Where from it will raid afresh to recapture the posts that had been lost by the Dogra Army. The freedom fighters under the command of Major Muhammad Saced Khan started a campaign from a place of Chirkandi in the village of Lowerkot, where a brave soldier Gul Bahar Shah was martyred. So, on his return a temporary camp was established at Rangla. On November 5 1947²⁴ the battle of Nangapir was fought by

Dogra Army comprising of four thousand Hindu and Sikhs personnel. In this campaign the volunteers of Hazara and local freedom fighters took part whose number was eight hundred. Nangapir attack was retaliated. Well equipped Hindus and Sikhs fought heartlessly who constituted many groups consisting of twenty people each. Fifteen freedom fighters were martyred in this campaign. Bagh was the next target after Nangapir. A caravan which was moved from Muzaffarabad²⁵ and then from Nangapir it was willing to advance to Poonch. In the attack of Muzaffarabad, surviving Dogras with their weapons were included in the caravan whose number was more than hundred.

During this time Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan along with four hundred freedom fighters reached at the top of hill Beesbagla. Seven hundred tribesmen were also present there. They were prepared to attack on the Dogras. The religious personalities of AJ&KMC like Pir Ali Asghar Shah, Maulana Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah, Pir Syed Ilyas Shah and Maulana Mufti Amir Alam Khan were with Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan.²⁶ He took suggestions from them and decided to give peace passage, those they surrender their weapons and allowed them to advance to the Poonch through Bagh. Wight flag was waved and announced this decision and it was committed that peaceful atmosphere would be maintained; no one would fire on the Dogras. The Dogras began to lay down their weapons, some of them who were trained soldiers of the Dogra Army resist on this occasion. The situation abruptly become critical, then it was ordered to caravan that armed persons should aloof. During the separation process the Dogras misconduct with freedom fighters and became aggressive with weapons. So, the tribesmen took notice of this action and severely attacked on them and killed many people irrespectively children, women and armed persons. It was a tragic

incident of Nangapir. The tribesmen killed them ruthlessly; no one could stop them. Tribesmen also took young girls with them before afternoon.²⁷

This sad incident created sorrowful situation in the area. On November 1947 Pir Asghar Shah and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan felt grievance on this occasion. They wept to see the slaughtering of people. In response of this action a tragic incident occurred in Jammu on 6 November 1947, where RSS and other Sikh Battalions killed two hundred fifty thousand Muslims.²⁸ Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan and other freedom fighters treated other civilian caravan with sympathy and provide them opportunity to move Poonch. Fifteen hundred Dogras were arrested and about two thousand were released to continue their journey.

To protect the Bagh town and its surrounding areas, three platoons were deputed from Nila Butt, they deployed at the Hullarsyedon, Tangiat and other adjoining villages. These troops were headed by Subedar Anayat Hussain Khan. This strategy was helpful to other villages to protect from the plundering of Dogra Troops. The freedom fighters of AJ&KMC were organizing the people for war against Dogras. From Bagh, the leaders of AJ&KMC Muhammad Hussain of Dharray and Chaudary Ghulam (famous as Mullah Ghulam), Subedar Ibrahim Khan, Baqa Muhammad Khan, Mir Hussain Khan, Naib Subedar Gul Hussain Khan and Ghulam Hussain Khan organized different people from different areas for the war of freedom and they conceived the planning of Dogra to the public. In response Muhammad Hussain of Dharray (a village of Bagh) organized a political meeting in Samnak.²⁹ A big rally about the freedom fighters was held under the presidentship of Muhammad Hussain of Dharray, here the same strategy of civilian

people was lay out and pointed out the Dogra attack. He inspired people for coming war in their areas. He managed the groups comprising of twenty people of freedom fighters, they were appointed at different top hilly places. This was the cause he was arrested by the Dogras in Bagh Fort where more than fifty six persons were also detained.³⁰ During the month of November the Dogras became more active to kill the civilian and political workers of the areas. When it was sure that Dogras were planning to crush the freedom fighters in Bagh city and surrounding areas then Muhammad Hussain Khan of Dharray wrote a secret letter to his companions and relatives of area. It was sent by a Sikh policeman, when he reached in the village Dharray, people took the letter and killed him brutally.

When Dogra police heard this bad news, they took revenge and killed more than fifty six prisoners in Bagh Fort on 9 November. Only three persons were escaped by break into the wall of fort.³¹ They were Muhammad Hussain of Dharray, Mullah Ghulam and Abdul Rehman (known as Saien Khan). They fought with Dogras and compelled them to leave the area of Bagh. During this fight with Dogras, the Muslim women whom relative were the workers of AJ&KMC played a significant role. Paravi Begum Wife of Muhammad Azeem, Byabi Begum Wife of Ghulab Khan and Begum Jan wife of Shah Muhammad Khan took a part during the war of freedom. Paravi Begum was severely injured by the Dogras, they cut her throat but she tied up her throat with her scarf and attacked on Dogras by stones.³² They fled from the village; similarly the Muslim women of whole area of Bagh and Poonch participated in the freedom war and fought very bravely. All freedom fighters won the war in the State of Jammu and Kashmir with their courage and spirit of Jihad.

In these clashes, the people encouraged the freedom fighters by chanting slogans of Islam and Pakistan. On the back side of Hullarsyeddan, the village Paddar Syedan lies. Opposite to this, the area of Topi is situated where one can find ancient tree of Kahu (Wild Olive). Here a young fighter Sardar Anwar Khan deployed some armed youth. Sardar Akram Khan, Ghulam Muhammad Qureshi, Maulavi Muhammad Din and Salman Khan Qureshi were also present there. When the Dogra army fled from the Puddarsyeddan Muhammad Akram Khan exclaimed with excitement, 'at last we are saved'.³³ The enemy was planning to link Aliabad road with Poonch in the front of Basali to Ladia Gali. It was a dangerous strategy of war by the enemy. This time Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan consulted with the head of fire brigade Sher-i-jang (colonel Ghulam Rasool Khan). Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was told that the siege of Poonch city has been uplifted by the enemies. The Government of Dakhan Haiderabad did surrender, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was deceased.

The moral of the enemy was high, which was advancing towards Hajipir pass. Sher-i-Jang said that they would defend the Poonch city till their last breathe.³⁴ The enemy would treat our corpses to capture Bagh. Hence, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan joined the front 213 FF and Bagh 3 in the command of Sher-i-jang. Thus the freedom fighters and army battalion were combined at Ghora Nakka and addressed that their beat was jolting in the whirlpool and if we surrender an inch of the land of the Poonch, especially Bagh, the enemy would never quit till the dooms day.³⁵ The freedom fighters advanced towards Hajipir Pass where they knew that the enemy was fortifying in Bhedi which lies at the foot of Bedoori Mountain. Here 132 youths were volunteered. They marched under the command of Noor Hussain Khan towards Chapper Galla via

Picha Gali, which was the fortified trench of the enemy and lies at the extreme top from the Uri. The freedom fighters established a quarter at the station of Kotli. The enemy was forced to run back towards Uri.³⁶

On November of 1947, the enemy launched many attacks from Bherat Gali, Hathlanga and from Banyar Nalla. All these adventures were annulled by the freedom fighters. The enemy couldn't grasp a single inch of land even up to February 1949. Colonel Ghulam Rasool Khan and AJ&KMC appointed Commander Major Muhammad Saleem were leading the movement venture. Muhammad Yaseen Khan is a companion of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan from village Singola to organized a committee consisting of seven persons whom they belonged to AJ&KMC Nawab Khan Muhammad Hussain Khan Muhammad Hoshnak Khan and Muhammad Afsar Khan collected warriors from this area of Singola, these freedom fighters fought bravely and pushed back the Dogra forces towards river Poonch.³⁷ This sector of Bagh remained beyond of access of enemy. There is no advancement after ceasefire (1949). The Dogra army gave a tough fight in Rawalakot for a month. Hence captain Hussain Khan led the freedom fighters on 23 August 1947 at Pothi Makwalan village. The enemy had to flee and left 22 dead bodies behind.

On first week of October, Sardar Abdul Qayyum captured Dhirkot. Mujahideen from Poonch were falling short of arms and they approached the tribesmen from the KPKP to purchase weapons. They narrated their tales of woe and atrocities of Dogra troops which excited the tribal people to enter Kashmir and the Maharaja's resistance collapsed.³⁸ On 22 October tribesmen from the North-west Frontier of Pakistan joined the

Kashmiri Mujahideen".³⁹ By 24 October 1947, an area of thirty two thousand square miles including Gilgit and Baltistan was freed by the freedom fighters. On 24 October 1947, the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government was established in the Liberated Area which was 4,144 square miles. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim⁴⁰ Khan was sworn in as the first president of the liberated area

On October 25, they attacked at Trarkhel but the enemy was driven back. On October 26 to 30 many clashes took place at Rawalakot resulting heavy loss on both the sides. On November 4 the freedom fighters had a sever attack on the enemy. The very next day Indian Air force attacked with bombs. On November 9 the Dogra force attacked severely on the trenches of the freedom fighters. They had to evacuate Rawalakot and fled on November 10. Among the freedom fighters were Rehmatullah Khan Sumander Khan... In air attack at Rawalakot 4 freedom fighters were martyred beside this 90 were martyred and 120 were wounded.⁴¹ On November 11, 1947 under the command of Captain⁴² Hussain Khan a part Poonch was captured.

Same day, an encounter happened at Tolipir in which Dogra Army suffered a great loss of lives and financial. Captain Hussain Khan was martyred here, a cenotaph was built here.⁴³ On October 24, when Mirpur was freed, the Dogra troops were loosing their hearts and Kotli was yielded. In November Colonel Baldev Sing along with Hindus and Sikh troops moved to Noshera where 70 Muslims were martyred. The leaders of AJ&KMC who supported freedom fighters were Sardar Fatch Muhammad Khan Karelvi, Raja Muhammad Afzal Khan, Raja Bhadur Khan, Raja Habib-ur-Rehman, M.Z. Kyani and Dost Muhammad Anyatullah of Bhrang.⁴⁴ In the freedom fight at Mirpur, the

prominent role played by Captain Khan Muhammad Khan. Here the AJ&KMC leader Syed Ali Ahmed Shah started gathering the freedom fighters for the free Kashmir Movement, with the cooperation of other friends he liberated Mirpur, Dudyal, Bhimber and other surrounding areas.⁴⁵ Captain Khan Muhammad Khan forced the Hindus to realize that their safety lays in escaping. As a war strategy Mirpur was divided into 3 sectors. Central Mirpur was in the command of Captain Khan Muhammad Khan while northern and southern sectors were in the supervision of Raja Afzal Khan and Raja Muhammad Azam Khan respectively. Mirpur city was released from Hindus on November 23. Raja Afzal Khan advanced towards the front of Sarya in the North, where he embraced martyrdom.⁴⁶ The leaders of AJ&KMC who led the freedom fighters, they were Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Karelvi, Raja Muhammad Afzal Khan, Raja Buda Khan, Raja Habib-ur-Rehman, M.Z. Kiyani, Dost Muhammad Dosa, Sardar Anayatullah Khan of Brang, Natha Khan.⁴⁷

2.2 Reorganization of AJ&KMC in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

It was crucial for Chaudary Ghulam Abbass as well as for the struggle of liberation in Poonch which was started under the leadership of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. If this war fails to achieve its targets there would be a dreadful and destructive result. Collapse of this war would mean to face serious consequences for AJ&KMC. The acting leadership of AJ&KMC had proved its worth. The liberation war was started from the area of Poonch and Bagh, continued under the leadership of 'Founder President' of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Because of the confinement of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Session of General Council and Executive Body of AJ&KMC

could not be held. Therefore, Acting President of AJ&KMC Chaudary Hamidullah Khan nominated Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan as a chief representative of AJ&KMC in Kashmir Assembly (Paraja Sabha).

After the establishment of Azad Government, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was busy in government affairs. Meanwhile, by an agreement Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was released from Jammu Jail on 28 February 1948. He reached Pakistan⁴⁸ through 'Suchait ghar' on 1 March 1948. He arrived at 'Suchait ghar' where he was warmly welcomed by the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot, a large number of Kashmiri refugees and local people. He was brought to the ground of 'Ram Talay' where a 'Spasnama' meeting was held and he learnt about the difficulties and suffering of refugees during the migration. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass started his speech with these words "what so happened with the refugees, I felt sorry and make assured them that Pakistani Government and people of Azad Jammu & Kashmir try their best to accommodate and facilitate them".⁴⁹ He appreciated Kashmiri refugees on their exemplary courage and their brotherhood which they proved during the migration. He further said that "these sacrifices will never go waste and Kashmiris will achieve their targets, but it is essential to progress towards destinations with the new devotion and determination".⁵⁰

He further said "Kashmiri people struggle for Pakistan's completion, will be remarkable"⁵¹ A.R. Saghar also addressed the people, while addressing the News reporter he said, "we are fighting the war of Pakistan in Kashmir, it is a war of 'Millat-e-Islamia' and we will fight this war until the death of last Kashmiri, I have fear that we can not save this war without the help of Pakistan".⁵² Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan also

welcomed Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, he offered him to take over the affairs of the State and he will voluntarily resign, but Chaudary Ghulam Abbass turned his offer down. Sardar Ibrahim Khan also told him about the problems and difficulties in administrative affairs of the Government.⁵³ After some days, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass went to Karachi to meet Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 'Maleer' Quaid-i-Azam and Faima Jinnah received Chaudary Ghulam Abbass in Governor General's Camp. Quaid-i-Azam showed warmth towards Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. They reviewed the situation of Kashmir. Both the leaders talked on mutual confidence building strategy.⁵⁴

Chaudary Ghulam Abbass also requested the Governor General for the rehabilitation and accommodation of Kashmiri refugees. After this meeting, 'Central Refugee Council' was established. The President of Council was the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Vice President of Council was Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. All the Chief Ministers of provinces were the members of this Council. Quaid-i-Azam issued special directions and personal interest for Chaudary Ghulam Abbass for the rehabilitation of refugees; he directed that the work should rapidly be done. So, the AJ&KMC became active and strong. By dint of reorganization, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass made the party base stronger and a durable platform.⁵⁵ Many political crises have been arising in AJ&KMC but the leadership of the party always selected the principle of consensus to overcome.

When Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was the head of revolutionary Government, the question of reconstruction of AJ&KMC was raised and it was decided that the State of Jammu and Kashmir Government (Liberated area) should be answerable before the only one representative political party AJ&KMC.⁵⁶

The President of the Government asked Chaudary Ghulam Abbass to call the meeting of the General Body of AJ&KMC so that the election of the party could be scheduled. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass replied, "The majority members of AJ&KMC are in the Occupied Kashmir so it is not possible". Having assumption that the party had been limited up to the liberated area by the freedom fighters and the ceasefire line might be accepted as 'border'. Therefore, the election of the AJ&KMC would not be possible.⁵⁷

When Chaudary Ghulam Abbass returned from Karachi, he was appointed as Supreme Head of the Azad State of Jammu and Kashmir and the Head of the political party AJ&KMC.⁵⁸ Before ceasefire and shifting of the Capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir's Government from Plandari to Muzaffarabad, Pakistan Government appointed M.A.Gurmani⁵⁹ as the Minister of Kashmir affairs on 15 October 1949.⁶⁰ Nawab M.A.Gurmani and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had cordial relations.⁶¹ As far as the Kashmir concern, the government was not very much 'conscious of the cause'.⁶²

2.3 Karachi Agreement between AJ&KMC and Pakistan

The Government of Pakistan considered AJ&KMC as the majority representative thus favoured it strongly.⁶³ After ceasefire on 1 January 1949, this was first and immediate agreement between Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan. It was signed in Karachi on 28 April⁶⁴ 1949. The President of Azad Kashmir, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan who "enjoyed, undefined and unlimited powers",⁶⁵ and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass Khan who was appointed as supreme head of the Government, also signed as the President of AJ&KMC. On the behalf of Pakistani government, it was signed by the Minister of Kashmir Affairs (without portfolio), Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani.⁶⁶ The

agreement was comprised of three fold categories, one was dealt with the powers of the Government of Pakistan and its relations towards Kashmir Dispute, second portion was related to Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, its powers of working and thirdly it defined the relation of AJ&KMC with Pakistan.

Under the Karachi Agreement, AJ&KM entrusted the temporary control of Gilgit and Baltistan, ⁶⁷under the supervision of Pakistan. "On 10 January, 1950 the working committee of AJ&KMC adopted a resolution reviewing the unsatisfactory State of affairs prevailing present in Gilgit and Baltistan and felt that those areas need to be immediately delivered from the existing bureaucratic machinery which has shown itself to be alien in its mentality and was disharmonious with the spirit of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.⁶⁸ AJ&KMC as the political party did not compromise about the contract over the Gilgit and Baltistan. It was declared by the resolution passed on 10 January 1950; it is described in these words

The committee demands that the control over these areas be immediately transferred to the Minister of Kashmir Affairs and the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government and that these areas be administrated through an agency which may adequately understand and sympathies with local conditions.⁶⁹

This credit goes to AJ&KMC as it showed obligations to Pakistan about Gilgit and Baltistan. It remained loyal with Pakistan and its solidarity. As a political party AJ&KMC signed this agreement with Pakistan to shelter its future as well as secured the writ of Pakistan over Kashmir.

2.4 The Party Reservations on Ceasefire and Confidence in Pakistan

The UNCIP passed two important resolutions at different times on 13 August 1948. The resolutions demanded that both the countries India and Pakistan should implement ceasefire and the first step of ceasefire was implemented on 1 January 1949. After this, another resolution was adopted on 5 January 1949 which was considered as a supplement of the first.⁷⁰ "At the time of Kashmir Agreement, as far as provinces of Jammu and Kashmir were concerned, it lost most of the territory in a very brief period."⁷¹ On the other hand, by agreeing to ceasefire, Kashmiris have any how, not been the gainers. The Indians had been able to consolidate their position, and built up defence wall along the ceasefire line. They would never take upon themselves to launch an offensive; therefore, Kashmiris were left with two alternatives; (i) either the case is settled by peaceful manners of negotiation or (ii) forced to attack if the matter was to be settled through UNO, by peaceful means. If the peaceful means fail, and if Kashmiris start to attack, they will be blamed as aggressors and India would get the world opinion on her side.⁷²

The ceasefire became effective on 1 January 1949 and the agreement on the demarcation of the ceasefire line was reached after a number of meetings of military high command of both sides on 27 July 1949.⁷³ The resolution was provided for the demilitarization of the State in two stages; the truce stage and the plebiscite stage.⁷⁴ As far as the ceasefire phenomenon was concerned, standing points of AJ&KMC were same as written on 9 March⁷⁵ 1950.... And Chaudary Ghulam Abbass concluded that further silence in the matter would be criminal. Although he may be considered a party but he

wrote the truth based on unimpeachable evidence. Their arguments run thus: 'For all practical purposes the Kashmir problem is over and lost. Thanks to the Government, he warned the premier in time not to agree a ceasefire. His advice was not heeded but he communicated his dissent in writing and therefore, his position today is perfectly secure. His fears have been justified; the present boundary has become the permanent partition line. How could he associate himself with such a disastrous policy? Therefore, he decided to retire on ground of health. But the Government continued to bungle and betray the interests of the people. I have therefore, decided to expose them and take people into confidence.'⁷⁶

Although the critical situation of war had been finished on ceasefire and AJ&KMC established its government in the liberated area. The emergence of Kashmir Issue became a Flash Point for International Community. This scenario led AJ&KMC to face enormous difficulties within the State as well on international level. Next chapter will discuss that how AJ&KMC tackled with political crises and the struggled for Kashmir Issue on international level.

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- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 11 Muhammad Ameen Khan, *Tareekh Sardar Shams Khan of Maldial Mughal Shaheed aur Farzandan-i- Poonch*, (Rawalpindi: Faiz-ul-Islam Printers, 2009) p. 320.
- 12 Note: He was appointed the chairman of the parliamentary board in 1946. Owing the first position the British officers examination he was awarded a flag and shield. By promotion, he retired from the post of colonel. He arrived in Pakistan in 18 September, 1947.
- 13 Masood Ahmed Khan, *Ghazi-i-Millat* , pp. 88 89.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- 15 M.A. Khan, *Tareekh Sardar Shams Khan*, p. 325.
- 16 Sarwar Abbasi, *Kashmiri Musalmanu ki Jid-o-Juhad*, p. 432.
- 17 M.A. Khan, *Tareekh Sardar Shams Khan*, P. 338.
- 18 Abbasi, *Kashmiri Musalmanu ki Jid-o-Juhad*, P. 432. Rest of these names there were forty freedom fighters with Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan they advanced towards Dhirkot. Dr. Akhlaq Ahmed, *Personal Diary*, 1980, p. 9.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 432.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 432.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 432.
- 22 Raja Mumtaz, *Personal Diary*, p. 20.
- 23 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, Vol.II (Muzaffarabad: Siadat Publication, 1988),p.10.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p.14. Sarwar Abbasi wrote 28 October which is not correct.
- 25 Sarwar Abbasi, *Kashmiri Musalmanu ki Jid-o-Juhad*, p. 481. Note: Sarwar Abbasi wrote that this Caravan departures form Muzaffarabad on 21 October while historical incidents prove that it is wrong date. Because on 22 October Tribesmen raided on Dogra Caravan in Muzaffarabad and after that Dogra Caravan moved towards Nangapir.
- 26 Raja Mumtaz, *Personal Diary*, p. 20.
- 27 Azad, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, Vol.II, p.15.

- 28 *Ibid.*, p.16.
- 29 Researcher interview: With Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan Advocate. Nephew of Muhammad Hussain of Dharray. Bagh, 20 January 2011.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 Researcher Interview: With Muhammad Shafi resident of Dhakki Bagh, September 2005.
- 34 Ghulam Murtaza, *Sher-i-Jang*, (Rawalpindi: Gawalmandi Printing Press, 1984) pp. 50-51.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- 37 Researcher Interview: With Hoshnak Khan resident of Singola Bagh. 20 December 2011. He is still alive and 87 year of age. A relative of Dr. Akhlaq Shamsi.
- 38 Ahmed Shujah Pasha, *Political Study*, p.260.
- 39 Keith Calard, *Pakistan: A Political Study*, p.306.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p.571.
- 41 Abbasi, *Kashmiri Musalmanu ki Jid-o-Jihad*, p. 485.
- 42 Tishna, *Tarkeeh-e-Kashmir*. p.570.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p.485.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 486.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 490.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 492.
- 47 Nazir Ahmed Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 572.
- 48 Daily *The Nawa-i-Waqat* Newspaper, 30 July 2004, p. 8.
- 49 Weekly *Kasheer* Newspaper, Rawalpinid/Muzaffarabad, 5 December to 18 December 1998, p. 6.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p.6.
- 51 Ghulam Ahmed Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi ki Dehleez Per*, (Rawalpindi: Jang Publisher, 1991), p.219.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p.219.
- 53 Weekly *Kasheer* Newspaper, p.6.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p.6.
- 55 Daily *The Jang*, 19 July, 2009, Rawalpindi.
- 56 Sardar Mukhtar Khan, *Azadi Ka Khavab-e-Pareshan*,(Rawalakot: Mr.Books, 2005), p. 117.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 149.
- 58 The Daily, *Nawa-i-Waqat*, p. 8.
- 59 Gurnami belonged to the State of Bhawalpur, in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He was the Minister without portfolio under the Act 1935. *AJ&KMC* ,File 13 (Islamabad: National Documentation Centre) p. 49.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 62 Qudratullah Shahab, *Shahabnama*, (Lahore : Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007), p. 408.
- 63 Josef Korbcl, *Danger in Kashmir*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 200-01.
- 64 Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi ki Dehleez Per*, p. 268.
- 65 Saeed Asad, *Jammu and Kashmir Book of Knowledge*, (Muzaffarabad: National Institute of Kashmir Studies, 1997), p. 93.
- 66 Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol. I, II. (Lahore: Feroz Sons (Pvt) Ltd, 1979), p. 1367.
- 67 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 719.
- 68 Asad, *Book of Knowledge*, p. 94.
- 69 *All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference*, File 10 (Islamabad: National Documentation Centre) p. 43.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- 71 G.M.Mir, *Kashmir Shanasi*, Vol.I, (Mirpur: Maktaba-e-Rizwan, 1999), p. 192.
- 72 During the months of November and December 1948 Indian army built up corps headquarters at the Noshehra, they also built collaborate line of communication between Noshchra and Jammu, if we had not agreed to the ceasefire we probably would have lost the rest of Poonch, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad, we could have probably continued the liberation movement form Gilgit and Ladakh side. Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, p. 155.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

Chapter 3

Party Politics of AJ&KMC and its Role in UNO 1949-1962

3.1 Friction in the Party AJ&KMC

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was sent to the Security Council to highlight the case of Kashmir. On 20 November 1949¹ during his absence in Azad Jammu & Kashmir, he was terminated from his Presidentship of Interim government. There were no allegations against him, he was terminated by the Executive Council of AJ&KMC.²

A meeting of political workers of AJ&KMC was held in Rawalpindi, where prominent Kashmiri leaders criticized the action of Executive Council. They claimed that it was unlawful and unconstitutional session in which the decisions had been taken by Supreme Head of Azad Jammu and Kashmir's Government and party leader as well. The manners, by which AJ&KMC terminated Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, had created reaction among the people all over the Azad Jammu and Kashmir and refugees in Pakistan. There were protests recorded in Rawalpindi, Sialkot by prominent leaders of AJ&KMC like Syed Hassan Shah Gardazi, Sardar Yasin Khan, Syed Anayatullah Shah Raana, Rajauri, Mir Abdul Aziz and Ikramullah Jaswal, Khan of Mang.³ They suggested that Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan should stay in Muzaffarabad and should hold the President House. Mushtaq Ahmed Khan Gurmani, a Minister (none portfolio) of Kashmir Affair, invited Sardar Ibrahim Khan to Rawalpindi to resolve the matter. When Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan went to Rawalpindi Colonel Ali Ahmed Shah occupied the

President House. When Sardar Ibrahim Khan reached Rawalpindi Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani did not meet him though Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan waited for him.⁴

The General Council of AJ&KMC consisted of two hundred representatives from all over Jammu and Kashmir. A meeting was held on 10 January 1950, only 29 members participated from Pakistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Thirteen (13) councillors participated in the session out of 29 members. They did not show confidence in the new schedule. Five of them, did not show upto fulfil the quorum. Defiance of the party rules, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass announced new representatives.⁵ Kashmiri politicians had reservations about that session.⁶ A protest rally against this session was organized outside of the meeting.⁷ Chaudary Ghulam Abbass took the charge of Presidentship of AJ&KMC. He admired the contribution of Allah Rakha Saghar.

Another resolution was passed in this session to favour Chaudary Ghulam Abbass according to which he could terminate the 'Head' of democratic Azad Jammu and Kashmir's government.⁸ That was an effort to violate the party's constitution of AJ&KMC. Later he dismissed the President of democratic Government and the ministers of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.⁹ On 21, 22 August 1950¹⁰, the session of Executive Council of the AJ&KMC was held in Sialkot under the Presidentship of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. In which there were army commanders, members and workers of AJ&KMC were present. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was not invited to join the session in Sialkot. Syed Hassan Shah Gardazi, Sardar Feroz Ali Khan of Plandari convinced him to join the session at all cost. They went to Sialkot together to attend the meeting. The internal friction of the party reached its height.

accommodate the unexpected audience.³¹ It was decided that according to the constitution of AJ&KMC a fund to finance the party would be launched as 'Muslim Qumi Fund' with one lakh. This amount would be deposited as a trust in the cooperative banks with title of AJ&KMC. Its profit would be used for the needs and objective of the General Council.³²

1.3. Conversion of AJ&KMC

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, the president of AJ&KMC attended the annual session of Congress on March 1939 at Tiripura accompanied with Pandit Kheep Bendu, Prem Nath Bezaz and Maulavi Muhammad Saced Masoodi.³³ In an interview to the daily English 'Hindustan Times' he criticized Muslim League³⁴ because he was very much influenced by Nationalism of Congress.³⁵ For this purpose on 27 April 1939, a proposal Conference was held in Jammu in which Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Baig, Khawaja Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq Bakhshi, Ghulam Muhammad, A.R.Saghar, Sofi Muhammad Akbar, Mian Ahmed Yar, Sheikh Muhammad Akbar, Abdul Mujeed Qureshi and Maulavi Muhammad Hussain and other representatives of the State participated. In this session Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah indicated that, "AJ&KMC demands responsible government but non-Muslims oppose the suggestions, so the voice of AJ&KMC had become ineffective in Government".

On June 28 in the Working Committee of the AJ&KMC, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah had placed a resolution recommending to the General Council that in the forth-coming session of the AJ&KMC, name and the constitution of the organization be altered and amended that all such people who desire to participate in the political struggle could become members irrespective of their caste, creed or religion.³⁶

of the President Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan of the Parallel Muslim Conference, he toured all over Azad Jammu and Kashmir and openly declared that the existing Government is unconstitutional. He demanded that people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir should be given the right to choose their Government by their own votes. He condemned the role of Minister of Kashmir Affairs to establish the Government according to his own will.²¹ In this connection the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, headed by Captain Syed Ahmed Ali Shah (who was the Acting President when Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was abroad with the delegation in United Nation's Security Council on 6 January 1948 (was resisted as unlawful)²²

Now after the termination of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Ali Ahmed Shah was the President from 1 June 1950 to 1 December 1951.²³ During the same period the prominent workers of the AJ&KMC were invited in the convention held in Chakwal under the Presidentship of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. In this meeting Chaudary Ghulam Abbass nominated Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah as the President of the party, "the AJ&KMC (Abbass Group)". Both the prominent groups of the AJ&KMC existed thereafter in politics.²⁴ In the campaign against Azad Jammu and Kashmir government, the people from Tehsil Bagh and Sudhanoti denied to pay revenue to the government treasury.²⁵

3.2 Declaration of Parallel Government of AJ&KMC Party

On July 1951, the Parallel AJ&KMC (Ibrahim Group) held its session at Dhirkot, it compelled standing Government and the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs to play a mediatory role between Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.

constituted the Kashmir Committee which consisted of three cabinet members, Chaudary Muhammad Ali (1905-1980) as Treasury Minister, Ghulam Muhammad as Finance Minister and Dr Mehmood Hussain the Minister of Kashmir Affairs.³² The committee counseled the leadership of Azad Jammu and Kashmir including Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Cabinet members and Mir Waiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah.³³ One month earlier Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had become the Acting President of the AJ&KMC³⁴ (Abbass Group). The issues like Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, Constitutional position of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, the Administration of Northern Areas and settlement of refugees were discussed.³⁵ Though, there was no conclusion, the committee desired for favorable atmosphere in Azad Jammu and Kashmir which required reconciliation between the groups.³⁶

Chaudary Ghulam Abbass negotiated many times with the mission appointed by government of Pakistan to negotiate but he failed to convince them. Therefore, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass resigned protestingly from the Kashmir Movement as well as from Supreme Headship of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir's Government and he walked out from the meeting.³⁷ After the resignation, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass called the meeting of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Cabinet and advised them to resign. The cabinet followed his decision and presented their resignations on 4 December 1951 to Chaudary Ghulam Abbass who was the President of AJ&KMC. He accepted the resignations and forwarded them to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.³⁸ The Minister of Kashmir Affairs tried his best to convince Chaudary Ghulam Abbass on the issue but he faced coldness from other side for further negotiations.³⁹ Government of Pakistan appointed Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah as the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, who was the

Acting President of AJ&KMC (1951-1952).⁴⁰ He led the people like Maulavi Abdul Rahim, Muhammad Yousuf Buch, Maulavi Noor Din, all belonging to 'Valley'.⁴¹ Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah was the 'Administrator' of Azad Jammu & Kashmir's Government.⁴²

3.4 Relations of AJ&KMC with Ministry of Kashmir Affairs

After the appointment of Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah as the president, the Government of Pakistan announced that the election of AJ&KMC's Executive Body would be held within three months. Because of the resignation of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, this Body would elect the 'Cabinet' which may form the Government.⁴³ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was pleased by this action and admired decision of the Pakistan Government in a press Statement. It was not due to democratic principles but he considered it as the defeat of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and his colleagues in the politics.⁴⁴ It was time after Laiquat Ali's death that everyone supported him.⁴⁵ The second issue was that Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan had the ex-army supported area and he could create violence in Poonch.⁴⁶ In March 1952, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah appealed to the people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir that Pakistan wanted to get rid of Kashmiris, and hide truth from the Kashmiri leadership.⁴⁷

The election process began;⁴⁸ Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah and his colleagues boycotted this election of General Council of AJ&KMC. Similarly, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass showed inadvertance during the campaign. The Parallel AJ&KMC got majority in this election.⁴⁹ On 18 May⁵⁰ 1952, the Ibrahim Group called his General Council's convention at Muzaffarabad. All his workers and supporters

participated in the convention.⁵¹ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was elected as the President of the party and Qureshi Muhammad Yousuf was elected as the General Secretary. The important decision was that the General Council elected Raja Muhammad Haider Khan as the President of the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.⁵² Chuadary Ghulam Abbass condemnly remarked the convention as well as the nomination of the 'President' of the Government.⁵³ The Government of Pakistan also rejected the decision of Muzaffarabad's convention. Because the principal elements of the AJ&KMC did not participate in the election, so the structure of the organization was considered as non-representative.⁵⁴ The actual factor was that the results were not in favour of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs.⁵⁵ Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din was annoyed by this drama.⁵⁶ The Government of Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah remained for six months and sixteen days. All of his ministers as well Yousuf Shah were belonging to the 'Valley'.

The Ministry of Kashmir Affairs had its own political motives.⁵⁷ Therefore, it brought Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah and his team in power, and when he was empowered, the politics of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir was controlled by the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs.⁵⁸ The bureaucracy in administration was all in all. The Azad Jammu and Kashmir administratively became a part of Pakistan. The Chief advisor of Prime Minister M.Azfar once said "the power of the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir was like gloves, with our hands in them".⁵⁹ This government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir had to make the structure of the Government services and prepare budget of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir.⁶⁰ Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah established 'Rehber Committee' to advise government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir on above important objectives. 'Rehber Committee' was established under the President of

A.R.Saghar.⁶¹ Out side the Kashmir, there was tension between India and Pakistan during that time. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru⁶²said that Pakistan had imposed war, so the war would not only be limited to Kashmir, but it would be fought in every nook and corner of both the countries. Due to tense situation and large challenges Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah resigned on 20 June 1952 and formed separate group of AJ&KMC.⁶³ Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan⁶⁴ was appointed as the 'President' of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (1952-1956) by the Government of Pakistan. Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan had supported Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan against Chaudary Ghulam Abbass during 1949 and in 1950 for democracy, for cause of justice and freedom. He revolted against Chaudary Ghulam Abbass's group in 1951 and gave an ultimatum to the Parallel Government. In 1952 he suddenly chose to be close with the Minister of Kashmir Affairs.⁶⁵ He also remained a cabinet member of Ali Ahmed Shah's Government.⁶⁶ His Government was coalition because the Government of Pakistan and Ministry of Kashmir Affairs wanted to close up AJ&KMC and Parallel Muslim Conference and to reduce the influence of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in Poonch particularly in his tribe 'Sudhan'.⁶⁷

Chaudary Ghulam Abbass supported Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan on account of being an activist of 'Freedom Movement'.⁶⁸ Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan's cabinet consisted of Chaudary Noor Hussain, Chaudary Hamidullah Balli, Pir Zia-ud-Din Andrabi and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan.⁶⁹ Chaudary Noor Hussain belonged to the Sardar Ibrahim's group as he was considered the 'key person' and from Chaudary Ghulam Abbass's group including Chaudary Hamidullah, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan and Pir Zia-ud-Din in the cabinet. Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf

Shah was appointed as the advisor to Ministry of Kashmir Affairs.⁷⁰ The group, belonging to Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan protested against this development but it was not considered well. The Government of Pakistan assured the new Government, that all groups' representation was compulsory. The public opinion of Kashmiris was missing.⁷¹ Colonel Sher Ahmed possessed fame among his people but not in the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. This could not be compared with Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, who was the founder President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. His Government faced tough resistance but he tolerated it with patience. Once his convoy was attacked but luckily he was saved.⁷² In his cabinet Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan⁷³ was the Minister of Forests.

Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan realized that the behaviour of the officers of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs officers was an actual bone of contention and it sowed the seeds of conflict among the leaders of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.⁷⁴ During this period Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan decided to cross the ceasefire line.⁷⁵ He was arrested by the Government. He was accused that he had been planning to murder Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan. As Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan proclaimed to cross the ceasefire line, so he equipped himself. On 11 November 1952, he was sent to Rawalpindi Jail for one and half years without any trial.⁷⁶ After some months, Colonel Sher Ahmed, formed new cabinet in which Chaudary Noor Hussain, Chaudary Abdul Karim, Raja Abdul Hamid, Pir Zia-ud-Din and Ghulam Muhammad Jewcler were included. He took oath for the second time for Presidentship.⁷⁷ This was because of the resignation of the cabinet members who did not cooperate with the Government of Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan.⁷⁸

3.5 Re-emergence of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass in AJ&KMC Party

Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had resigned on 1 December 1951⁷⁹ from the position of 'Supreme Head' of the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. After resigning from the politics he met with Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, Chaudary Muhammad Ali, Dr. Khan Mumtaz Hussain, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishter, Shoaib Qureshi, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Nawab Mumdoot, Ayub Khuru, and Khawaja Shahab-ud-Din.⁸⁰ Till December 1951 Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had strong political influence in Azad Jammu and Kashmir which after his resignation was shifted to the Joint Secretary of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs.⁸¹ The new Rules of Business empowered the Minister of Kashmir Affairs. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had no objection on becoming sovereign in bureaucracy of the Kashmir Affairs. He was pleased by the ministry for neglecting the group of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and three representatives of his group who were included in the new Government.⁸²

On 20 July 1952, the 21 annual session of the AJ&KMC was held in Jehlum, in which two hundred members of General Council alongwith two thousand and five hundred senior workers participated. They demanded Chaudary Ghulam Abbass to rejoin the politics and lead the Kashmir Movement.⁸³ The party decision was accepted by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and he headed the annual session which was held in Mirpur on March 1953.⁸⁴ 'Rehber Committee' struggled for it. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was received warmly in the meeting of Mirpur on 14 March 1953. The supporters of Chaudary Noor Hussain played a negative role in this meeting. The issue was taken into account and Chaudary Noor Hussain was condemned.⁸⁵

22 annual session of the AJ&KMC was held under the Presidentship of Colonel Ali Ahmed Shah in old Mirpur.⁸⁶ In this session Chaudary Ghulam Abbass announced to cancel his retirement from the politics and also to prepare the plan for freedom of Indian Occupied Kashmir⁸⁷. He declared that 'Ahmedi' should be determined a minority.⁸⁸ On 11 April 1953,⁸⁹ in the meeting of Gujranwala he appealed to Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah not to depend on the Congress leaders more. He suggested the plan for the freedom of Indian Occupied Kashmir; he declared that instead of solving Kashmir issue in United Nations or by a direct negotiation between India and Pakistan, a meeting between Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass should be held, so that they could negotiate to solve the issue by themselves.⁹⁰ In the absence of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass in politics there was a committee constituted to reorganize the AJ&KMC from the scratch. Pir Zia-ud-Din Andrabi was the President of the committee and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum, A.R.Saghar were the members.⁹¹

Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan had been the member of Colonel Sher Ahmed's Cabinet too. In attempting to cross ceasefire line he was arrested near 'Channari'. So a session at Rawalpindi was held on March 1955, in which Chaudary Ghulam Abbass consulted with leading politicians including Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, A.R.Saghar, and Khawaja Sanaullah Shamim. They differed but finally Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was elected as the President of AJ&KMC (Abbass Group).⁹² During the period of Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan's presidency, there was a serious incidence occurred in 'Palandari'. The cause of the incident was the arrest of 'Ghazi Sherdil Khan'. from 'Palandari Mosque'⁹³

There was a clash between the police and the public. Ghazi Sherdil Khan challenged his arrest in the court on the behalf of local leaders. According to the agreement his bail was not confirmed by the administration. Therefore, the aggrieved persons attacked on Jail and Sherdil Khan was set free.⁹⁴ The administration wanted to arrest him again, so the border police was called to arrest him. The border police was also involved with the group of Sherdil Khan. Then the Punjab constabulary was called to control the situation.⁹⁵ So this incident created intrigues against Pakistani Government. The case of sedition was registered against the public⁹⁶ The Punjab constabulary misbehaved in Tehsil Bagh and particularly in Sudhanoti. Muhammad Ali Bogra was the Prime Minister (1953-1955), and then during the election in Bangal, he was not elected from his constituency in the new Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. So Chaudary Muhammad Ali became Prime Minister of Pakistan⁹⁷ On 11 August 1955.⁹⁸ He had cordial relations with Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass stressed him to do something for Kashmir. He unanimously called an all Parties Conference for the Kashmir's solution at Karachi.⁹⁹

3.6 All Parties Kashmir Conference and AJ&KMC

Karachi was the Capital of Pakistan at that time. The Prime Minister of Pakistan Chaudary Muhammad Ali called All Parties Kashmir Conference under his own Presidentship on 26 November 1955 at the 'Sindh Assembly Hall'. In this conference 70 prominent personalities were invited¹⁰⁰ from East Pakistan and West Pakistan. There were hundreds of leaders who participated. Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi (1892-1963) was the leader of the opposition in Central Legislative Assembly. The Kashmiri leaders met him.

They complained against the Minister of Kashmir Affairs.¹⁰¹ In this convention Chaudary Ghulam Abbass Khan, President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, Colonel Ali Ahmed Shah, Agha Ishaq Hussain, Pir Zia-ud-Din Andrabi, Chaudary Noor Hussain,¹⁰² Chaudary Hammeedullah, Qureshi Muhammad Yousuf and Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah were present.¹⁰³

The Prime Minister Chaudary Muhammad Ali inaugurated and repeated all resolution and suggestions which were passed by the Security Council, besides this he explained all circumstance and events. He described that Pakistan accepted every solution but India always refused. He constituted a committee consisting of H.S.Suharwardi, Justice Sheikh Din Muhammad to prepare the resolution then the resolution was presented by Hussain Shahced Suharwardi in the conference and Mian Muhammad Mumtaz Daultana seconded the resolution. This resolution was accepted unanimously by the house.¹⁰⁴

The resolution was important in the connection that diverse elements of the parties of All Jammu and Kashmir were addressed to unite themselves and be prepared for rehabilitation of the refugees as for as reorganization of the Kashmiri people for the struggle (Jihad). The following resolutions were passed. (i) The establishment of a representative and practical Government in Azad Jammu & Kashmir. (ii) The arrangement for unity among different factions of the AJ&KMC. (iii) The construction and public works in Azad Jammu & Kashmir with the help of the Pakistan Government. (iv) The immediate solution of Kashmiri refugees and their settlement.(v) To prepare the

Kashmiri people for struggle (Jihad)¹⁰⁵ All these tasks would be performed jointly by the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and the AJ&KMC. A few differences appeared in this conference but their nature was nominal. All of them accepted the resolution. It was a unique aspect of this conference.¹⁰⁶The prominent lawyer of Kashmiri origin Sheikh Din Muhammad was appointed as the Minister of Kashmir Affairs so that under his supervision the political condition of Azad Jammu and Kashmir could be balanced.¹⁰⁷ The Prime Minister of Pakistan took personal interest to address the differences between Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and other Kashmir leaders because he had an idea that Nawab Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani and Shahab Qureshi had created a friction among Kashmiri leadership therefore the Kashmir dispute and rehabilitation of the refugees had been facing immense loss.¹⁰⁸Accordingly, he appointed Sheikh Din Muhammad, a capable person, to resolve the differences between the party and the Government.

This initiative which was taken by the Government of Pakistan brought and took Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass closer to each other. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan played a significant role to arrange the negotiations between these prominent leaders. There was also mobilization of politics. The role of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was to convince Mir Waiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah to cooperate with Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan were appreciable and they called a meeting at Abbotabad¹⁰⁹ with Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. He warmly welcomed both the leaders. In Abbotabad, at the residence of Chaudary Zubair the meeting was held. Both the groups participated in the meeting with a reconciliatory note. On this

occasion Chaudary Ghulam Abbass declared that he has no desire of any position. He suggested that Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan should be the President of the party and the Government should be answerable to him.¹¹⁰ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was offered that both the positions, the president of the party as well the president of Government.¹¹¹ Chaudary Ghulam Abbass requested to struck off his name from the Presidentship of Government and he included the name of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan instead of him. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan accepted this decision.¹¹²

In May 1956, the Government of Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan was ceased to exist and on 1 June 1956 Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah was appointed as the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. It was his second time as the President in the Azad Jammu and Kashmir history. During this tenure he was the head of the government without any minister and advisor.¹¹³ This was the time when AJ&KMC was in process of organizing its groups. After his Presidentship from 1 June¹¹⁴ 1956 to 6 September 1956 (3 months six days), all parties AJ&KMC Convention was held in Muzaffarabad on 8 September 1956,¹¹⁵ called United Convention of AJ&KMC¹¹⁶ under the Presidentship to Chaudary Ghulam Abbass Khan. All the groups of AJ&KMC participated in this convention. Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah refused to attend and went to Rawalpindi because he blamed that his workers are being ignored by the said convention.¹¹⁷ He was terminated from the Presidentship. In this convention all the workers and supporters of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan were present except Mir Abdul Aziz.¹¹⁸ Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and annoyed members participated.¹¹⁹ This convention reenergized the somber political atmosphere in Muzaffarabad, as few years

ago.¹²⁰ In this convention under the Presidentship of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Khurshid-ul-Hasan Khurshid (1924-1988) nominated Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum for the Presidentship of AJ&KMC and A.R. Saghar suggested the name of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan as the 'President'. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass declared that he had suggested Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan as the President of the Party AJ&KMC too. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was nominated as the head of the Government. This decision was accepted by the Executive Body of the AJ&KMC¹²¹ Chaudary Ghulam Abbass remarked:

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan is my General and I am his soldier. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan has to run government and he himself has to work to make way for the 'Freedom Movement' of Jammu and Kashmir. The whole nation should be prepared for 'Jihad'.¹²²

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan assented to the same notion. He was convinced that crises in politics of Azad Jammu and Kashmir did exist. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was elected as the President of the Government instead of Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah.¹²³ Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan's cabinet consisted of Raja Muhammad Haider Khan, Maulavi Muhammad Noor Din Prof. M.A.Aziz, Colonel Rehmatullah Khan, Chaudary Muhammad Hussain Minister and Syed Muhammad Amin Gillani, Raja Fiaz-ur-Rehman, eight Minister's cabinet. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass did not agree with Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan to constitute the cabinet. He kept on trying for that up to three or four months.¹²⁴ On 8 September 1956 Prime Minister of Pakistan Chaudary Muhammad Ali resigned and H.S.Suharwardi became the Prime Minister of Pakistan.¹²⁵ (12 September 1956 to 18 October 1957) H.S.Suharwardi was of the view of converting AJ&KMC into 'People's Muslim

Conference'¹²⁶ which will supposedly act as a branch of Pakistan People's Awami League Conference.¹²⁷ He formed 'Awami League' under the Presidentship of Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah in those days, H.S.Suharwardi replaced Chaudary Ghulam Abbass from the Chairmanship of 'Kashmir Refugee Council' and appointed Sheikh Din Muhammad as new chairman.¹²⁸ H.S.Suharwardi was not agreed but Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan formed the cabinet on advice of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.¹²⁹ When Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah became the President of 'Awami League' Pir Zia-ud-Din Andrabi, Muhammad Yousuf Qureshi, Professor Ishaq Qureshi, Raja Abdul Hamid Khan, Chaudary Hamidullah Khan, Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan¹³⁰ campaigned against Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah was pressurized to oust Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan from his Government¹³¹.

H.S.Suharwardi negotiated with him to remove Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. This matter was also discussed with Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. He did not agree to remove Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan and put this issue up to AJ&KMC's high command.¹³² The Charge sheet against Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was prepared to remove him from the Presidentship of the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. One of the accusations was his interaction with Captain Khan Muhammad Khan who had secretly quit Azad Jammu and Kashmir and had gone to the occupied Kashmir.¹³³ On 13 March 1957, the president of the party Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan called the session of the Executive Council in Muzaffarabad. Out of 21 members of the Council only 9 members attended the meeting.¹³⁴ By a resolution, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was removed from the Presidentship, on behalf of

H.S.Suharwardi.¹³⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan became the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir government, being the President of AJ&KMC as well.¹³⁶ There was no stir on this decision except by Muhammad Amin Mukhtar.¹³⁷ Khawaja Ghulam Din Wani, Syed Nazir Hussain Shah, Raja Abdul Hamid Khan, Hakim Maulavi Muhammad Hussain were new members of cabinet¹³⁸ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan tried to get support from old friends of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, the circumstances in which Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan became the President of Azad Jammu & Kashmir, was very difficult to stay united.

The active group from Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan had been separated. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan appointed Amin Mukhtar as the Joint Secretary of the AJ&KMC, to bring the workers united but differences developed¹³⁹ On 18 October 1957, H.S.Suharwardi resigned from the Primiership and I.I.Chandrigar became the sixth Prime Minister of Pakistan. There was political crisis in Pakistan; this development affected the politics of Azad Jammu and Kashmir too. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was the President of Azad Jammu & Kashmir as well as the head of the party "AJ&KMC". This phenomenon became completed with policies of Hussain Shahced Suharwardi, who had left no soft corner for Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.

It was necessary for Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan to keep distance from Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.¹⁴⁰ At the time of third Presidentship of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan 'Quaid-i-Kashmir' wrote two suggestions for Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan that he should keep one post. Presidentship of the party should be handed over to senior vice president or to an active person within the party. The cabinet should be

constituted of his own will to run the job smoothly.¹⁴¹ All these instructions were accepted by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan verbally but he did not transfer the position of 'Party's Head'.¹⁴² Therefore, under the constitution of the party, "AJ&KMC", the General Council's meeting was called for the election within the party. For this purpose, the standing committee was formed under the Presidentship of Raja Muhammad Haider Khan.¹⁴³ All branches of the AJ&KMC were dissolved by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.¹⁴⁴

3.7 AJ&KMC's Liberation Movement 1958

On 16 December 1957,¹⁴⁵ Malik Feroz Khan Noon became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Feroz Khan Noon had a tussle with Mumtaz Daultana in Punjab. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had personal and ideological relations, so the friction between Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan remained as it was before.¹⁴⁶ These differences came to surface when Fatima Jinnah visited Muzaffarabad. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan hosted a dinner for her but Chaudary Ghulam Abbass did not join this function.¹⁴⁷ Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had a desire to change the Presidentship of Azad Jammu and Kashmir's Government and launched the campaign that an impartial personality should be made the President.¹⁴⁸ On 4 May 1958, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass wrote a letter to Prime Minister of Pakistan Malik Feroz Khan Noon to try to stop the persecution in occupied Kashmir. There should termination of relations with India. It was demanded by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass on 26 April 1958, when the Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon visited Muzaffarabad,¹⁴⁹ One group of the AJ&KMC, led

by Raja Haider Khan, protested against Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in Muzaffarabad. Now Chaudary Ghulam Abbass steered the movement. It was

The most dramatic action of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass's career in Pakistan was his formation of the Kashmir Liberation Front, at the time of the release in January, 1958 from 'Kud Jail' and then re-arrest in April of the same year of Sheikh Abdullah. This created a strong reaction in Pakistan and there was a countrywide demand for action. The Kashmir Liberation Movement was lasted from 15 June 1958 to 27 June to break the ceasefire line and start peaceful movement in occupied Kashmir with the slogan 'Kashmir Chalo'. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was President and Justice Muhammad Yousuf Saraf Secretary General. At the time Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was the President of Azad Jammu & Kashmir's Government for the second time¹⁵⁰

Thousands of Kashmiris participated in demonstration and hundreds were arrested in Azad Jammu & Kashmir. Meetings were held in Rawalpindi, Gugrat, Jehlum and Sialkot.¹⁵¹

Abbass gathered together with various leaders of Azad Jammu & Kashmir such as Sardar Abdul Qayyum, Justice Yousuf Saraf and K.H.Khurshid organized the march, the object of which was to liberate the Kashmiris in occupied Kashmir. During the march to Muzaffarabad he himself was arrested, along with two ex-presidents of Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan and Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, and a veteran worker for 931 days in Kashmir, a colleague of Chaudary Ghulam, A.R.Saghar¹⁵²

Before this movement, on 19 June 1958, the President of Pakistan Sikandar Mirza called Chaudary Ghulam Abbass in Nathia Galli. It was personally requested that he would not try to cross over the ceasefire line. There were so many problems and there would be dangerous results, but Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was firm in his decision.¹⁵³ It was also pointed out that the movement of AJ&KMC to break the ceasefire line was suggested by Sikandar Mirza with the agreement of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass for the purpose of imposing the Martial Law in Pakistan. It was also decided by the Government that they would be arrested before crossing of ceasefire line. The slogan was 'Chalo

Chalo Kashmir Chalo' meant 'Lagao Lagao Martial Law Lagao'.¹⁵⁴ On 25 June 1958, the President of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan condemned breaking the ceasefire line, and he accused Chaudary Ghulam Abbass that behind that movement there were some political motives. After arresting Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, protests and demonstrations were held in Rawalpindi, Muzaffarabad, Murree and Jhelum. In Muzaffarabad there was "Latthi Charge" and hundreds of volunteers were arrested. On 28 June, 1958 it was announced that no body would be allowed to enter Azad Jammu & Kashmir without permission. On the same day the volunteers of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass were arrested in Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Abbottabad and Kohala. Chaudary Muhammad Ali Ex-Prime Minister resigned from the Kashmir Committee of the Government of Pakistan on protest.¹⁵⁵

On 30 June 1958, there was a demonstration in the favour of Kashmir Liberation Movement in Lahore. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was released from Rawalpindi Jail on the same day. After release from the jail he declared that the Kashmiris could not be deprived of their home land. He was arrested again in the evening. On 1 July 1958, a severe clash happened between police and Kashmiri volunteers in Sialkot. Due to this, there was a complete strike in the city.¹⁵⁶ On 4 July 1958, in Government house Lahore, a meeting was held in which the President Sikandar Mirza, Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon, Commander in chief General Ayub Khan (1907-1974), Chief Minister of West Pakistan Gurmani with his cabinet were present. Ayub Khan kept keen interest about the Ghulam Abbass's 'Freedom Movement'.¹⁵⁷ It was decided that the movement would be stopped with an iron hand. It would not be allowed to create any disturbance in the

country.¹⁵⁸ Next day the Prime Minister announced that Pakistan in any condition would not start war against India.¹⁵⁹ “It was an irony of fate that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was imprisoned in Indian Jail, while Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, who had supported the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan was detained in a Pakistani Jail”¹⁶⁰ The movement of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass continued almost for two and half months when on 8 October 1958, the Martial Law was imposed in Pakistan by General Ayub Khan.¹⁶¹ With the proclamation of Martial Law in Pakistan, all the detainees were released¹⁶² so that in different jails one hundred leaders and workers were released,¹⁶³ Ayub Khan declared in Dhaka procession that ‘Pakistan abides by the promise that for the freedom of Kashmiri people up to the last step in which war was included’ will be taken.

Chaudary Ghulam Abbass expressed satisfaction over this declaration. On 15 January 1959, he declared in Sialkot that movement had been halted temporarily. He expressed that ‘he had no interest to be in power but it did not mean that in Azad Jammu & Kashmir the situation would not be made better.’¹⁶⁴ He politely indicated the dismissal of the Presidentship of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan had cordial relations with Lieutenant General Azam Khan.¹⁶⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan did not care for the Presidential protocol of Ayub Khan. He was not present at ‘Chaklala’ Airport as well as in the function of ‘Anjuman-e-Hamayat-e-Islam’ Lahore. In this perspective the joint secretary of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs sent message to Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan to resign from the Presidentship. Therefore, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and his cabinet presented their resignations. On 20 April 1959, the Minister of Kashmir Affairs¹⁶⁶ proposed the name of K.H.Khurshid for

the Presidentship of Azad Jammu and Kashmir ¹⁶⁷On 27 April 1959, the session of Executive Body of the AJ&KMC under the Presidentship of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was held. The executive council elected K.H.Khurshid as the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir unanimously.¹⁶⁸ K.H. Khurshid's consent was also taken for three months so that within time the reorganization of the AJ&KMC could be completed.¹⁶⁹ On 1 May 1959, K.H.Khurshid took over the power of the President and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan resigned from the post of the President. At the time Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was also the head of AJ&KMC, his opponent workers tried to deprive him of the party headship.

In those days M.Z.Kayani was the chief advisor of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. He tried to do so, at the time when Secretary General of AJ&KMC was Khawaja Ghulam din Wani and Syed Nazir Hussain Shah was the senior Vice President. They called the executive body's session in Muzaffarabad, and they terminated Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan from the party. When Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan heard this news, he terminated both of them from their posts. After that Chaudary Ghulam Abbass's group called the session of Executive Body in Muzaffarabad, in which Raja Haider Khan was unanimously appointed as President of supreme committee. And the reorganization of the AJ&KMC was spelt out and the administrative secretaries of the AJ&KMC were announced in the annual session.¹⁷⁰

Muhammad Ayub Khan, the Chief Martial Law Administrator and the President of Pakistan, visited Muzaffarabad on 1 November 1959.¹⁷¹ He appreciated ¹⁷² the personality of K.H.Khurshid as the President of Government Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

The Martial Law Government wanted to introduce the new political system called 'Local Self Government'. The first experiment commenced in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The President of Azad Jammu & Kashmir K.H.Khurshid himself wanted democracy in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.¹⁷³ Before this system there was the presidential form of the Government which was rectified by the rules of business as it was related and influenced by Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. It was the time to separate the Government from Ministry of Kashmir and based its [AJ&K] Government on democratic process.¹⁷⁴ K.H Khurshid as the president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir ammended the Rules of Business of 1958 and enforced Azad Jammu and Kashmir Democratic Act, 1960.

On 16 September 1960, in a press conference Muzaffarabad he enforced the 'Basic Democratic System'. He admired that the basic democratic system would increase the political process in the State (Azad Jammu and Kashmir) and would bring the revolution in the life and it would support the movement.¹⁷⁵ The electoral college of basic democratic system consisted of twenty four hundreds counselors.

They were chosen by twelve hundred from Azad Jammu & Kashmir and twelve hundreds counselors from refugees who were settled in Pakistan. That State council consisted of twenty members, twelve from Azad Jammu & Kashmir and twelve from refugees settled in Pakistan. The State council had to elect the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.¹⁷⁶ Before the Presidential Election in Azad Jammu & Kashmir, EBDA was enforced by the President. It was as like as the EBDO which was constituted in Pakistan for the politicians.¹⁷⁷ Though this act, it was compulsory for those who had been the President, Minister, Advisor or Government Servant to get certificates from the tribunal

for the election of President or State Council up to 15 October 1958. The head of the tribunal was a retired senior Judge Syed Abdul Latif Shah.¹⁷⁸ The AJ&KMC opposed the EBDA but to no avail. According to the Act it was necessary to appear before this tribunal. Those who appeared before this tribunal and got clearance it was proved that the elements who were participating in the election had nothing against them in corruption.¹⁷⁹ Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan appeared before this single bench. The tribunal gave clearance to him in splendid diction and wrote the verses of Allama Muhammad Iqbal in the end of the decision;

Fitrat Kay Maqasid ki Karta Hia Nigheban

Ya Banda-e-Sehrai, Ya Mard-e-Kohistani.¹⁸⁰

Those who did not appear before tribunal were disqualified for the elections. They were Chaudary Ghulam Abbas, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Colonel Sher Ahmed Khan, Yousuf Buch and some others.¹⁸¹ They were disqualified for the six years, it was up to 31 December 1967. The disqualification of Chaudary Ghulam Abbas was criticized by the politicians, journalists, intelligentsia and public representatives in Pakistan and Azad Jammu & Kashmir.¹⁸² On 21 June 1967, in Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Pakistan, the day of condemnation 'Yom-i-Muzamat' was organized. K.H.Khurshid was also criticized bitterly. The demonstration meetings and resolutions were passed against this system.¹⁸³

The Presidential election was announced on 20 November 1960 under the basic democratic system in which 2400 local counselors were to be elected on the base of adult franchise. According to this system on¹⁸⁴ 7 October 1961, the Presidential election was

held. The following persons participated in the Presidential election: K.H.Khurshid (Sitting President), Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was representing AJ&KMC Abbass Group, Pir Ali Jan Shah was the candidate of AJ&KMC Ibrahim Group, Khawaja Ghulam Nabi Gulkar, Chaudary Sultan Ali and . Muhammad Dawood.¹⁸⁵ The results of this election were as follow. K.H.Khurshid obtained 951 votes, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan obtained 923 votes, Pir Ali Jan Shah obtained 209 votes, Khawaja Ghulam Nabi Gulkar obtained 29 votes, Dawood obtained 07 votes and Chaudary Sultan Ali obtained 145 votes.¹⁸⁶

Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan protested against this rigging and demanded new elections. Raja Muhammad Haider Khan also protested against this rigging and he demonstrated in Muzaffarabad and was arrested by the Government. K.H.Khurshid possessed all the administrative powers. There were 85 votes less than those of Khurshid-ul-Hassan Khurshid. It was the defeat which raised the personality of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan as the strong leader of the AJ&KMC nominated by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass in the Presidential elections. It was a drawback by which the AJ&KMC were divided into two groups. Advantage went to the hands of K.H. Khurshid.¹⁸⁷ Both the groups of the AJ&KMC failed in the election.¹⁸⁸

There was a friction of leadership within AJ&KMC far past twelve years and its result was clear before eyes. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass had complete public confidence and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan became as a famous leader. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan took a serious political decision in electing a weak candidate Pir Ali Jan Shah. Their group got scattered, General Secretary Khawaja Ameen and

Khawaja Ghulam Wani made contact with AJ&KMC. Chaudary Khadim Hussain brother of Chaudary Noor Hussain had joined AJ&KMC. On November 1961, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass announced an Executive Council under the presidentship of Khawaja Ameen Mukhtar. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, Ghazi Elahi Baksh, Khawaja Ghulam Din Wani and Chaudary Khadim Hussain were included in its members.¹⁸⁹

The election worsened reputation of Ayub Khan. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass pointed out this situation in a letter written to Ayub Khan. He highlighted the corruption and rigging in Presidential election of Azad Jammu & Kashmir. "The character of worst politician is even ashamed by them, on this most important problem, your interruption is essential in these circumstances"¹⁹⁰

Khawaja Muhammad Amin Mukhtar who was the General Secretary of AJ&KMC (Ibrahim Group) announced merging of their group into Chaudary Ghulam Abbass's group. It was a great political shock for Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. He left the Azad Jammu & Kashmir's politics and joined the 'Nizam-i-Islam' party on November 1957, and Abbass group was also silent on this situation.¹⁹¹ On 30 September¹⁹²1962, K.H. Khurshid constituted the new political party named 'Liberation League' under his Presidentship. The AJ&KMC's workers, some of them from both groups joined K.H. Khurshid's Liberation League.¹⁹³ The basic and essential point of the Liberation League was that the Government of Pakistan had admitted Azad Jammu & Kashmir Government as the successor to the Government of Maharaja Hari Singh and it should try to get it recognized this from other countries also.¹⁹⁴

During the Presidentship of K.H Khurshid the AJ&KMC was divided into two major groups, one was working under the leadership of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and second was headed by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. When Martial Law was imposed in Pakistan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was the President of United AJ&KMC in Azad Jammu & Kashmir, after his resignation the clashes between Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan started again, therefore, after the resignation of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, he was arrested on 13 November 1959 from Rawalpindi, he remained for 28 days in 'Central Jail' Rawalpindi.¹⁹⁵ After release from Jail on 11 December 1959, he called the session of his Executive Body in Rawalpindi, a lot of his friends came in session, in this session he announced reorganization of the party. The group of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was much active.¹⁹⁶

While Chaudary Ghulam Abbass called his standing committee's session in Muzaffarabad. By this session the standing committee was elected under the Presidentship of Raja Muhammad Haider Khan and the Secretary General was Muhammad Yousuf Saraf.¹⁹⁷ The committee was presided over by Khawaja Amin Mukhtar; the members were Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum, Raja Muhammad Haider Khan, Ghazi Elahi Bakhksh, Khawaja Ghulam Din Wani and Chaudary Khadim Hussain. On 6 and 7 May 1961, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass group called the convention at Muzaffarabad but Sardar Ibrahim Khan condemned this convention and he proclaimed that the real AJ&KMC was that which he headed. When the friction rose between two groups of AJ&KMC K.H. Khurshid being the President of the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir remained aloof from the group of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.¹⁹⁸ On 22 October

1961, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan called the convention at Rawalakot in this convention Bagh, Sudhanoti, Muzaffarabad and Valley of Kashmir's workers participated enormously. In this session Khawaja Muhammad Amin Mukhtar became the Secretary General of AJ&KMC (Ibrahim Group).¹⁹⁹ Same year Chaudary Ghulam Abbass's group held session in Muzaffarabad. In this session Muhammad Ayub Khan was bitterly criticized by Raja Muhammad Haider Khan, he said Ayub Khan as a 'Kaghzi Field Marital' this developed more difference between Ayub Khan and Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.²⁰⁰

On November 1961, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass constituted the supreme committee, the chairman was Khawaja Muhammad Amin Mukhtar and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, Raja Muhammad Haider Khan, Ghazi Elahi Bakhsh, Khawaja Ghulam Din Wani and Chaudary Khadim Hussain were the members of the supreme committee. The committee announced that the member of electoral college must resigned against the rigging in the election of Azad Jammu & Kashmir, hundred of the resignations were presented, then this supreme committee declared the boycott of the State council, there fore, the favorites of K.H.Khurshid succeeded²⁰¹

After the election Chaudary Ghulam Abbass visited Muzaffarabad, Bagh and every where he spoke enthusiastically and demanded for fair and free election.²⁰² The politics in Kashmir had many dimensions which created depression, due to this Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan gave up the practical politics in Azad Jammu and Kashmir in 1961. On May 1962, the 31 annual session of AJ&KMC (Abbass Group) was held in Mirpur under the Presidentship of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. To keep in view all the

The leaders from both groups of AJ&KMC had made an alliance. As a result Sardar Ibrahim Khan separated himself from the politics of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He assured Chaudary Ghulam Abbass of his support and became a member of Nizam-i Islam party of Chaudary Muhammad Ali while joining Pakistan politics. On the appointment of Central Joint Secretary of AJ&KMC the workers of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass group were frustrated and the workers from Poonch also, they all were disappointed. In these despair circumstances the meeting of workers belonged to Poonch was called on 9 January 1962 at Rawalakot by Sardar Mukhtar Khan and a new party Azad Jammu and Kashmir AJ&KMC was formed. Majority of workers from Sardar Ibrahim Khan's Group joined this new party. The founder members of this party were Sardar Suleman Khan, Maulana Abdul Aziz Thorarvi, Sardar Muhammad Khan and Sardar Said Muhammad Khan.²⁰⁸

3.8 AJ&KMC's Pleading the Kashmir Issue in UNO

According to Lord Mountbatten's suggestions India ultimately decided to refer the case of Kashmir to the United Nations, and on 1 January 1948, filed a formal complaint against Pakistan in the Security Council.²⁰⁹ India's case was argued by Gopal Swami Ayyanger Ex-Prime Minister of Kashmir. Besides others, Ayyanger was assisted by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, head of the administration in Srinagar. Pakistani case was pleaded by Chaudary Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan.²¹⁰ It was reported that Sir Gopal Swami Ayyanger and Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah quarreled and serious differences occurred between them. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah blamed Sir Gopal Swami Ayyanger an incompetent person to the task and

being no match to Chaudary Sir Zafarullah Khan, while Sir Gopal Swami Ayyanger condemned Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah for his discrete speech.

This was one of the reasons that India's delegation suddenly decided to windup and return to Delhi. All this was based on information that Sheikh Abdullah's workers meet Dr M.D.Taseer²¹¹ every evening. He was the secretary of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Both Sardar Ibrahim and M.D.Taseer went to United Nations for pleading the Kashmir Issue. Though, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan did not address the United Nations.²¹² "On 3 November, the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government leaders²¹³ appealed to several heads of governments, including Clement Attlee, Harry Truman, Joseph Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek, through the Secretary General of the UN, Trygve Lie, to recognize its legitimacy. But the status of Azad Jammu and Kashmir has never been legally defined in international terms.²¹⁴

During 1948, the Security Council constituted a UNCIP, which reached Karachi on 7 July, 1948 to discuss with both the Governments of India and Pakistan and immediately started to explore the possibilities of an immediate ceasefire in Kashmir. Suggestion of a ceasefire was discussed at a formal meeting of the Commission held on July 23 in New Delhi which was attended by the Pakistan representatives from 10 July to 13 August, the commission held a number of meetings and discussion, both with the Governments of India and Pakistan. Chaudary Ghulam Abbas Khan and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan also met the Commission in Kashmir, and discussed various aspects of the Kashmir problem.... This Commission keenly observed the affairs of both

Ibrahim Khan was concerned; he was not provided the opportunity to defend the Kashmir Dispute. However, he addressed the press outside the Security Council and presented the view point of the Kashmiri people.²²⁰ The UN Secretary General, in agreement with the Commission, would formally appoint to office by the Government of Kashmir. He considered necessary for ensuring and holding of a free and impartial plebiscite. Following the implementation of the ceasefire and truce agreement the Commission and the plebiscite administration would determine the final disposal of the Indian armed forces and freedom fighters of Kashmir. All citizens who had migrated on account of disturbance would be free to return and all persons who entered the State illegally since 15 August 1948 and 5 January 1949 should move, so the terms and conditions for the settlement of the Kashmir Dispute could be imposed. Their immediate effect was coming into force of a ceasefire agreement which became effective on 1 January 1949.²²¹ It was obvious that the Commission failed in its efforts aimed at demilitarization.

On 14 March 1950 the Security Council adopted a resolution by virtue of which it wound up the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and in its place created the office of the United Nations Representative for the purpose of demilitarization of the State. The first person to occupy that office was Sir Owen Dixon, a Judge of the Australian High Court and subsequently Chief Justice of Australia.²²²

Commission arrived in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent on 27 May 1950. On a number of occasions Sir Owen Dixon met the representative of India and Pakistan, and some of the Kashmiri leaders,²²³ like Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass elaborated the situation of Kashmir to Owen Dixon. They also revealed the facts about India's contradiction. The ceasefire was not admitted by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, it was the decision of Pakistan Government, and Chaudary

Ghulam Abbass reacted against this decision.²²⁴The suggestion of Sir Owen Dixon Regional plebiscite was put forward for India and Pakistan at that time, for due consideration. AJ&KMC held its Executive Body's session immediately in Government rest house in Muzaffarabad. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass presided over the meeting. After deep consideration, the representatives of Executive Body considered the proposal of Sir Owen Dixer against the spirit of freedom and self determination.²²⁵In this meeting AJ&KMC revived the ideology of the State Jammu and Kashmir. It was determined that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is ideologically, economically, racially, linguistically and geographically united, 'Wahdit' so, this suggestion will destroy the National Identity of the State. The plan of Sir Owen Dixon was rejected²²⁶in the meeting of the General Council, a resolution was passed by the session held on 12 September, 1952, at Rawalakot.

This meeting of the General Council of the AJ&KMC Conference wishes to draw the attention of the United Nations Security Council to the fact that though as a matter of principle the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir is a part of the dominion of Pakistan, the Governments of India as well as of Pakistan have, in their bid to achieve supremacy over Kashmir, usurped the very right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, which action cuts at the very roots of democracy. Despite the fact that the people of Jammu and Kashmir with their State to accede to Pakistan and will continue to strive for realization of this end, the Government of Pakistan have been indulging in Acts of commission and omission which amounts to negation of the right of self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir on this side of the ceasefire line. This meeting of the General Council of the Muslim Conference therefore demand s that the United Nations Security Council should guarantee all fundamental human rights in general and of the rights of self-determination in particular for Jammu and Kashmir people on either sides of the ceasefire line from the Government of India and Pakistan.²²⁷

On 12 September 1952 while addressing the General Council of AJ&KMC Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan enlightened the audience about his lengthy discussion with

honourable Minister of Kashmir Affairs about their rights and aspiration. He predicted that it was impossible to win Kashmir without war and the majority of UNO was against Pakistan. He then recited the resolution adopted by the General Council and told the audience that the Minister of Kashmir Affairs has now realized that the present Government in Azad Jammu and Kashmir could not function.

3.9 Role of AJ&KMC in the Security Council

The International Community was expecting that the Kashmir dispute would be solved soon in a smooth manner. After ceasefire 1 January 1949, a ceasefire line was declared by mutual agreement on 27 July 1949, Secretary General of the United Nations nominated Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, an American, as the plebiscite Administrator on 22 March 1949.²²⁸ "Each side had blamed the other for the impasse, but India had constantly refused to have recourse to arbitration or adjustments to determine which side is to be blamed and what could be done to move toward,"²²⁹ but failed to create consensus to the programme of demilitarization. Regarding the implementation of other point of demilitarization of the Resolution of 13 August 1948, an arbitrator was suggested to resolve the issue.²³⁰

On March 1950 Council passed a resolution disbanding the UNCIP and replacing it by a United Nations Representative to assist towards demilitarization.²³¹ All the plans of mediation made by Sir Owen Dixon and Frank P. Graham²³² could not reach to the decision due to obstinacy of India. The political situation of Pakistan had been changed as many reports were in progress.

Notes and References

- 1 The Daily, *Nawa-i-Waqat*, 30 July 2004 p. 8.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 3 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat Sardar Ibrahim Khan ki Siasi Swan-i-Umri*, (Muzaffarabad: Institute of Kashmir Studies, 2000), p.270.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p.54.
- 5 *AJ&KMC*, File 13 (Islamabad: National Documentation Centre) p. 49.
- 6 The Daily, *Nawa-i-Waqat*, 24 October, 2008.
- 7 N.D.C, file 13, p. 49.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- 10 Sarwar Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, (Rawalpindi : F.I Printers, Kashmir Road, 2008), p. 102.
- 11 Syed Hassan Shah Gardazi, *Personal Diary*, 1947, p. 9
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 10
- 13 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p.113.
- 14 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Hayat-i- Qauid: Chudary Ghulam Abbass*, (Lahore : Maqbool Academy, 1998), p.77.
- 15 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, pp.56-57.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 17 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p.113.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
- 19 C.Balqees Taseer, *The Kashmir of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah*, (Lahore: Feroz Sons (Pvt) Ltd, 1986), p. 184.
- 20 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p.56.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 22 Nazir Ahmed Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*.(Lahore: Al-Faisal Nashran, 2006)., p. 828.
- 23 Saecd Asad, *Jammu and Kashmir Book of Knowledge*, (Muzaffarabad: National Institute of Kashmir Studies, 1997), p.183.
- 24 Azad, *Hayat-i-Qauid*, p. 79.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 26 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 114.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 114.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 29 Keith Callard, *Pakistan a Political Study*, (London: Reskin House George Allen and Unwin (Ltd) Museum Street, 1957), pp. 21-22.
- 30 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 115.
- 31 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 726.

- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 726
- 33 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 115.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 35 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 726.
- 36 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 116.
- 37 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 726
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 726-727.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 41 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 119.
- 42 Zahid Chaudary, *Pakistan ki Siasi Tareekh*, vol 3,(Lahore: Idara Mutala-i-Tareekh, 1990), p. 240.
- 43 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 120.
- 44 Zahid, *Siasi Tareekh*, p. 243.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 244
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- 48 It was only Ibrahim Group, who participated in the election; they were showing interest in the election. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 50 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 120
- 51 Zahid, *Siasi Tareekh*, p. 245. Sarwar Abbasi wrote 15 May which is not correct, p. 120.
- 52 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 120.
- 53 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 59
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 57 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 119.
- 58 Zahid, *Siasi Tareekh*, p. 244.
- 59 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 119.
- 60 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 727.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 727.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 728.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 728.
- 64 He belonged to Palandari, in freedom movement he contributed army role, and he got 'F'akhar-i-Kashmir' 'Sher-i-Jang' titles. His appointment was the challenge for Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.
- 65 Zahid, *Siasi Tareekh*, p. 245.
- 66 He neither took oath nor resigned from the cabinet of Ali Ahmed Shah.

- 67 Sarwar Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 121. Monthly *Rawabit*, vol. Iv, (Muzaffarabad, November 2009), p. 21.
- 68 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 79.
- 69 Monthly *Rawabit*, vol. IV, (Muzaffarabad, November 2009), p. 22...
- 70 Zahid, *Siasi Tareekh*, p. 245
- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- 72 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 121.
- 73 He was well popular person in the freedom movement; he was leading the freedom fighters.
- 74 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 79.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 76 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 122.
- 77 Monthly *Rawabit*, p. 22.
- 78 Masood Ahmed Khan, *Tareekh Sudhanoti*, (Lahore: Izhar Sons, Urdu Bazar, 2004), p.109
- 79 Weekly, *Kasheer*, Rawalpinidi/Muzaffarabad, 5 - 18 December 2006, p. 6.
- 80 Bashir Ahmed Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir: Chaudary Ghulam Abbass*, (Rawalakot : Qureshi Dewan Khana, 1985), p. 126.
- 81 Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, *Kashmakash*, (Islamabad: National Institute of Research and Culture Center, n.d), p. 246.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 84 *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- 85 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 122.
- 86 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 127.
- 87 Abbass, *Kashmakash*, pp. 246-247.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 247.
- 89 Weekly, *Kasheer*, p. 8.
- 90 Abbass, *Kashmakash*, p. 247.
- 91 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 126.
- 92 *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.
- 93 Masood, *Tareekh Sudhanoti*, p. 110.
- 94 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 95 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 97 Thirteen houses were destroyed by dynamite in Plandari and all the weapons were captured, ex-army men were arrested and their pension was detained. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
- 98 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 61.
- 99 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 127.
- 100 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

- 101 Ibrahim Khan, *Mata-i-Zindagi*, (Lahore: Galaxy Press, n.d), p. 209.
- 102 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 127.
- 103 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 81
- 104 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 138.
- 105 *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.
- 106 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
- 107 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 81.
- 108 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- 109 Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was staying in Abbotabad at the time he neglected the all critical grievance which developed within four five years. Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 82
- 110 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 82.
- 111 At the time the President was the head of the Government which was nominated by Head of the AJ&KMC, Party Record, *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 112 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 113 Monthly, *Rawabit*, p. 22.
- 114 Muhmmad Saced Asad, *Kashmiryat*, (Muzaffarabad: Qumi Nisab Bureau Riasat Jammu-wa-Kashmir, 2004), p. 183.
- 115 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 733.
- 116 *Ibid.*, p. 733.
- 117 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 83.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p. 83
- 120 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 121 Hassan, *Personal Diary*, p. 11.
- 122 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, pp. 41-42.
- 123 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 735.
- 124 *Ibid.*, p. 735.
- 125 *Ibid.*, p. 734.
- 126 Mr. Suharwardi belonged to Bangal, the leader of Awami League. Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 142.
- 127 *Ibid.*, p. 142.
- 128 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, pp. 82-83.
- 129 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- 130 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, pp. 84.
- 131 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
- 132 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 142.
- 133 *Ibid.*, p. 142.
- 134 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

- 135 Azad, *Hayat-i- Quaid*, p. 84.
- 136 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
- 137 He was the active worker of the Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan who gave the Statement to the press that now AJ&KMC 's Presidentship would be given to Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 735.
- 138 *Ibid.*, p. 735.
- 139 *Ibid.*, p. 85.
- 140 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 137.
- 141 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 735.
- 142 *Ibid.*, p. 735.
- 143 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 138.
- 144 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 143.
- 145 The Daily, *Nawa-i-Waqat* , Islamabad, 24 October, 2004.
- 146 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 137.
- 147 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 65.
- 148 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 85.
- 149 Weekly *Kasheer*, 5 December to 18 2006.
- 150 Taseer, *The Kashmir of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah*, p. 185.
- 151 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
- 152 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
- 153 Zahid, *Siasi Tareekh*, p. 253.
- 154 Abbass Ahmed Azad, *Kia Sochta ha?* (Kotli: Kashmir Liberary and Culture Society, 1987), pp. 18-19.
- 155 Zahid, *Siasi Tareekh*, p. 253-54.
- 156 *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- 157 *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- 158 *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- 159 *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- 160 Taseer, *The Kashmir of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah*, p. 185
- 161 Zahid, *Siasi Tareekh*, p. 254:
- 162 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 153.
- 163 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 164 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 165 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 166 It was told that he was the right hand of Ayub Khan. By dint of General Azam, Sardar Muhmmad Ibrahim Khan remained at the post. He conceived the favour in center but it was not done by him.
- 167 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 153.
- 168 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

- 169 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- 170 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 739.
- 171 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, pp. 67-68.
- 172 Abdul Qayyum Khan, *Kashmir Bana-i-ga Pakistan*, (Al Farooq Book Foundation, 1981), p. 180. K.H. Khurshid who accompanied with Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as Private Secretary, he worked with him, he was an intelligent person, his thinking was very extensive.
- 173 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 739-40.
- 174 *Ibid.*, p. 740.
- 175 *Ibid.*, p. 741.
- 176 *Ibid.*, p. 741
- 177 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 159.
- 178 Latif Shah was well known as 'Phansi Shah' in advocate community, in Azad Jammu and Kashmir he was known as 'Ebda Shah'. Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p.157.
- 179 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 741.
- 180 *Ibid.*, p. 741.
- 181 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 159.
- 182 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- 183 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 163.
- 184 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 742. Abbasi wrote the election date on 6 October 1961.
- 185 *Ibid.*, p. 742.
- 186 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 161.
- 187 *Ibid.*, p. 162.
- 188 Sardar Mukhtar Khan, *Azadi Ka Khawab-i-Pareshan*, (Rawalakot: Mr.Books, 2005), p. 117
- 189 Sarwar Abbasi, *Siasiat Kashmir*, P. 162.
- 190 On this important issue, your interruption is essential in these circumstances. Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, P.184.
- 191 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 720.
- 192 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 823.
- 193 Hassan Shah Gardarzi who was the leader of AJ&KMC , left the AJ&KMC and joined the Liberation League. Hassan Shah, *Personal Diary*, p. 72.
- 194 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 72.
- 195 *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
- 196 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 197 Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, p. 88.
- 198 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 70.
- 199 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 200 *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- 201 Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, p. 91.

- 202 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 203 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 190.
- 204 Azad, *Hayat-i-Qauid*, p. 92.
- 205 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 190.
- 206 Azad, *Hayat-i-Qauid*, p. 92.
- 207 *Ibid.*, p. 192.
- 208 Mukhtar Khan, *Ibid.*, pp. 117-118. Note: The common opinion about this Party was that Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan is leading this new party. But this concept was not true.
- 209 M.Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis*. (America: University of Minnesota, 1988), p. 28.
- 210 Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, p. 142.
- 211 Taseer, the full name was Dr. Muhammad Din Taseer (1902-1950). He was the prominent poet and educationist, born in Amritsar, he served in Islamia College Lahore as an English Lecturer. He went England for Ph.D, he was the first Indian who got this pride. He remained as the principal of Srinagar College. After the emergence of Pakistan he remained the principal of Islamia College Lahore, a great name in English literature. *Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia*, 1987, p.367.
- 212 Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, pp. 143-144.
- 213 These leaders belonged to the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference which was the political party of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.
- 214 Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in the cross fire*, (London: Blooms Buvy Square, I.B.Tauris and Co Ltd, Victoria House, 1966), p. 181.
- 215 Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, p. 148.
- 216 Both the leader were belonging to the party of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, one was the supreme head of Government Azad Jammu and Kashmir and head of the party second was the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government. These were the prominent leaders of Kashmir. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 217 Victoria, *Kashmir in the cross fire*, p. 181.
- 218 Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, p. 160.
- 219 Ibrahim Khan, *Mata-i-Zindigî* (Lahore: Galaxy Press, n.d), p. 183.
- 220 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat Sardar Ibrahim Khan ki Siasi Swan-i- Umri*, (Muzaffarabad Institute of Kashmir Studies, 2000), p. 37.
- 221 Ijaz, *Kashmir Dispute*, p. 20.
- 222 *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
- 223 Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, p. 168.
- 224 Bashir Ahmed Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir: Chaudary Ghulam Abbass*, (Rawalakot : Qureshi Dewan Khana, 1985), p. 101.
- 225 Ghulam Ahmed Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi ki Dehleez Per*, (Rawalpindi: Jang Publisher, 1991),p. 273.
- 226 *Ibid.*, p. 273.
- 227 *All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference*, File 12 (Islamabad: National Documentation Centre), p. 169.
- 228 S.M. Burke, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, p. 34.

229 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

230 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

231 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

232 On 30 April 1951 the Council appointed Frank P. Graham, a former US senator from North Carolina as the new UN representative. Graham submitted six reports to the Council. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Chapter 4

AJ&KMC Party Struggle, Role and Reconciliation (1962-1970)

4.1 Party's Political Struggle

Meanwhile Indo Sino frontier War of 1962 erupted. The US President John Fitzgerald Kennedy and British Prime Minister convinced President Ayub Khan to be impartial in this war and not to take any advantage, for this purpose they assured him to play their role in the solution of Kashmir problem through negotiation. The UK and US joint envoy to the commonwealth Mr. Dunken Seondies got Indo-Pak signed a document calling it a historical document but the head of AJ&KMC Chaudary Ghulam Abbass called it a nuisance document.¹ In the light of these documents, negotiations were held in mid December 1962 and mid May 1963. Six rounds of negotiation were held there between Pakistani Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian Foreign Minister Sardar Suran Singh in which Kashmir issue was discussed in detail. On September 29, 30 K.H.Khurshid announced his own political party named Liberation League.

The word 'liberation' means 'Azadi' firstly the part our party's name. Before this party AJ&KMC, People's Conference and Awami Conference were present but we used the word liberation. Our policy has been that the rest of Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Gilgit and Baltistan areas are the part of Kashmir. We demand that all of these areas consist of Government of Azad Jammu & Kashmir restored powers that Government empowered to take steps for the freedom of Kashmir at its peak with devotion and keen interest. We demand for the representation of Gilgit and Baltistan in the legislative assembly of Azad Jammu & Kashmir for the preparation of common strategy to improve the struggle for freedom.²

During the negotiation between Z.A. Bhutto and Suran Singh, on 17 December 1962 the head of AJ&KMC Chaudary Ghulam Abbass arranged an All Parties Conference at Ambassador Hotel Lahore in which the leader of all political parties and religious parties of Pakistan participated. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, Raja Muhammad Haider Khan, Colonel Ali Ahmed Shah, A.R. Saghar, Colonel Sher Ahmed and Professor Muhammad Ishaq Qureshi participated from Azad Jammu & Kashmir. Mir Waiz Muhammad Yousuf Shah and K.H.Khurshid kept themselves apart.³H.S.Suharwardi suggested Chaudary Ghulam Abbass to head the session which was seconded by Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din. H.S.Suharwardi remarked about the vision of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass in these words.

Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, by arranging this conference, not only represented only Kashmiri people but also obliged people of Pakistan and all of us. We gathered here after a long pause and we exchanged our views, misunderstandings are removed. In this way gathering of people of different views at one place to discuss National issues is in fact a great achievement and this initiative is taken by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.

In this session another resolution was adopted in which among other issues it was asked to hold plebiscite under the auspices of UNO. An action committee was formed to ensure the resolution to be duly adopted; its chairman was Chaudary Ghulam Abbass whereas Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din, H.S.Suharwardi, *Maulana* Mududi and Chaudary Muhammad Ali were among the members. The first negotiation round of Bhutto and Suran Singh was held in Karachi, this news was sever concern and untrusting that the Pakistani delegation was agreed to put aside the right of self determination of the Kashmiris and become ready to discuss the various aspects for the division of Kashmir. So, the head of All Parties Kashmir Committee Chaudary Ghulam Abbass concerned

another session on 3,4 March 1963 at Lahore. It was declared in the resolution that if Pakistan talks about the division of Kashmir it would be moral death for Pakistan and it was totally deviation of its pledges which it had always made to Kashmiris. On 12 March 1963, a further resolution was passed in which Kashmir Day was proposed to be celebrated and decided to held meetings and processions. It was also mentioned that resolution of Division of Kashmir was not acceptable even to the Pakistani people; no resolution other than the plebiscite was acceptable and if any compromise was made the Pakistani Nation would not be a party, so negotiation ended without any conclusion.⁴

Meanwhile on 22 March 1963 Sino-Pak frontier agreement was signed which was the beginning of friendly relations between two countries and relations were turned deeper than oceans and higher than the mountains. There were exciting words of the members of China. In Pakistan the Karakorm high way from Hassanabdal to Khanjrab pass to the led mark of Pak-Sino friendship. The Sino-Pak agreement was unpleasant and burning fire for India and America was also unpleasant too. During the Indo-China conflict and Sino-Pak friendship and Indo-Pak negotiation, the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Head of Liberation League took another step to get Azad Jammu and Kashmir a recognized independent State. For this purpose Raja Muhammad Yaqoob Khan Information Secretary, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed Pandit Director Information and Barrister Muhammad Ishaq from Northern Areas were appointed. This committee was deputed to hold dialogue with international embassies. The purpose was to extend thanks to international community for the support regarding the fight of self-determination for the Kashmiris and also to convince them that government of Azad Jammu & Kashmir would be negotiating to friendly democrat countries to recognize the government of

AJ&K as the true representative and lawful authority of the State.⁵ AJ&KMC was a national dignified and trustworthy political party. According to Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, the workers of AJ&KMC are “unpaid soldiers of Pakistan” defence and security of Pakistan. Inspired of his deep ideological sympathy with Pakistan he fully supported the construction of Mangla Dam against the Ghazi Elahi Baksh agitation movement. AJ&KMC considered Mangla Dam as a source of social development of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. AJ&KMC considered the “Tasleem Karo” idea of K.H.Khurshid as a vagrant philosophy.⁶ There was no weight in K.H.Khurshid’s idea that to recognize the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, it will strengthen the Kashmir’s liberation. AJ&KMC believes that the Kashmir movement could not be separated from Pakistan.

It believes and has faith that Kashmir is a part and parcel for the survival of Pakistan. AJ&KMC kept a deep eye on the ideological and political activities of Liberation League. After a deep thinking AJ&KMC presented a memorandum to Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan which concluded that the government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir has local authority in UNO record and the idea of recomposing of Azad Jammu & Kashmir’s government is against the resolutions of Security Council. It logically invited India to Azad Jammu and Kashmir. In the Presidential Election, AJ&KMC nominated candidate got majority, despite of Federal and Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Liberation League could not succeeded in elections on the base of votes. To whom independent Kashmir will be answerable. What will be the situation of Azad Army and control line in case of Independent Kashmir. Will Undefined Kashmir not be intrigues place of conspiracy?

AJ&KMC tried its best to alive the idea of accession and identification of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. AJ&KMC is the name of history who struggled for constitutional, democratic and basic rights for Kashmiri people and to achieve the national goal of accession. No government of Pakistan can ignore the role of AJ&KMC. Due to this background general opposition of AJ&KMC, Khurshid idea of Liberation League could not appreciated and became a barrier for Khurshid Idea. Pakistan government restricted to accept the idea. Meantime, an agitation was in progress in Indian Occupied Kashmir regarding the theft of 'Mo-i-Mubarik' of the Holy Prophet (SAW) and restored on 3 January 1963.

This time Security Council once again sent its representative Dr. Gram in Azad Jammu and Kashmir but his arrival was completely fruitless and the the report of 28 March 1958 was failed. On January 1962, Sir Zafarullah Khan diverted attention of Security Council on the issue that some Indian Leaders developed their mat speeches over Kashmir freedom. Due to the speech of Sir Zafarullah Khan the representative of Ireland tabled a resolution in Security Council and emphasized both India and Pakistan to solve the Kashmir problem through negotiation as soon as possible. Unfortunately, the Russian representative Veto this resolution. During this time the Assembly of Indian Occupied Kashmir passed a resolution on 5 February 1964 and declared the President as Governor and prime minister as Chief Minister. According to Article 370 of Indian Constitution the State of Jammu and Kashmir got an importance and independent but this position was decreasing gradually. In these circumstances Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was released from Jail on 8 April 1964, and on 29 he was sent to Pakistan with assigned goal to play the role to solve the Kashmir dispute.⁷ He discussed with Prime Minister of

India Nehru and other participants were Partha Sarthi the high commissioner in Pakistan Badar-ud-Din Tayyeb Gee Vice Chancellor Aligarh University. Gandyoya the secretary of the common wealth was present there⁸. In this meeting it was decided to send Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah to Pakistan on 25 May 1964, he started the visit to Pakistan, in his deputation Mirza Afzal Baig, Maulana Muhammad Saeed Masoodi, Dr Farooq Abdullah, Khawaja Mubarak and commodore Muhammad Shafi were included.⁹ The delegation was headed by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and was received at Chaklala Air Port where the Minister of Kashmir Affairs Khan Habib¹⁰ and leading personalities and politicians like Foreign Minister of Pakistan Z.A.Bhutto, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yuosuf Shah, Mir Afzal Baig and Maulana Muhammad Saeed Masoodi were present there.

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah called at Field Martial Muhammad Ayub Khan¹¹ in President House Rawalpindi. In evening Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah addressed a huge gathering in Liaqat Bagh Rawalpindi under the Presidentship of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.¹² He was the leader of AJ&KMC. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah arrived at the home of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass where both leaders negotiated with each other. The next day, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah departed for Muzaffarabad, the leaders of the Muslim Conference and Government of K.H.Khurshid received the guests warmly at Kohala Bridge.¹³ President of Muslim Conference Raja Muhammad Haider Khan, Mujahid-i-Awal Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan and President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir K.H. Khurshid¹⁴ were there. They were brought to Muzaffarabad in a procession. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was just relaxed from the meetings and functions after some moments Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was informed by Interior Ministry of India Pandit

Gobend Velabh Panth about serious health situation of Nehru by. Mirza Afzal Baig talked to him on behalf of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. After Some moments there was another urgent telephone message that Pandit Nehru had passed away. When Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah heard this news he was really shocked about the death of Nehru.¹⁵ Before returning to Rawalpindi Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah addressed at 4 'o' clock in a condolence meeting of Nehru.¹⁶ Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah returned to Delhi on May 27 1964. The visit of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah to Muzaffarabad opened a critical situation; his opponent took advantage of this occasion. On¹⁷ 6 August 1964, K.H.Khurshid was forced to resign from the Presidentship and he did this as it happened with Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.¹⁸ K.H.Khurshid was arrested in Dalai Camp in Muzaffarabad.¹⁹ The allegation of resignation was that he talked to Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah against the cause of Kashmir dispute as well as Kashmiris and that he was also inspiring the slogan of independence.²⁰

4.2. AJ&KMC and Constitutional evaluations

K.H.Khurshid had been remained without cabinet; he possessed eight representatives of council.²¹ When he was dismissed from the office of the President, Khan Abdul Hamid Khan²² took the oath of the President on 7 August 1964, at that time he was the Chief Justice of High Court Azad Kashmir.²³ After the Presidentship of Khan Abdul Hamid Khan, the Act of 1961 was abolished as well the six members of State council were also terminated by the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs²⁴ Joint Secretary. According to the constitution of Pakistan the Chief Justice was successor of the President, similarly, this was applied in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and vacant post was filled by the

Chief Justice of Azad Jammu and Kashmir as the Acting President.²⁵ Khan Abdul Hamid Khan was interim President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. On 26 August 1964 the new Act was implemented, on account of this Act he became the Permanent President of Azad Kashmir. According to this Act the basic democracy system of election for the President was abolished, the State council's representatives' numbers were reduced from 24 to 8 and refugees representation settled in Pakistan was finished after that two representative's nomination was considered by the power of Chief Advisor.²⁶ The State Council had the right to elect the Chairman who can be the President. The Chief Advisor was also empowered to nominate the person from outside of the State council within six months but the vote of confidence was necessary for him.²⁷

The State Council could not undertake any legislation without the previous consent of the Chief Advisor. Even this was not considered enough because it also provided that no law could take effect unless the Chief Advisor directed so by a notification. He was also empowered to restrict its application to any part of the territory and make any changes he liked! The Secretary General was designated as senior secretary and the IGP as Director of Police. The six members of the State council elected from Azad Jammu and Kashmir in 1961 constituted the State council, which now existed on paper.²⁸ The State Council was also empowered to make no-confidence against the Chairman before the permission of the Advisor.²⁹ It was given the power of legislation to the State Council which was indicated by the Government. According to the new Act the secretary General was called Senior Secretary and Inspector General Police³⁰ On 24 October 1964, AJ&KMC held its 33 Annual Session in Muzaffarabad under the Presidentship of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. He bitterly criticized the Act of 1964, he

declared it as a 'Kala Qanon' The Black Law and it was demanded to be null and void this Act. He constituted the penal committee of action to participate particularly to remove it.³¹ The Act of 1964 to whom, the government official was appointed as the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and similarly the powers were vested to the Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs.³²The copy of the Act 1964 was burnt openly in the session by Malik Ghulam Ali who was the President of Muslim Conference Tehsil Kundal Shahi.³³Chaudary Ghulam Abbass was presiding the session, he declared his presidential address would be resolution of this session there was no resolution presented in the meeting.³⁴ He mentioned about the resolution of 27 July 1946 as well as the resolution of 19 July 1947, he re-announced that the Muslim Conference considered its destiny to struggle for materialise of the resolution

Now the State of Jammu and Kashmir is neither the part of Pakistan nor India. The present Azad area is the base camp of the movement.³⁵ He considered it as insult of Kashmiri people that a Government servant nominates the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir as the President. He obviously emphasized on the development of democracy and Islamic laws in Azad Kashmir. Quaid-i-Millat Chaudary Ghulam Abbass wrote letters to Field Marital, The Minister of Kashmir Affairs and concerning Authorities for the cancellation of Act 1964, which are repeatedly proclaimed in annual meeting at Muzaffarabad.³⁶ The Act 1964 was the main issue in the politics of AJ&KMC, it created the antithesis position in the public mind. The people were becoming against this Act. The sense of political courage was raised and awareness among peoples³⁷by the politicians.³⁸

and Pakistan which continued for 17 days. The war of 1965 ended on 23 September 1965. Due to this war elections in Azad Jammu and Kashmir were postponed.⁴²

4.4 Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference

On April, 1966 a meeting was held on Mir waz Maulavi Yousuf Shah's house at Asghar Mall road Rawalpindi. In this meeting Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah, Colonel Sher Ahmed, Khawaja Ghulam Din Wani, Khawaja Sanullah Shamim, Syed Nazir Hussain Shah and Mir Waiz Muhammad Ahmed were present. At that time a rumor was spread that after the meeting of Mirpur Azad Kashmir government would be handed over to Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference.

Right after this meeting a telegram was sent to president Ayub Khan assuring him of a full support on Kashmir Dispute. It was demanded that without concerning these leading politicians no political change could be brought in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. It was decided in the meeting, held on Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah's house that before organizing Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, more workers would be consulted and for this purpose another meeting would be called. Great efforts and consultations were made and a meeting of this party was called on May 1966 at Rawalakot. At that time Sardar Mukhtar Khan was the convener⁴³ of AJ&KMC. A many people participated in this meeting and unanimously an adhoc committee consisting of Abdul Rahim Durani, Chaudary Khadim Hussain, Khawaja Muhammad Amin Mukhtar, Sardar Mukhtar Khan and Khawaja Abdullah Banday. On this side concrete efforts were going for organizing the Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference. While on the

other side Chaudary Ghulam Abbass and the president of AJ&KMC Sardar Muhammad Abdul Quyyum Khan staunchly opposing this new political party. As for as Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan is concerned; he was taking keen interest and pain to flourish the Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference.

He and his colleagues Khawaja Amin Mukhtar and Maulavi Noor Din organized the branches of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference in Pakistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir after a great struggle. After initial preparation, the annual meeting of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference was called on 5 December 1966. This meeting was declared as thirty fifth annual session of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference. A lot of people participated in this meeting; Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was elected as the President.⁴⁴ Chaudary Khadim Hussain and Khawaja Amin Mukhtar were as Secretary General and Senior Vice President respectively.⁴⁵ Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah as a spiritual head was the leader of Kashmir Liberation Movement. By passing resolutions, this new party severely criticized AJ&KMC, condemned the role of AJ&KMC and expressed sympathy with Indian Occupied Kashmir.⁴⁶

4.5 Annual Session of AJ&KMC in 1966 and political reconciliation

Before the session AJ&KMC Chaudary Ghulam Abbass arrived in Mirpur some days earlier and stayed in Mangla Rest House and he looked after the preparation for the annual session which was to be held on 19 March 1966. It was the 35 convention of AJ&KMC.⁴⁷ In this convention many workers came to Mirpur from all over Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan. The reception President was Ghazi Elahi Bakhsh. About five

hundred representatives participated in this convention. In this convention Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was elected as the successor of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass.⁴⁸ On the occasion Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, being a President of AJ&KMC was required to elect the General Secretary of AJ&KMC. The acting workers presented the name of Khawaja Muhammad Amin Mukhtar as the General Secretary.

Another group of AJ&KMC presented the name of Muhammad Ali Kanwal⁴⁹ for the said post.⁵⁰ Khawaja Amin Mukhtar was the prominent leader and he kept cordial relations with old workers of the Muslim Conference. Therefore, it was decided by tossing. When tossing was managed, the name of Khawaja Amin Mukhtar came out. His friends gave him congratulations on this lucky winning of post.⁵¹ The house protested against it and stressed that Secretary General's selection should be through vote of the house. Khawaja Amin Mukhtar's objection was that his workers and favourites had gone, the election of General Secretary was arranged⁵² by the vote and Muhammad Ali Kanwal was elected as the General Secretary of AJ&KMC.⁵³ Chaudary Ghulam Abbass once again criticized the Act of 1964 and he expressed about this Act as the 'Zalimana Act'. He said that, It was the killing of democracy.⁵⁴ The motto of the Muslim Conference was to get the freedom from India. Then whole Jammu and Kashmir be liberated and annexed to Pakistan,⁵⁵ If a single Kashmiri is alive either on this side or other side of Kashmir, the Kashmir dispute can not die, it would be solved definitely. It is necessary for the solution of Kashmir dispute to keep unity in the party among masses and believed in the matter. He took two promises from the representatives of AJ&KMC one was the loyalty with Pakistan and other was that to accompany Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. He trusted the personality of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan and handed over the

responsibility of the party, AJ&KMC. He said “promise that you will cooperate with president of the Party to organize and make it functional, and to keep alive the freedom struggle. This is the last meeting between you and I, May Allah bless you!”⁵⁶

On 19 March 1966, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan had been made the President of AJ&KMC. After this on 28 April 1966,⁵⁷ Raja Muhammad Haider Khan died. Then, Chaudary Ghulam Abbass passed away on 18 December 1967. On 7 December⁵⁸ 1968 Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah passed away. A.R.Saghar was also an experienced politician. He possessed a lot of qualities but he limited himself to his personal business.⁵⁹ Many politicians, who were more active and dynamic in the politics, reduced their goodwill due to shifting their loyalties from one party to another. Now the political grip was in the hands of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, K.H.Khurshid and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan⁶⁰ The role of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs continuously confined to nominate or the politicians on the State of Azad Jammu dand and Kashmir by favouritism. This happened on account of differences among the politicians.⁶¹

4.6 Ittehad-i- Salasa of Political parties in Azad Jammu and Kashmir

It was the need of State Politicians that Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and K.H.Khurshid to come close to each other. The other reason was that the Act of 1964 was still functioning in the hands of Khan Abdul Hamid Khan. The demand of cancellation increased in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. In this perspective of the situation three political parties AJ&KMC, Liberation League, Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference and their heads desired to struggle for the

establishment of democracy in Azad Jammu and Kashmir commonly. On 5 August 1968, the three leaders organized a meeting in Silver Girl Hotel Rawalpindi, where they announced the political alliance in the name of 'Ittehad-i-Salasa'. They signed a four point's agenda for the commonly and separately for the rehabilitation of the democracy. The four point's Agenda of three political parties, Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, Liberation League and AJ&KMC was the following.⁶²

Reiterating faith in the invisibility of the State of Jammu and Kashmir the solution of Kashmir Dispute through plebiscite. It asked for a constitution, providing effective representation to all elements of the State and pledged support to liberation movement that may be launched by the leaders of occupied Kashmir. It was also demanded in point No.3 (a) that the constituted Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government must be treated as full sovereign Government, successor to the Government of Maharaja Hari Singh for the whole State.⁶³ If Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Maulavi Muhammad Farooq and other Kashmiri leaders of occupied Kashmir would start the struggle of self determination and liberty from India then the political parties of this side of ceasefire line will favour them utmost.⁶⁴

The essential and basic point of unity was that the Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir should be considered a sole representative of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and it should constitute the Government by itself. It was demanded that Khan Abdul Hamid Khan's Government should be dissolved and direct election should be held.⁶⁵

On June 1967 the elections of the basic democracy were held. The convention of the AJ&KMC was not held about one and half year. The main cause of not holding convention was the Indo-Pak war of 1965. Raja Muhammad Haider Khan was suffering from the disease of cancer, his doctor Ameer-ud-Din informed Chaudary Ghulam Abbass about the critical situation of health of Raja Muhammad Haider Khan,⁶⁶ according to the instruction of Quaid-i-Kashmir he appointed a special committee under the Presidentship of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, the members of the committee were Basharat Ahmed Sheikh, Khawaja Abdul Sammad Wani, Chaudary Khadim Hussain, Sheikh Khalid Mehmood, Mirza Ghulam Rasool Baig, Bashir Ahmed Qureshi.⁶⁷ The committee was given the responsibility to arrange the presidential elections of AJ&KMC and the annual session of the party again.⁶⁸

The committee under the Presidentship of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan arranged the Executive Body of the AJ&KMC and leading persons of AJ&KMC at the home of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass on 40 Mayo Road Rawalpindi.⁶⁹ The session of the Executive Body of the AJ&KMC was held in the presence of Quaid-i-Kashmir. He addressed and joined this meeting. All members and colleagues took lunch in this meeting at his home. He gave the foreseeing decisions when the annual session of AJ&KMC to be held in Mirpur on 19 March 1966 and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was appointed the president of AJ&KMC. The annual session of the AJ&KMC was approved and held under the Presidentship of Ghazi Elahi Bakhsh, the committee of reception was formed. There was also appointed the interim Secretary General of AJ&KMC, he was Chaudary Khadim Hussain instead of Ghulam Din Wani.⁷⁰ Many other leading personalities were present in the meeting which was held at the home

of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. The political coalition of the parties encouraged the people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, the demand of the representative government was publicly appreciated. Khan Abdul Hamid Khan felt anxiety about the activities of 'Ittihad-i-Salasa'. He developed relation with public to put the influence to them.⁷¹ He spoke against the politicians. He complained about his financial helplessness in these words that he had not been supported by the department of finance. He raised his hands and prayed that "God should destroy the finance department.....as it did not listen to any body".⁷² On 15 September 1968, the Allied Parties decided to arrange the meeting in Muzaffarabad. The Government of Khan Abdul Hamid Khan was there to make it flop. The leaders of Allies Parties were not allowed staying in the official guest house⁷³ Khan Abdul Hamid Khan remained the President up to 1968 as autonomous. He had not any fear about his Government.⁷⁴

On 17 September 1968, Khan Abdul Hamid Khan announced the new structure of Act in Press Club Muzaffarabad.⁷⁵ This Act was prepared by the Government of Pakistan to run the system of the Government in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.⁷⁶ Before these Acts of 1961, 1964 had been enforced previously. According to Khan Abdul Hamid Khan this Act of 1968 had been constituted by the experts of Pakistani and Azad Kashmir's Lawyers.⁷⁷A new Act known as the Government Act of 1968 was enforced. The provisions with regard to legislative limitations and nomination of Senior Secretary and Director of Police were retained. It now provided for the setting up of a new State Council consisting of 12 members, with the following distribution: Azad Jammu and Kashmir having eight seats and Refugees having two seats.⁷⁸

The members to form Azad Jammu and Kashmir were to be elected by basic democrats while the refugees were to be nominated by the Chief Advisor, on the recommendation of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir President, one of the members was to be elected as Chairman of the Council, who was also to function as ex-officio President of Azad Kashmir.⁷⁹

When the implementation of the Act 1968 came into being, the political parties, The AJ&KMC, All Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League, Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference called the meeting in Rawalpindi at Press Club.⁸⁰ They decided to protest against the Act of 1968.

The demonstrations were held in Rawalpindi and Karachi for the repeal of the Act of 1968. In Karachi all parties Kashmir Committee took out a procession on 5 December 1968 led by Amanullah Khan Plebiscite Front, Mumtaz Abbasi of Albara and Khawaja Ghulam Hassan Panjabi of the Liberation league.⁸¹

As so far the Act, the public opinion developed strong and it was the political awake ness in Azad Jammu and Kashmir especially in Muzaffarabad a violent procession was staged out side the office of the President, demanding its forth with repeal. In consequence, three workers of the Liberation league, Khawaja Ghulam Nabi Pandit, Khawaja Abdul Khaliq Dar and Khawaja Ghulam Muhammad Lala were arrested on 1 January 1969 and sent them to 7000 feet high Leepa Valley as punishment for a month, which was reached by crossing on foot in snow to a place 'Prithwar Pass'⁸²

4.7 Political Development and Reconciliation of AJ&KMC with Other Political Parties

In Pakistan, after the declaration of Tashkent, the political situation was much critical internally. The President General Ayub Khan was unable to face the movement launched against him by his opponents who forced him to resign from the office, handing over powers to Yahya Khan (1917-1980) who happened to be at that time the 'Chief of

The Pakistan Army'. He said in his last address to the Nation on 25 March 1969 after ten years Ayub Khan was taken over as the Chief Martial Law administrator. 'It was my great desire to establish the tradition that political power should continue to be transferred in a constitutional manner.'⁸³ ...the declaration of Martial Law on March 25, 1969,⁸⁴Yahya Khan's Government took over all restrictions over the political activities and issued the new order of the Martial Law to disturb the official work and to destroy the solidarity of the State, it would be considered severe offence. The punishment was determined for three years.⁸⁵In Azad Jammu and Kashmir the political activities became more active, on 5 August 1969, three political parties demanded for the legislative assembly in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

The president of Pakistan Yahya Khan accepted the demand of the political parties (*Ittehad-i-Salasa*) to establish the legislative assembly.⁸⁶ Therefore, Khan Abdul Hamid Khan was terminated from the office and instead of his plan, on 8 September 1969,⁸⁷ in these circumstances Abdul Rehman took oath of office in November 1969. His first task was to give Azad Jammu and Kashmir a constitution.⁸⁸ The President Brigadier Abdul Rehman had the three cabinet members from 'Ittehad-i-Salasa' in which Raja Zulqarnain Khan from Liberation League, Syed Abdullah Shah from Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and Syed Nazir Hussain Shah from AJ&KMC.⁸⁹ To prepare the Act of 1970, Brigadier Abdul Rehman took personal interest. Justice Yousuf Saraf "offered to produce a draft, within four weeks he placed it on Abdul Rehman hands and sent a copy to Sardar Abdul-ur-Rashid, Minister Kashmir Affairs."⁹⁰ "... the constitution was at last promulgated in September as the Government Act of 1970."⁹¹ According to the Act, President was elected by adult franchise as well as the legislative assembly was

established on the 25 members and one seat was reserved for woman by indirect election, the house was consisted of 25 members. The tenure of the assembly was 4 years, the post of Plebiscite Advisor introduced first time in this Act.⁹² A complete democratic setup was introduced through the Act, a Legislative Assembly, and President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir State was elected, on the basis of adult franchise, by the people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and the refugees of Jammu and Kashmir settled in Pakistan.⁹³

According to the Act 1970, the Presidential election was held on 30 October 1970. The following parties' heads contested the election, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan of AJ&KMC, K.H Khurshid of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, Chaudary Sharif Tariq Advocate of Mahaz-i-Rai Shumari (Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front)⁹⁴. Three of the four Presidential Candidates, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, . K.H.Khurshid had held the office in the past, though under a different system. The forth candidate, Chaudary Muhammad Sharif Tariq was nominee of the Plebiscite Front whose other components, headed by Maqbool Butt, was keeping away from elections. All the four candidates for the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Presidential election, scheduled to be held on 30 October 1970, remained in the field after expiry of time for withdrawal of nominations⁹⁵ on Election Symbols had already been allocated to the candidates 'Lantern' for K.H. Khurshid, 'Horse' for . Abdul Qayyum Khan, 'Umbrella' for Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and 'Scale' for . Sharif Tariq.⁹⁶ Election results were as Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan 229,512, K.H.Khurshid 163,865, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan 114,894 and Sharif Tariq 12,906.⁹⁷

4.8 Measures of AJ&KMC for Parliamentary System in Azad Jammu and Kashmir

Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan had taken the oath of the Presidentship of Azad Jammu and Kashmir on 12 November 1970 and Sheikh Manzer Masood was the speaker of the Assembly. In Pakistan there was Martial Law. According to the PCO (Provisional Constitution Order) of Yahya Khan the election in Pakistan was to be held on 5 October 1970 for the date of National Assembly and 22 October was fixed for the Provincial Assemblies.⁹⁸ In East Pakistan (Bangladesh) there was a storm, due to this election was held on 7 December 1970 for the National Assembly and on 17 December 1970 for the Provincial Assemblies.

The results were in favour of People's Party in West Pakistan and Awami League in East Pakistan (Bangladesh). Z.A.Bhutto was the prominent leader of People's Party and Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman of Awami League.⁹⁹ The Act of 1970 was presidential, it was considered respectable and high pride of status in Azad Kashmir, AJ&KMC's leader Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was the President of Azad Kashmir.

Bhutto negotiated with Kashmiri leadership, his desire was to change the Presidential System on 10 June 1974, he took the decision for change the draft¹⁰⁰ was presented with the notification of the Act 1970, it was called "The Constitution Act 1974"¹⁰¹ "This bill was not presented to the president of Pakistan Z.A.Bhutto for approval unless it had been passed by the votes of not less than two third of the total number of members of the Assembly."¹⁰²

There shall be an Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council consisting of the Prime Minister of Pakistan; the President; five members to be nominated by the Prime Minister of Pakistan from time to time from amongst Federal Ministers and members of Parliament; the Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir or person nominated by him; and six members to be elected by the Assembly from amongst State subjects in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.¹⁰³

On Monday 21 September 1970, the working committee of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, met in Rawalpindi, suggested ten amendments in the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government Act 1970, which was to become the constitution of Azad Jammu and Kashmir in future. The committee, according to a party release issued on Tuesday, considered these amendments necessary to make the Azad Kashmir's Government truly responsible and democratic; the proposed amendments are: (i) by amending section 5 and 6 provision should be made that in place of the Chief Justice of High Court, the speaker of the Assembly should act as President and in the case the Assembly has been dissolved, the Chief Justice will be the Acting President. (ii). By amending section 9(1) the number of Ministers should be increased from three to such number as may be necessary or giving representation to all sections of State nationals.(iii). Section 14 should be amended to increase the number of Members of the Legislative Assembly from 25 to such number as may be necessary to ensure adequate representation to all parts of Azad territory and the Jammu refugees according to their number in proportion with the population of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir territory. (iv). Sub-section 2 of section 23, which provides that no expenditure on major development activities, as specified by the advisor, should be incurred except with the approval of the advisor, should be deleted. (v). In section 2(c) the existing definition of 'prescribed i.e.' prescribe means made by the rules under act' should be amended to read as 'prescribed

means as prescribed by an Act of the Legislative Assembly. (vi). It should be incorporated in the Act that all laws will be brought in conformity with Quran and Sunnah. (vii). Provision should be made for confirming writ Jurisdiction on the High Court. (viii). Fundamental rights should be guaranteed in the Act and provision should be made for the enforcement of these rights through law courts. (ix) Provision should be made for establishing a judicial board to function as the highest court of appeal. (x). It should be placed down that any Member of the Assembly, who crosses the floor, will lose his seat.¹⁰⁴

The political parties presented the Bill before executive bodies, two representatives of the Assembly Haji Muhammad Usman, Munshi Ali Gohar Khan,¹⁰⁵ protested in Rawalpindi and proclaimed that it was the intrigues against Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan.¹⁰⁶ In Muzaffarabad at the house of Saleem Gillani the Executive Body proclaimed no consensus on the Act. Sardar Sikandar Hayat had resigned from the Ministry. Khawaja Amin Mukhtar presented resolution, it was told that the election of the president should be directed on the adult franchise and he should be the Vice President of the Council, it was accepted by the federal government. Therefore, the AJ&KMC reservations remained.¹⁰⁷ On 24 August 1974, the Bill was presented in the Assembly and it was passed.¹⁰⁸

According to the Act of 1974, AJ&KMC ran the government with its political plan. AJ&KMC faced difficulties and sacrificed for political reconciliation. The next chapter will elaborate the spirit behind the party politics of AJ&KMC. It also discloses the relations and achievements of AJ&KMC since 1970-1977.

Notes and References

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- ²⁰ Azad, *Hayat-i-Qauid*, p. 95.
- ²¹ Monthly *Rawabit*, vol. Iv, (Muzaffarabad, November 2009), p. 22.
- ²² His family belonged to valley but they were settled in Peshawar. He got his education in Peshawar and joined service in State Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He was terminated from the service by Hindu allegation as a non-citizen of State Jammu and Kashmir. He sued and restored his services by court. The Chief Minister of KPKP Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was his elder brother. He was Deputy Commissioner of First Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir then he became Commissioner, Secretary General and Chief Justice of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.
- ²³ Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 179.
- ²⁴ M.A.Khan, *Kashmir Tareekh ke Aainye Mein*, (Muzaffarabad: National Institute of Kashmir Studies, 1986, p.173.
- ²⁵ Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 750.
- ²⁶ Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 179.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

- 28 Muhammad Yousuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, Vol. I, II. (Lahore: Feroz Sons (Pvt) Ltd, 1979), p. 1369.
- 29 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 179.
- 30 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 214.
- 31 Weekly, *Kasheer*, 18 December 2007.
- 32 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, pp. 214-15.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 215.
- 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 222.
- 37 Muhmmad Saeed Asad, *Kashmiriat*, (Muzaffarabad: Qumi Nisab Bureau Riasat Jammu-wa-Kashmir, 2004), p. 136.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
- 39 M.A.Khan, *Kashmir Tareekh ke Aainye Mein*, p. 180.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- 41 Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, *Kashmir Banc ga Pakistan*, (Lahore: Al-Hamd Publications, 2011), p. 61.
- 42 Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, pp. 228-29.
- 43 Sardar Mukhtar Khan, *Azadi ka Khawab-i-Pareshan*, (Rawalpindi: FI Printers, 2005) p. 118.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 46 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, (Muzaffarabad: Siadat Publication, 1988), p. 457.
- 47 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 756.
- 48 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 96.
- 49 Muhammad Ali Kanwal belonged to Muzaffarabad, a famous leader of AJ&KMC.
- 50 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, pp. 96-97.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 52 Pir Ali Jan Shah was the presiding officer of election. General Council cast the votes and Muhammad Ali Kanwal won the election of General Secretary. Qureshi, *Quaid-i-Kashmir*, p. 233.
- 53 Azad, *Hayat-i-Quaid*, p. 97.
- 54 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 756.
- 55 Daily, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 27 March, 2002, p. 10.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 18 December, 2003, p. 10.
- 57 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 181.
- 58 Syed Qasim Mehmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanika* (Lahore: Al-Faisl Publications, 2004), p.921.
- 59 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 181.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

- 62 On 9 January, 1962, Sardar Mukhtar Khan called a worker's meeting. The convention was held at Rawalakot in Dak Bangla (Rest House). It was organized for new political party called "Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference". Sardar Mukhtar Khan was Election Convenier of the party. Other representatives were Sardar Sluman Khan, Maulana Abdul Aziz Thorarvi, Sardar Muhammad Khan of Daraik and Sardar Saad Muhammad Khan.
- 63 Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, p. 1370.
- 64 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 81-82.
- 65 Muhammad Saecd Asad, *Yadein aur Batein*, (Muzaffarabad: National Institute of Kashmir studies, 2005), p. 45.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 231.
- 71 Abbsi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 182.
- 72 Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi ki Dehleez Per*, p. 322.
- 73 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 183.
- 74 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat Sardar Ibrahim Khan ki Siasi Swan-i-Umri*, (Muzaffarabad: Institute of Kashmir Studies, 2000), p. 75.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- 76 Asad, *Kashmiriat*, p. 123.
- 77 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 75.
- 78 Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, p. 1369.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 1369.
- 80 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 76.
- 81 Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, pp. 1369-70.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 1370.
- 83 Ahmed Shujah Pasha, *Pakistan: A Political Study*, (Lahore: Sang-i-meel Publication 1995), p.277-78.
- 84 Fazal Muqem Khan, *Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership*, (Lahore: National Book Foundation, 1973), p. 19.
- 85 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 759.
- 86 *Ibid.*, p. 759.
- 87 Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, p.1370. Tishna wrote 8 October.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 1371.
- 89 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 759.
- 90 Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, p. 1371.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 1371.
- 92 Asad, *Kashmiriat*, p. 127.

- 93 Manzoor Hassan Gillani, *Constitutional Development in Azad Jammu and Kashmir*, n.d),pp. 9-10.
- 94 The Daily, *Pakistan Times*, 31 September, 1970.
- 95 Thirty three nomination papers were filed on Monday at the Poonch House. Twenty three were filed on the behalf of the Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan President of AJ&KMC , eight were on the behalf Sardar Muhmmad Ibrahim Khan Chief of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and two were on the behalf of Muhammad Sharif Tariq. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 97 Saeed Asad, *Jammu and Kashmir Book of Knowledge*, (Muzaffarabad: National Institute of Kashmir Studies, 1997), p. 181.
- 98 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 759.
- 99 *Ibid.*, p. 759.
- 100 This draft was prepared by Sardar Syab Khalid and Iltaf Kiani. Abdul Hafeez Pir Zada was the Law Minister of Pakistan. It was announced by him in press conference. Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 86.
- 101 Law Secretariat Muzaffarabad, *Interim Constitution Act, 1974, 1978*. p.1.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 103 *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- 104 The Daily, *Pakistan Times*, Rawalpindi, 21 September, 1970.
- 105 Note: Both politicians belonged to Muzaffarabad Azad Jammu and Kashmir.
- 106 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 208.
- 107 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
- 108 Note: People's party opposed it so Abdul Hafeez Pir Zada was monitoring the Assembly.

Chapter 5

Party Politics and achievements of AJ&KMC Since 1970 - 1977

5.1 Constitutional Amendments and Steps for Islamization

On Monday 21 September 1970, the working committee of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, met in Rawalpindi, suggested ten amendments in the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government Act 1970, which was to become the constitution of Azad Jammu and Kashmir in future. The committee, according to a party release issued on Tuesday, considered these amendments are necessary to make the Azad Kashmir's Government truly responsible and democratic; the proposed amendments are:

- (i) by amending section 5 and 6 provision should be made that in place of the Chief Justice of High Court, the speaker of the Assembly should act as President and in the case the Assembly has been dissolved, the Chief Justice will be the Acting President.
- (ii). By amending section 9(1) the number of Ministers should be increased from three to such number as may be necessary or giving representation to all sections of State nationals.
- (iii). Section 14 should be amended to increase the number of Members of the Legislative Assembly from 25 to such number as may be necessary to ensure adequate representation to all parts of Azad territory and the Jammu refugees according to their number in proportion with the population of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir territory.
- (iv). Sub-section 2 of section 23, which provides that no expenditure on major development activities, as specified by the advisor, should be incurred except with the approval of the advisor, should be deleted.
- (v). In section 2(c) the existing definition of 'prescribed i.e.'

prescribe means made by the rules under act' should be amended to read as 'prescribed means as prescribed by an Act of the Legislative Assembly. (vi). It should be incorporated in the Act that all laws will be brought in conformity with Quran and Sunnah. (vii). Provision should be made for confirming writ Jurisdiction on the High Court. (viii). Fundamental rights should be guaranteed in the Act and provision should be made for the enforcement of these rights through law courts. (ix) Provision should be made for establishing a judicial board to function as the highest court of appeal. (x). It should be placed down that any Member of the Assembly, who crosses the floor, will lose his seat.¹

After the election of 1970, on the basis of adult franchise, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan President of AJ&KMC became the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and took oath on 12 October 1970 in Muzaffarabad at Khurshid Stadium,² where thousands of people were present, there were also prominent leaders of Pakistan and Kashmir like Ghazi Elahi Bakhsh, Raja Abdul Hamid Khan, Dr Salam Din Mirza and the members of the cabinet of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. Basharat Ahmed Sheikh was appointed as Deputy President and his status was equal to Minister.³ The cabinet was completed in December 1970. Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed Pandit was appointed as the Principal Secretary by Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan in his Government. When Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan became the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir he was also Party President so after this. The Acting President of party was Ghazi Elahi Bakhsh but when he joined the cabinet the issue of the party's Presidentship was raised.

5.2 Amalgamation of Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference

On March 1971, the Executive Body of the AJ&KMC held its convention in Rawalpindi. The issue of the Party Presidentship was not solved.⁴ Next day of the election 1970, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan went to the office of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. They met warmly; Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was committed for the coordination to perform the duty of the President. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan decided to respond after two or three day after the negotiation with his friends and colleagues, he decided to cooperate with Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan.⁵ As a result of this cooperation, it was decided that the Azad Muslim Conference should be merged into AJ&KMC on 23 July 1971.⁶ On 3 March 1972, in Poonch House Rawalpindi, the Executive Body of the Muslim Conference ceased the presidium and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was elected as the Party President of AJ&KMC.⁷

The merging of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference into AJ&KMC, it was not recommended by the party workers in AJ&KMC. The group consciousness still kept the tension there.⁸ Three cabinet members were terminated by Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan and he amended the Act 1970, introduced the provision that the member of the Assembly could be the Minister, so that the members of Assembly can be included in cabinet.⁹ On 15 March 1972 the new cabinet consisted on the following persons. Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, Khawaja Iqbal Butt and Yusuf Khan were chosen members. Chaudary Ghulam Ahmed Raza was appointed as the Presidential Advisor instead of Basharat Ahmed Sheikh.¹⁰

5.3 Party Relations with Pakistan and Islamic Countries and Pakistan

During the reign of Yahya Khan, the political crisis developed and on 16 December 1971 the Dhaka fall tragedy took place. Yahya Khan handed over the powers of Martial Law to the Chairman of People's Party Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The President Z.A.Bhutto allowed the leader of AJ&KMC and the President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir to visit the Arab World with eight member's delegation.¹¹ In 1972 President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and President of party AJ&KMC Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan pleaded the Kashmir Issue in various countries. In 1972, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan with eight prominent leaders namely Prof. Muhammad Ishaq Qureshi, Chaudary Muhammad Qasim Zafar, Sardar Ghulam Ahmed Abbasi, Raja Muhammad Iltaf Kiani, Mufti Syed Muzafar Hussain Nadvi, Sardar Muhammad Alam Khan, Mehmood Ahmed except Khawaj Ghulam Ahmed, visited the eight Islamic countries Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Kuwait, UAE and Syria¹²

Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan highlighted the Kashmir issue before the heads of countries, political parties, religious personalities, writers, intelligentsia and leading personalities of the Islamic countries. He also held dialogue with the people of Kashmir who were settled in these countries and shared with them about the Kashmir Freedom Movement. He appreciated these Islamic countries for their sincere support. He explained the problems of Kashmiri Freedom Fighters which they were facing in Indian occupied Kashmir.¹³ As it awakened the Kashmir issue, no doubt this visit remained the most successful¹⁴ in regard of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference's leadership. Through this visit the Kashmir issue got tremendous importance and appreciation by the

foreign press and electronic media. On 1974, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was again invited by Saudi Arabia, accompanying Chaudary Muhammad Qasim Zafar, Syed Muzzafar Nadvi, Mehmood Ahmed and Khawaja Ghulam Ahmed Pandit. They met delegations of the Islamic World and exchanged their views. Another opportunity of the Kashmiri students was obtained in term of scholarships in universities of Riyadh, Makkah Mukarma, Jeddah, and Medina.¹⁵

In Pakistan the Parliamentary System of the Government was coming into being under the constitution of 1973 which was implemented on 14 August 1973. So far as concerned the 1973 constitution, in Azad Jammu and Kashmir the demand was made strongly, the political parties of Azad Jammu and Kashmir started for the constitution on the pattern of Pakistan.¹⁶ On November 1973, Prime Minister Z.A.Bhutto, visited Azad Jammu and Kashmir in Jalalabad Bagh, in the response of Presidential address of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, honoured the following demands (1) In Pakistan State's property is the property of State Jammu and Kashmir. (2) The abolishment of the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs¹⁷ and the preparation of new constitution. By this announcement people felt more pleasure so far as the result concerned, there were just declaration because the State property was not returned to the State Jammu and Kashmir and secondly the Ministry of Kashmir was still working.¹⁸

The Government of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was smoothly working, it had the outstanding reputation, in Azad Jammu and Kashmir there was only one party which was against the policies of AJ&KMC and that was Liberation League.¹⁹The People's Party and the attractive personality of Bhutto created the

congenial atmosphere in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir. Some Advisors gave the suggestions to Bhutto to extend the party in Azad Kashmir.²⁰ AJ&KMC always tried its best to build cordial relations with the Federal Government of Pakistan and Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. The friction among two Governments can be deprived irremediable loss in Kashmir Freedom Movement. AJ&KMC always remained loyal with the solidarity of Pakistan and considers that if there are some sundry matters, should be solved smoothly. Throughout its ruling period (1970-1975), AJ&KMC utmost tried to find the solution of debatable issues through negotiations instead of exposing them in public. It is a ground reality to admit that the political changes in Pakistan lay down impacts in Azad Jammu and Kashmir either negative or positive. By virtue of political developments some times the relations become crucial and critical. The President of AJ&KMC as well as the President of Government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir expressed democratic principles between the relations of the governments in these words.

The democratic system depends upon balance of powers and accountability. Where there is no accountability, there is no concept of powers. There is a difference between dictatorship and democracy. There is no accountability of Federal government or Ministry of Kashmir Affair in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.²¹

Top affairs whom are resolvable with the Federal government always have been determined such as constitutional position of Gilgit and Baltistan, the powers of Chairmanship of the State Council of Jammu and Kashmir, ownership of State property, the department of Audit and Accounts, Constitutional nature, establishing Television station, accommodation of Refugee settled in Pakistan, one sided amendment in Interim Constitution Act 1974 and the royalty of Mangla Dam²² remained in negotiations to build the cordial relations with Pakistan.

5.4 Interaction of PPP in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Political Consensus of AJ&KMC

After the formation of Pakistan People's Party, Z.A.Bhutto came to Azad Jammu and Kashmir for attending a student convention in Mirpur. Behram Chishti and Sardar Rafique Baig called on Z.A.Bhutto at Pir Ali Jan Shah's home (MLA).²³ They requested Z.A.Bhutto to extend PPP in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Z.A.Bhutto assigned this work to Khurshid Hassan Mir who was a Kashmiri and member of National Assembly of Pakistan.²⁴ Khurshid Hassan Mir organized PPP in Azad Kashmir; he convened inaugurating session at his own home in Rawalpindi.²⁵ In which eighteen political workers of Azad Jammu and Kashmir participated in this session. In which Behram Chishti, Rafique Baig, Pir Ali Jan Shah, Sardar Muhammad Hussain Khan, Colonel Mansha Khan, Colonel Naqi Khan, Sardar Sadiq Khan, Sardar Arif Khan, Mumtaz Hussain Rathore, Ishaq Zafar, Sardar Mir Ahmed Khan, Sardar Muhammad Aslam Khan, Abdul Qayyum Khan, Khawaja Bashir Ejaz, Sardar Qayyum Baig and Sardar Iftikhar Mughal were included. Behram Chishti was one of the close comrades of Z.A.Bhutto, he and his colleagues played significant role to form PPP in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.²⁶ In Azad Jammu and Kashmir before PPP, Liberation League, Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference and largely influencing party of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was AJ&KMC were there. That time Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was the President of AJ&KMC as well President of Government.

Formation of the new party, it was natural reaction of AJ&KMC. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan passed his comments against the launching of PPP in Azad Kashmir. Primarily not only the PPP but also any political party which kept its roots in Pakistan, it should not exist within State Jammu and Kashmir until the Kashmir Dispute would be solved.²⁷

In past many leaders of Pakistan desired to extend their political parties in Azad Jammu and Kashmir but the head of AJ&KMC proposed them not to launch their wings in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He wrote a letter to Z.A.Bhutto for favour in this matter. Z.A.Bhutto waited for a short time. After the War of 1971 Simla Agreement was signed on 2 July 1972.²⁸ Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was the president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir's government. He tried to maintain relations with Pakistan. Z.A.Bhutto initially favoured AJ&KMC however, due to the policies of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan; Bhutto became his opponent²⁹ and acted upon his plan of launching PPP in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

On 22 September 1972, the convention of the People's Party of Azad Jammu and Kashmir was held under the Presidentship of Javid Hakeem Qureshi M.P.A (Punjab) of the party. Before the convention the political party, Muslim Conference's representative of Assembly Pir Ali Jan Shah, Syed Abdullah Shah Azad and Syed Nasir Hussain Shah and from the Azad Muslim Conference's representative in Assembly Colonel Muhammad Mansha Khan and one of independent representative of Assembly. Ghulam Rasool announced to join the People's Party.³⁰ Khurshid Hassan Mir was also present in the convention; Pir Ali Jan Shah³¹ was elected as the President of the People's Party of Azad Kashmir. Along with him some other representatives of the Muslim Conference joined the party whom the AJ&KMC did not give any Ministry. In this connection those people who were joining the People's Party, had no room in Muslim Conference but they wanted to play the role in politics.³² Sardar Abdul Qayyum criticized it and charged that Z.A.Bhutto wants to make Azad Jammu and Kashmir a Province of Pakistan.³³ Launching of PPP in Azad Kashmir would mean to curb the Kashmir Movement.

AJ&KMC believe that Azad Jammu and Kashmir is the 'Base Camp' of Liberation Movement of Kashmir.³⁴ Change in Azad Kashmir in any sense, election, and democratic government or in any type would consider to negligent the Kashmir Issue. People of Azad Jammu and Kashmir are frustrated, they believe that Azad Jammu and Kashmir must remain as it was and its identification should remain separate.³⁵

Those who formed PPP in Azad Jammu and Kashmir they tried utmost and demanded that 'Centre' should support them, it would be the complete success of PPP in centre. In those days Z.A.Bhutto assigned political campaign to Sardar Hayat Muhammad Khan Tumn who was the Feudal Lord of Punjab and the advisor of the Prime Minister of Pakistan as well an expert in political maneuvering and Chief Secretary Iqbal Hussain was appointed for the said cause³⁶ to encourage and promote the People's party in Azad Kashmir.³⁷ Abdul Hafiz Pirzada and Khurshid Hassan Mir also joined this team and were active to bring a change in political scene of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.³⁸

During the tour in Azad Jammu and Kashmir on 4 November³⁹ 1973⁴⁰ conceived that those people who were in his People's Party they had not capacity to compete the AJ&KMC. He was invited by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in Rawalakot (he was the President of AJ&KMC) Bhutto accepted the invitation so that the immediate risk of the Government dissolution remained safe and sound.⁴¹ Therefore, existing government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and AJ&KMC were not invited to participate in Second Islamic Summit on February 1974 in Lahore. Party head of AJ&KMC Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan went to Lahore with his political team and Ministers of government to participate in Summit but they were not allowed to enter there.⁴² Z.A.Bhutto invited only

Behram Chishti from PPP Azad Jammu and Kashmir to participate in this Summit. On this occasion Z.A.Bhutto shared Kashmir Dispute with Colonel Momer Qazafi the President of Libya.⁴³

Behram Chishti invited Z.A.Bhutto to visit Bagh. Z.A.Bhutto visited Bagh and due to this visit AJ&KMC got frustrated and the political atmosphere became crucial. PPP promoted the political activities in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. On 10 June 1974, the Prime Minister Z.A.Bhutto called an important political parties meeting under his Presidentship in Islamabad. The leaders from Azad Jammu and Kashmir were Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Chaudary Noor Hussain, K.H.Khurshid, Pir Ali Jan Shah, Mir Waiz Muhammad Ahmed, Yusuf Buch (Advisor to Prime Minister of Pakistan) were the participants of the meeting.⁴⁴ Minister of Kashmir Affairs, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada was the Federal Law Minister.⁴⁵

5.5 Implementations of Islamic Teachings in Azad Jammu and Kashmir

Under this act President and General Elections were held in late 1970, in which Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan also contested as a Presidential candidate of the AJ&KMC and swept the polls with thumping majority. Same was the case with his party, which secured majority seats in the AJ&K Legislative Assembly. As the first elected President, he not only put the liberated territory on sound political, economic and administrative footing but also took concrete and positive steps towards the Islamization of AJ&K, which involved codification of Islamic Laws, Hodood, Zakat and Usher, appointment of Qazis and interest-free advances etc. During his four years tenure as President, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan introduced and implemented far-

reaching reforms in all spheres of national life. Fundamental human rights were granted for the first time to be enforced by High Court. The Judiciary was elevated to its rightful place. Educational reforms were introduced on a scale unknown in the past and a network of educational institutions from primary to degree level was laid. It was during this period that development projects of huge magnitude for the progress and prosperity of the people of liberated areas.⁴⁶

There is no doubt that the whole area of Azad Jammu and Kashmir consists of Muslim population. AJ&K MC is purely the State's political party of this region. The party has the ideological relations with Pakistan because the majority of the people is Muslim and the Islamization in this area has been the foremost desire of the people. After the liberation of the territory, the atmosphere was entirely up to in war condition. In the critical stage, the efforts of the Islamization took place here. The policy of Pakistan has been adopted here, as in Pakistan the struggle for Islamization has been continued time to time. In Azad Jammu and Kashmir the AJ&KMC particularly in the time of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan took the bold step for the introduction of the Islamization in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, the main credit goes to Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan's personality. He strongly believed in the ideology of Islamization as well the accession to Pakistan. According to his perception the solidarity of Pakistan entirely depends upon Islamic principles, the ideology of accession to Pakistan is the purpose to accession with Islamic States for keeping national Islamic identification here. On the other hand India is a secular State which is totally against the Islamic culture.⁴⁷

The appearance of any nation depends upon the dress, Islam appreciates the respectable dress in society which not only covers the body of the human being but also provides the pleasure in society. The value of the dress called 'Mashraqi Libas' the Eastern Dress is called "Shalwar Qamiz' it is more graceful and respectable, as far as the Western dress concerns, it is the embodiment of the West and creates the distinction in the society and it gives the sense of superiority and inferiority. In the ruling period of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan he supported the simple dress of 'Shalwar Qamiz' especially 'Malaisha Colour' has been preferred due to this equality.⁴⁸ Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan had an idea about the English dress to be burnt in any meeting and movement, and would start explosion. He was briefed that without hatred this dress is common in brother Islamic countries so that with the movement of burning the dress it is possible to implement it by the simple Government order, so the whole State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir kept itself free from paint, coat and tie.⁴⁹

After the national dress, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, the Sunday holiday was replaced by Friday holiday. It was a bold step of him because all over the world business, trade, banking system entirely connected with Sunday holidays, without any hesitation he brought the change at once. It was the first step of social and theoretical revolution. The people of Kashmir basically observed Islamic values.⁵⁰ They devote the deep interest to Islam. It was their demand to enforce the Islamic rules for them. President Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum tried to enforce the Islamic rules in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. During this period of AJ&KMC Government, Dars-i-Quran was introduced in offices. It consisted of one and half hour for the officials; the purpose of the Dars-i-Quran was that the officials should understand the teachings of the Quran and take

care about it.⁵¹ AJ&KMC established the department of Religious Affairs 'Amur-i-diniyah and Auqaf' which was the fundamental source of religious aspects as well as to explore the expert-people for the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah.⁵² Through this, it was preparing the standard for higher education to develop the Islamic values in Azad Jammu and Kashmir." It was compulsory for the students of colleges that they must know the translation of prayer, must read the Quran fluently (Nazara). By this the education was revolutionized.⁵³ Islam was the supreme law of the State Jammu and Kashmir. The Muslim Conference's Government tried its best to evolve all the laws into Islamic way of life. The Islamic education was introduced in Police training school and jails. To discourage the interest tendency, the State interest was ceased on the loan to create job opportunities; he took drastic measures to set up factories in the State.⁵⁴ The simplicity and equality in the society is to the crux of any ruling class, AJ&KMC had the tendency to promote these values in their ruling period up to 1977. It is the spirit of Islam that gives access to a weak person to the higher authority, so the leader of the AJ&KMC provided this opportunity to his subjects in ruling time.⁵⁵

5.6 Service Structure and Parity with Punjab

The role of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in Azad Jammu and Kashmir is very peculiar in the sense of achievements and developing the different aspects of political and constitutional issues. When the elected President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan took oath of his office, being an experienced, the more active and the responsible politician played vital role to give projection to the service structure of Azad Kashmir. Before 1970, there was no structure

of services in Azad Kashmir. The rules and regulations were not kept obviously on parity with other provinces and centre. 'It was the great achievement of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan who at once developed the concept of parity of services with Punjab.⁵⁶

The President, Azad Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, has been pleased to sanction the scheme for the national scales of pay of senior teaching posts of the education department of Azad Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Paid directly from the civil estimates and the rules of fixation of pay in these scales as appeared herewith.⁵⁷

By dint of this decision, the Government servants got self-respect and came out from pessimistic sentiments and spirit of work improved in them. It was the historical decision, which was accepted by the Central Government, at that time 25,000 servicemen⁵⁸ took advantage of the parity of the Punjab service structure. This principle was determined⁵⁹ for the future of the service structure in Azad Kashmir. It provided the incentives⁶⁰ to Azad Jammu and Kashmir services. He also established a Public Service Commission for servants of grade seventeen and above. The rules of this Commission were constituted for the different categories.⁶¹

5.7 Changes in the National Flag, Anthem and Syllabus

The flag of AJ&KMC was of green colour as All India Muslim League had its flag. Initially the flag of AJ&KMC was adopted as a National Flag. It was the symbol⁶² of the Azad Kashmir's Government. The flag of Azad Jammu and Kashmir consisted of green colour there was a star and a crescent on it, which were the symbols of accession to Pakistan, besides this there were four straight lines placed on it representing four rivers, Sindh, Jhelum, Ravi, and Chinab.⁶³ Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan when

became President, he kept afresh in the suffering of freedom fighters in their share in preparation of the flag.⁶⁴ He added the blood spots on the ground of star and crescent. The amended flag was waved during his Government.⁶⁵ When his Government was terminated, People's Party of Azad Jammu and Kashmir re-changed the flag as it was before.⁶⁶ When Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan changed the flag of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, it was necessary to change the National Anthem. For this purpose he called the poet of the National Anthem of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Hafcez Jalandari in Muzaffarabad accompanied with Dr. Nazir Ahmed (Retired Principal Govt. College Lahore) and Naseem Hijazi, Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan also wanted to change the Syllabus. However, after the public opposition, he postponed this plan.⁶⁷

5.8 Qadiani Issue and AJ&KMC

Qadian is a town of District Gurdaspur in Indian Punjab.⁶⁸ Mirza Ghulam Ahmed was born in this town,⁶⁹ and claimed himself as a prophet. The believers of this faith were found in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and also in Pakistan, their activities were anti Islam and blasphemous. Therefore, in future they could disturb the faith and belief of the Muslims in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan. AJ&KMC and its government was keenly aware of these activities, future of Islam was in threat particularly in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. When the activities of the 'Qadianis' were at its full swing, it was realized to stop their activities because they wanted to establish a 'Qadiani Belt'⁷⁰

Major Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan⁷¹ (1921- 2005)⁷² was a member of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Assembly. ⁷³ He was earlier inspired by the founder of 'Majlis-i-Ahrar' Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari⁷⁴ (1891-1961). He kept all the speeches of Syed

Attaullah Shah Bukhari in his mind and intuition towards the faith of Qadianis. Luckily when he got opportunity to offer his contribution, he struggled for this cause and tabled a historical resolution in Legislative Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir on 29 April 1973⁷⁵ to declare the 'Qadianis' (Ahmedis) as non-Muslims.⁷⁶

Before this resolution a session of working committee of Legislative Assembly of AJ&KMC was held in Mirpur on 26, 27 April 1973. This session was headed by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan⁷⁷ and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan was the President of government. When this resolution was tabled, Liberation League was the opposition party of Legislative Assembly. All six members of Liberation League boycotted this session.⁷⁸ This resolution was adopted and thus 'Qadianis' were officially declared non-Muslims.

When this resolution was passed, following persons were the member of Legislative Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Mian Ghulam Rasool, Haji Muhammad Usman, Raja Muhammad Latif Khan, Ali Gohar Khan, Colonel Mansha Khan, Raja Mumtaz Hussain Rathore, Sardar Bahadur Khan, Raja Muhammad Azad Khan, Major (R) Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan, Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, Syed Nisar Hussain Shah Qadri, Chaudary Muhammad Azam Khan, Pir Ali Jan Shah, Chaudary Khadim Hussain, Chaudary Niaz Ahmed, Chaudary Sohbat Ali, Syed Ghulam Hassan Karmani, Khawaja Ghulam Hassan, Sardar Sher Ahmed Khan, Basheer Hussain Khan, Sheikh Manzar Masood, Chaudary Wazir Ali, Chaudary Sultan Ali, Muhammad Shafi Saraf, Saeeda Khanum.

On 30 April 1973 the news papers were captioned with this news. In this way AJ&KMC and its Government under the Presidentship of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan fulfilled their religious obligation, and they were appreciated by the whole Islamic world.⁷⁹ The resolution which was passed on 29 April 1973 by the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Assembly was severely criticized. The Pakistan Government was disappointed⁸⁰ by the action of the Government of AJ&KMC. Within the house in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, the five persons broke away from Muslim Conference and made the parliamentary group with the name of People's Party.⁸¹ The Qadiani activities had more and more influence in Pakistan after this development, the issue was most sensitive, the Statement of Mirza Nasir Ahmed could not justify in the parliament, so the Prime Minister of Pakistan Z.A.Bhutto brought the amendment in the constitution of 1973 to solve the issue.

The Constitution Act 1974 was passed on 21 September and added to article 260 of the Constitution that explains as to who is a non-Muslim? This article pertains to definitions under the constitution. The new clause Stated that 'a person who does not believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophet hood of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) as the last of the Prophets or claims to be a prophet in any sense of the word or any description what so ever, after Prophet Muhammad (SAW) or recognizes such a climate as a prophet or a religious reformer is not a Muslim for the purposes of the constitution or law'. Since this definition or explanation did not specifically referred to the 'Qadianis' (Ahmedis) therefore, article 106, which pertains to the formation of provisional assemblies and distribution of the seats within such assemblies was also amended to make mention of Ahmedis among the non-Muslim faiths described in the

article for the purpose of reservation of special seat for them. They were referred to as 'persons of the Qadiani group or the Lahori group (who call themselves 'Ahmedis')

All credit goes to AJ&KMC that took initiative on the grass root level against the Qadianis and officially declared them non-Muslims who were disturbing the faith and belief of Muslims. If all other achievements of Muslim Conference are set aside only this service to Islam is worth appreciating and deserves to be written in gold. It is a provoking event that serves as a light house for the whole Muslim Umma till the Day of Judgment.

5.9 Election and Reinstating of Ittehad-i-Salasa

1974 was the year of the election in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Before the election of the Assembly, AJ&KMC constituted a parliamentary board, Khawaja Amin Mukhtar, Khawaja Abdul Samad Wani, Sheikh Manzar Masood and Aziz Ratvi were the members of the board.⁸² The job of the board was to search the suitability of candidates in Azad Jammu and Kashmir and the refugees settled in Pakistan.⁸³ The board completed its visit and prepared the list of the candidates. After this Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan called the annual session of AJ&KMC's workers in Poonch House so the Presidential candidates should be nominated.⁸⁴

On the other hand the People's Party Azad Jammu and Kashmir was organizing the group; they had the support of Z.A.Bhutto.⁸⁵ He did not like Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan's remaining in power more.⁸⁶ He wanted to bring the People's Party in power in Azad Kashmir. In the Poonch House's session Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan demanded the nomination of the Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir to be

by the Government and he was kept in Palandari Jail, the allegations were the speeches and press briefings against the People's Party.¹¹¹ In Pakistan the reputation of the People's Party was going worst.

There were complaints of corruption in the rank and file of the party. The leaders of the party admitted the fact but were not able to control their followers. Bhutto's style of management was too personalized to be ignored by the opposition. He was accused of violation the constitution and imposing one party rule on the country. It was said that he had converted a mandate for democracy into these civilian dictatorship.¹¹²

In the circumstances, the general elections were announced before time in Pakistan. The election of National Assembly was held on 7 March and the provincial election was held on 10 March 1977¹¹³ the Government's administration machinery was used extensively for rigging in the elections which resulted in the landslide victory for Bhutto's People's Party.

The opposition started a mass civil disobedience movement which gathered enormous momentum and which could not be suppressed. The opposition organized the political parties in the name of Pakistan National Alliance, it was called nine stars, the Ninth Star was the AJ&KMC and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan joined PNA. The movement was called 'Nizam-i-Mustafa', to crush the movement Bhutto arrested the politicians and then he released them for negotiation. When Bhutto realized that without negotiation the movement could not be stopped so he called Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan in Rawalpindi, he had given the task to gather all politicians in 'Sihala Rest House' who were confined in different jails.

The leader of the AJ&KMC made tours from Peshawar to Karachi on helicopter; the agreement almost was signed by politicians.¹¹⁴ The country was on the verge of a civil war. On 5 July 1977, Bhutto's Government was overthrown by the armed forces, General Zia-ul-Haq the 'Chief of the Army', grabbed the powers and imposed Martial Law in Pakistan. The abolishment of Pakistan People's Party's Government influenced politics of Azad Kashmir. The leaders of the People's Party in Azad Jammu and Kashmir called other parties to join the meeting for the structure of powers.¹¹⁵ In joint meeting for the structure of establishment of democracy, it was decided to establish the impartial administration in future so that, the three political parties, Azad Jammu and Kashmir People's Party, AJ&KMC and Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference decided to appoint Major General as the Chief Executive for interim period.

The President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan had continued his presidential duties as it was. This was the "Ittehad-e-Salasa" which signed the agreement, it was implemented on 8 August 1977, Khan Abdul Hamid Khan resigned on 11 August 1977 from the office of the Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. On 12 August 1977, the Chief Executive Major General Abdul Rehman took the charge of his office.¹¹⁶ General Abdul Rehman was a trustworthy personality¹¹⁷ by all the school of political thoughts. He never prolonged his sovereignty at any cost on the basis of political measures. Such tremendous role was also played by him in the past.¹¹⁸ The three political parties, 'Ittehad-e-Salasa' had the mandate on this agreement that when general election in Pakistan would be held after that election within ten days¹¹⁹ the election in Azad Jammu and Kashmir would be held under the administration of Major General Abdul Rehman. Unluckily the Martial Law was imposed by General Zia-ul-Haq on 5 July

1977, and it was promised that election within ninety days would be held, but this “Promise” remained as a “promise” and he did not fulfill his promise. Major General Abdul Rehman honoured the coalition of People’s Party, AJ&KMC, Azad Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference; he addressed to the head of the Council who was the Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan for substitution¹²⁰ of the Chief Executive in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. General Zia-ul-Haq not only denied to hold the election within ninety days but also established the “Accountability Cell” for the politicians this was extended up to the Azad Jammu and Kashmir under Lieutenant General Faiz Ali Chishti. The election cell formed,¹²¹ Chishti came to Muzaffarabad in October last 1977 to sue against Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan who was the head of AJ&KMC. He possessed the allegation pamphlet as proof in which the corruption allegations were levied on Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan.

The Chief Secretary Hassan Zaheer did not agree on this allegation, another reason was that Major General Abdul Rehman did not want to make himself a tool of Chishti.¹²² On 31 October 1977, Brigadier Muhammad Hayat Khan took the oath as the Chief Executive of Azad Jammu and Kashmir; he was the choice of General Chishti.¹²³ The appointment of Brigadier Muhammad Hayat Khan, the interim period in Azad Jammu and Kashmir had been over.¹²⁴ There was a political deadlock in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Except critical situations All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference contributed for the sake of Kashmir Dispute at international forum.

Notes and References

- 1 The Daily, *Pakistan Times*, Rawalpindi, 21 September, 1970.
- 2 Sarwar Abbasi, *Siasiat-e-Kashmir*, (Rawalpindi: F.I Printers, Kashmir Road, 2008), p. 197.
- 3 Ghulam Ahmed Pandit had relations with K.H.Khurshid. He had been the Secretary of Brigadier Abdul Rehman. Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan told him about the position and encouraged him to continue the work with full confidence. It was told him to be neglected the Chief Secretary. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 197.
- 5 *AJ&KMC, Party Record*, Mujahid Manzal, Rawalpindi.
- 6 Sarwar Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, (Rawalpindi : F.I Printers, Kashmir Road, 2008), p. 197.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 197.
- 8 *AJ&KMC, Party Record*.
- 9 Monthly *Rawabit*, vol. Iv, (Muzaffarabad, November 2009), p. 22.
- 10 *AJ&KMC, Party Record*.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 760.
- 12 Ghulam Ahmed Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi ki Dehleez Per*, (Lahore: Jang Publisher, 1991), p. 343.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 343.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 343.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 343.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 763.
- 17 *AJ&KMC, Party Record*.
- 18 Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi ki Dehleez Per*, p. 358.
- 19 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 203.
- 20 Khurshid Hassan Mir was the leader of People's Party in Rawalpindi, as he was the member of National Assembly; the opponent of the Muslim Conference met with him and started activities against Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
- 21 Sardar Muhammad Farooq, *Azad Kashmir Shakra-i-Taraqi Per*, (Islamabad: Crystal Printers, 1989), p. 61.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
- 23 Researcher Interview with Sardar Rafique Baig (Member of Executive Council of PPP in 1973 and Vice President of Poonch Bagh) at Bagh 22-02-2011.
- 24 *Ibid.*,
- 25 *Ibid.*,
- 26 Daily *Ausaf*, Islamabad, 24 March 2011, p.8.
- 27 Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan, *Muqadma-i-Kashmir*, (Lahore: Shirkat Printing Press, January 2011), p. 113.
- 28 G.M.Mir, *Kashmir Shanasi*, Vol.I, (Mirpur: Maktaba-i-Rizwan, 1999), p. 217.
- 29 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 203.

- 30 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 204.
- 31 In the election of 1970 Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan supported Sheikh Mazar Masood instead of Pir Ali Jan Shah for the Speakership in Azad Jammu and Kashmir Assembly. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 205.
- 33 Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, *Muqadma-i-Kashmir*, p. 114.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p.116.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- 37 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat Sardar Ibrahim Khan ki Siasi Swan-i-Umri*, (Muzaffarabad: Institute of Kashmir Studies, 2000), p. 91.
- 38 Syed Mehmood Azad, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, (Muzaffarabad: Siadat Publication, 1988), p. 489.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 206.
- 40 Nazir Ahmed Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, (Lahore: Al-Faisal Publication, 2004), p. 763.
- 41 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 81.
- 42 Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi Ki Dehleez Per*, P. 355.
- 43 Daily *Ausaf*, 24 March 2011, p. 11.
- 44 Muhmmad Saeed Asad, *Kashmiriat*, (Muzaffarabad: Qumi Nisab Bureau Riasat Jammu-wa-Kashmir, 2004), p. 128.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 46 Professor Khan Zaman Mirza, *Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan and his Role in Freedom Movement*, (Muzaffarabad: Kashmir Academy, D-66 Upper Chattar, 1994) p. 10.
- 47 The Daily, *Pakistan Times*, Rawalpindi, 21 September, 1970
- 48 Chaudary Ghulam Abbass wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan from central office. The no of the file is 13(5)/ PMS/50. the name of the place where he wrote the letter is given 40, Mayo Road, Rawalpindi. Now the document is available in National Documentation Centre. file 10, p. 44.
- 49 Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi ki Dehleez Per*, p. 340.
- 50 Qayyum Khan, *Kashmir Bana-i-ga Pakistan*, p. 281.
- 51 *Govt Notification*, (Muzaffarabad: Admin, 18047-94/CS/72, 13 September 1972).
- 52 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 762.
- 53 Talking with Justice Carnalice when he was Minister of Kashmir Affairs, he pointed out about the real Islamic way of life. He realized about the Islamic teaching and gave references from Islamic history. Qayyum Khan, *Kashmir Bana-i-ga Pakistan*, p. 285.
- 54 *Urdu Jamia Encyclopedia*, Vol. II 1988, p. 1120.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 1120.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 338.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 338.
- 58 *Govt. Notification*, (Muzaffarbad: FD/ 2554-5314/73, 2 October 1973).
- 59 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 761.

- 60 Syed Qasim Mehmood, *Encyclopedia Pakistanika* (Lahore: Al-Faisl Publications, 2004), p. 851.
- 61 Pandit, *Kashmir Azadi ki Delhleez Per*, p. 340.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 340.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 340.
- 64 The real designer of the flag of Azad Jammu and Kashmir is under the debate, some writers considered Mr. J.K. Ready as a designer who was a Hindu writer. Another one claimed as designer who is Colonel Haq Mirza from Bhimber. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
- 65 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 763.
- 66 Daily *Haider*, 24 October 1990, p. 10.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 68 The background of the Qadiani movement when Ghulam Ahmed proclaimed himself as prophet. This belief was entirely against the faith of Muslims. After the death of Miza Ghulam Ahmed 26 May 1908, the next his successor was Hakeem Noor Din Bharivi, he remained as successor for six years. Then his elder son Mirza Bashir ud Din became successor after him Mirza Nasir Ahmed, Mirza Tahir Ahmed became successor one by one. When Pakistan came into being the anti Qadiani movement was started in 1953 and 1974 in Pakistan. *Ibid.*, p. 1120.
- 69 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 764.
- 70 Molana Allah Wasaya, *Aeina-i-Qadianiet*, (Lahore: Idara Talecfat-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwat, Ghazini Street, p. 127.
- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 764
- 72 Quarterly, *Nida-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwat*, (Kotli: April, May, June, 2009), p.6. Major Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan was born in Chowki, a village of Bagh on 3 July 1921. When he was studying in Srinagar, there he met with the founder of 'Majlis-i-Ahrar' Syed Attahullah Shah Bukhari in 1940. He learnt by Syed Attaullah Shah Bukhari about 'Qadiani faith'. He revealed the Qadiani's conspiracy with great dare. He said to Major Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan that Qadiani has been scheming with British and Sikhs for ruling over Kashmir but Inshallah they will not be succeeded till the dooms day. Except this there are some duties due on Kashmiri Nation, Kashmiri leader and Muslim world, which need immediate attention. After this discussion Major Sardar Muhammad Ayub Khan was determined to play his role in this regard. On 3 June 1970 he got retirement from Pakistan Army. After that he joined AJ&KMC and participated in the lection of 1970 and became a member of Legislative Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. After becoming the member of Assembly, he was elected as a Speaker. Being a speaker he did great effort for 'Khatm-i-Nabowat (SAW)' and tabled a resolution on 29 April 1974.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p.6.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 80 M.Imtiaz Shahid. Dr. Memona Shahid, *An Advance Study in Pakistan Affairs*, (Lahore: Advance Publishers, 2004), p. 211.
- 81 *Ibid.*, p. 211.

- 82 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 82.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 84 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 85 *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 86 Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan's Assembly passed the resolution in which Ahmedi declared non-Muslims. So anti Ahmedi movement was the cause of the rift. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- 87 The message was conveyed by Syed Mehmood Azad and Khawaja Amin Mukhtar to Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- 89 At the time Poonch was the single district, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan both were belonged to same district.
- 90 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 209.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- 93 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- 94 All the instructions being given by Z.A.Bhutto were acted upon. He asked that twelve seats added in Kashmir Assembly of the migrants of Occupied Kashmir, settled in Pakistan, may be given to People's Party Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Bhutto determined to the power of People's Party in Azad Kashmir. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
- 95 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 85.
- 96 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 210.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 210.
- 98 *Ibid.*, p. 210.
- 99 AJ&KMC, *Party Record*.
- 100 The federal Security Force besieges the President House of Azad Jammu and Kashmir in Muzaffarabad. Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 210.
- 101 *Ibid.*, p. 211.
- 102 Monthly *Rawabit*, p. 23.
- 103 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 104 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 89.
- 105 *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- 106 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 213.
- 107 Azad, *Ghazi-i-Millat*, p. 89.
- 108 *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- 109 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 110 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
- 111 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 213.
- 112 Ahmed Shujah Pasha, *Pakistan: A Political Study*, (Lahore: Sang-i-meel Publication 1995), p. 161.

- 113 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 768.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p. 768.
- 115 Agreement draft was sent by the Zia ul Haq on 27 July 1977 from Rawalpindi.
- 116 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 769.
- 117 It was his second term of the office of the Government. He was impartial and honest. He believed
in justice, his previous record was much outstanding and clear.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 770.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p. 770.
- 120 Abdul Rehman had the position to continue his tenure more, but he did not act upon this. He
disliked this way of practice in politics.
- 121 Abbasi, *Siasiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 217.
- 122 *Ibid.*, p. 217.
- 123 *Ibid.*, p. 219.
- 124 Tishna, *Tareekh-i-Kashmir*, p. 770.

Conclusion

All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference is one of the most prominent and active political party of State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. This political party produced great leadership. The successors possess same political ideology in the state of Jammu & Kashmir. Heavy taxes, violation of human rights, deprivation of the right of freedom and yields of their own fields, bane on religious activities and homelessness of Kashmiris in native land were reasons of the formation of first ever political party of the State and AJ&KMC is still an active participator in the State's politics. Dogra had made this land an Army State. In this situation political thinkers thought for their own political way for the fulfillment of the rights of Kashmiri people. AJ&KMC was formed under the ideology that Kashmir which is a heaven naturally would be a heaven for its people as well. Constitution is considered the base of a political party and AJ&KMC was the only political party which was made constitutionally in 1931 and possessed its own constitution. Later when this party got fame in public it was divided into two parts. One of them was called National Conference and the other part became All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference.

The political situations in Indian Subcontinent always affected the politics of the State of Jammu of Kashmir. After the Second World War (1939-1945) ups and downs of the leadership of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League gradually strengthened the demand of liberation of Kashmiris from the 'Dogra Raj' and this demand made AJ&KMC a main stream party for the struggle of Kashmir's freedom. Whenever the elections were conducted by Maharaja, AJ&KMC proved itself as a

majority party. AJ&KMC seemed to cast a spell on Kashmiris through its influential decisions. AJ&KMC took mature and bold decisions like accession resolution of Kashmir to Pakistan on 19 July 1947, in response Indian raiding on innocent Kashmiri people, AJ&KMC organized 'Mujahideen' (freedom fighters) and retired army persons for the struggle to liberate the area not only from the Dogra but also from Indian raiders. At last 'Mujahideen' succeeded in getting the 'Base Camp' named 'Azad State of Jammu and Kashmir'. Still Muslim Conference is pursuing its task that the Indian occupied Kashmir would also be freed and entire State of Jammu & Kashmir would have accession to Pakistan. So AJ&KMC has proved itself as a binding force between Pakistan and State of Jammu and Kashmir because it has its influential roots in the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

AJ&KMC played a vital role by providing feedback to the resolutions passed by United Nations. In fact, Kashmir Dispute is the part of Pakistan Movement that discusses the cause of division of the Subcontinent and its position on international level is that million of people of United India got right of self-determination whereas Kashmiri people had been deprived from this right, no doubt Kashmiri people had started the Freedom Movement for their fundamental rights in 1931. This movement was also supported by the great scholar of Subcontinent Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal and other contemporary religious and political leaders of Muslim Community of India. After the emergence of Pakistan on 14 August 1947, the leaders of AJ&KMC continued their political and armed struggle 1947-1949. Consequently area of 32,000 square miles was liberated, including Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit and Baltistan. In this regard Kashmir is integral part of Pakistan on historical and geographical grounds. AJ&KMC showed its confidence in

Pakistan. AJ&KMC tied its destiny with Pakistan not only theoretical but also practical as civil armed struggled. AJ&KMC accepted ceasefire of 1 January 1949 in the favor of Pakistan and its geopolitical situations, otherwise AJ&KMC's political and armed struggles against Indian and Dogra forces was on its peak and had an opportunity to defeat Indian and Dogra forces all over the State of Jammu and Kashmir because people those areas which were held by the Indian forces also supported the AJ&KMC and freedom fighters.

AJ&KMC followed the political vision and strategies of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as well as the political party of All India Muslim League (1906-1947). During this research many articles and political viewpoints led the opinion of the people that AJ&KMC seek the attraction of world community towards Kashmir Dispute. Chaudary Ghulam Abbass Khan who was the pioneer of political party AJ&KMC maintained cordial relations with the political figures of Pakistan and developed the consensus with Pakistan government on certain significant issues. During Freedom Movement of Kashmir (1947-1949) there was a need of immediate support of communication and other political support which were ensured by the Pakistan.

Even though AJ&KMC was not only formed on the basis of religious reactionary ground, the political rights of the party were its essential demand but also it was associated with Hindus and Sikhs of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The political scenario of the Subcontinent changed by leaps and bounds, so all AJ&KMC was divided into two factions. The lion share had been converted into AJ&KNC (1939) and after the demand for Pakistan (1940) AJ&KMC was again restored by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass Khan. Then AJ&KMC coped with the policies of All India Muslim League

during the Pakistan Movement (1940-1947). Partition of Subcontinent (1947) produced vagueness of the State of Jammu and Kashmir; therefore the party politically struggled for freedom of the State. Then it was concluded that the State's decision is before UNO. Top leadership of the party had misunderstandings within party and the once again party rift rose. The party always solved its internal grievances through negotiations in ordinary course and top leadership offered his resigns in tough situations to solve the political issues. Party had been dividing into different parts as AJ&KMC (Ibrahim Group) AJ&KMC (Abbass Group) and Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference.

When Liberation League was founded (1962) by K.H.Khurshid, AJ&KMC had to face deficit because some worker and leaders of AJ&KMC changed their political favour. During the government of General Ayub Khan (1958-1969), party adopted the way of consensus with Liberation League and Mahaz-i-Rai Shumari and formed a platform of Ittihad-i-Salasa for the democratic and constitutional rights. At that time, the leaders of AJ&KMC Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Mir Waiz Maulavi Muhammad Yousuf Shah and Raja Muhammad Haider Khan passed away and the leadership fell in the hands of Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan. General election of 1970 held and AJ&KMC won the election and Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan became the president of State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. During his tenure, he edged out the grievances in the party and made it more popular and injected new sprit in the party and kept unbreakable relations with Pakistan. After the re-integration of Pakistan in 1971, AJ&KMC adopted the ideological slogan 'Kashmir Bane ga Pakistan' which was a logical and true reality keeping in view over the people of Kashmir, geographical situation of Kashmir and future aspects of Kashmiri people as well a step toward the solidarity of Pakistan.

Whenever plebiscite is held in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, AJ&KMC shall be the only party having effective tools to make an exclusive difference. This is same as All India Muslim League by working on an ideology of 'Pakistan' unexpectedly even though there were a lot of 'Islamic' political parties present in the subcontinent, which were even against the formation of Pakistan. Muslim League was the main stream party of the Muslims of subcontinent that at last, formed Pakistan. Similarly, AJ&KMC is a stream lined party of the State Jammu and Kashmir. The independence of Kashmiris or plebiscite is just possible through the platform of AJ&KMC. No other party having different ideology can play such an exclusive role.

Political crisis in Pakistan buildup coldness to understand the Kashmir Dispute, on the other hand opponents of Pakistan worked against the issue to roll back it as well as Kashmiris also neglected the significance of Kashmir Dispute. AJ&KMC believes that Kashmir Dispute should be solved according the resolutions of UNO. But after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan many Pakistani politicians and leadership deviated from the determined principles. They opened the way of negotiation for trade and mutual interest instead of the core issue of Kashmir Dispute which is a perplexed problem and bone of contention between India and Pakistan, which led the struggle weak and baseless. AJ&KMC participated at different times in wars 1947-1949, 1965 and 1971 but when ever negotiations on Kashmir Dispute are held and agreements are signed on any level AJ&KMC as a political party not intended in any exclusive decision. The representative party of State Jammu and Kashmir remains aloof. This resentment also creates the political gap for the strengthening the Kashmir Cause and public opinion does not favour the vision of Pakistani politicians. The military rule in Pakistan also affected the political

spirit of AJ&KMC and divided the party by authoritative manners. During the research it is explored that Ministry of Kashmir Affairs always keeps heavy hand on the political parties of State Jammu and Kashmir for their own political benefits. For Kashmir cause AJ&KMC respects the decisions of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and never wishes only for its own political interest. It is very obvious that when ever party strengthened at any political issue, the pressure from Ministry of Kashmir Affairs launched friction in different kinds. The partial activities of Pakistan government against AJ&KMC are there but it is still standing by the solidarity of Pakistan on Two Nation Theory in South Asia.

The significant feature of this political party is that the party always took decisions through their executive body and the election of the party is being held regularly. These democratic manners kept this political party active in the politics. It is the need of the hour that AJ&KMC should be strengthened. Azad Jammu and Kashmir is the base camp of State of Jammu and Kashmir as conceived by Chaudary Ghulam Abbass. AJ&KMC has visionary politicians, who follow the decisions, thinking and vision of Chaudary Ghulam Abbass, Sardar Ibrahim Khan, Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan and other great leaders of the State. Corruption, allegations, ill feelings and creating vacuum are the factors which should be avoided in party politics. Such elements fade the vision and scope of the party. In the past such things were the causes of division in AJ&KMC and the party deviated from its basic theme and could not stick to cause. It is hoped that the politicians should see beyond their prejudices and return to the original goal to give spirit to the party striving for achieving accession of the entire State to Pakistan.

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Glossary

Aabi Guzar Gah. Canal's track.

Ahmedis. A section of Qadinis.

Amur-i-diniyah. The affair of Religion.

Anjuman-e-Hamayyat-e-Islam. Name of the organization based on Islamic teachings.

Awami. Relating People.

Chowk. A crossing point of four routes.

Chubara. A Persian word. Wooden room having four doors.

Dars-i-Quran. Lesson of Quran; to elaborate the message of Quran in a lesson.

Islamization. To develop Islamic Teachings in the Pakistan.

Ittehad-i-Salasa. Alliance of three political parties of Azad Jammu and Kashmir namely, AJ&KMC, Azad Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference and Liberation League.

Jamadar. A person who possesses the record of land.

Jamia Masjid. Mosque where the Friday prayer is being offered.

Jihad. Struggle for enhancement of Islam.

Jumma tul Wida. Last Friday of Ramadan.

Kaghzi Field Marital. Bogus Field Martial.

Kala Qanon. A Blind Law which is used partially.

Khanqah-i-Mualla. A sacred place in Srinagar. The house Syed Mir Ali Hamdani, it is a sacred place of Kashmir Muslims, they consider it as second sacred place in the world after Kaba. Sultan Sikander built this glorious building in 1394. The Verses of Quran are engraved on its walls.

Lahori group. A section of Qadianis.

Latthi Charge. To beat some one with stick, especially used to disperse the crowd in crucial situation.

Mahaz-i-Rai Shumari. A political party of the State having vision of Independent Kashmir.

Majlis-i-Ahrar. Religious organization in against the preaching of Ghulam Ahmed Qadiani.

Mal-i-Ghanimat. confiscated property of the war collected from Non-Muslims as a punishment

Malaisha. Name of Colour, a blackish colour.

Mashraqi Libas. Eastern Dress.

Maulana. Pious man, who acts upon the Islamic teachings.

Maulavi. Religious preacher. A person who preaches Islam.

Millat-i-Islamia. The concept of Islamic Nation.

Mo-i-Mubarik. Sacred hair of Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Mujahid-i-Awal. Sardar Muhammad Abdul Qayym Khan claims that he is the first man who started armed attacks on the Dogra Army in 1947. This designation is specified with his name

Mujahid Manzil. Mansion of Kashmiri Freedom Fighters in Srinagar

Nallah. Stream or Canal.

Nizam-i-Islam. A movement which was launched by Kashmiri Muslims for implementation of the Islamic System in their own State.

Nizam-i-Mustafa. A movement which was organized by the alliance of nine political parties of Pakistan and AJ&K in 1977. This movement was against the government of PPP, enforcing to implement Islamic System in Pakistan.

Paraja Sabha. Name of Kashmir Assembly in Indian held Kashmir which was Constituted in 1934.

Pather Masjid. It is constructed with huge stones; these are engraved by beautiful decoration. It is situated in Srinagar in State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Pindaal. A Convention Hall or place, mostly used for huge participants.

Qadianis. Those people who believe in the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed Qadiani.

Qazis. A Judge in Islamic system of justice.

Qumi. National.

Razakars. Volunteers

Rehber Committee. Guiding Committee.

Sardars. Heads of Tribes

Shalwar Qamiz. Name of dress.

Subedar. Junior Commissioned Officer.

Tasleem Karo. A plan of Liberation League with the conception that liberated of the State should be recognized as a 'State' of Jammu and Kashmir to other countries of the world.

Tehsildar. A person who possesses the record of land.

Tehsils. Subdivisions of a District.

Umma. Universal Nation. Islamic concept of Nation.

Wakf. Donation.

Yom-i-Muzamat. Condemn Day.

Zalimana. Cruel action or decision.

Zimeendar Mohallah. Name of Ward

Zindabad. Sign of Joy. May live long. .

