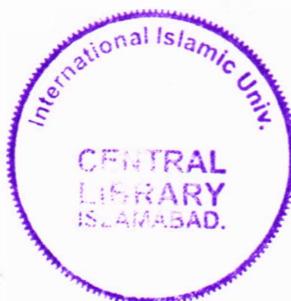


SARDAR MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN:
A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY
(1940-2003)



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May, 2011

Accession No TH-7981-

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KTS

1 - Biographers

2 - Biography

DATA ENTERED

Amz
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A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for MS in History at the Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University, Islamabad.

May, 2011

CERTIFICATE

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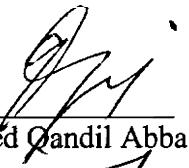
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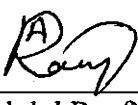
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GLOSSARY

Azad	Independent/To liberate
Chuhla	A hearth / A stove
Darbar	A court held in British period to honour prominent Indians
Dak	The Post or Mail
Eid	A Muslim Festival
Imam	Spiritual or Religious leader of Muslims
Jihad	Religious war led by Muslims
Khutba	Sermon
Mujahid	A warrior in the defence of true faith
Masjid	Mosque/A worship place of Muslims
Shawl	Cloak consisting an oblong piece of cloth used to cover head and shoulders
Tehrik	Movement

ABBREVIATION

AJK	Azad Jammu & Kashmir
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Brig.	Brigadier
Col.	Colonel
Gen.	General
KLM	Kashmir Liberation Movement
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
MRD	Movement for the Restoration of Democracy
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UN	United Nations
UNO	United Nations Organization

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

Huma Anwar Kiani

To
AMMI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I am thankful to Almighty Allah for His countless blessings that helped me prepare and complete this research in time. I have countless obligations to my supervisor Dr. Syed Qandil Abbas who not only kept on guiding me during my research work, but also read the drafts of the thesis with patience and offered valuable advices. Without his enormous help, I would never have succeeded in completing my dissertation. I owed a great deal of gratitude to Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, the son of late Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan who provided me an access to the private papers and the dairies of his father. I am highly grateful to my teacher and a friend Mr. Altaf Qadir for his scholarly and persistent guidance, which was always there, whenever I needed it. He was very helpful and encouraging throughout my research work.

I must thank to my teachers and faculty members of the department of History IIUI who helped me off and on in my research work, I would especially like to mention Mr. Akhter Sandhu, Mr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah and Mrs. Rafia Riaz for their kind support and cooperation at that stage of my research when I was about to lose my heart. I shall be failing in my duty, if I do not acknowledge most sincerely, the help and contributions of many individuals, staff members of many libraries and institutions in Islamabad, Muzaffarabad and Rawalakot, especially National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Islamabad, National Institute of Pakistan Studies Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, IRI International Islamic University Islamabad, National Library Islamabad, National Archives of Pakistan Islamabad, National Documentation Centre, Cabinet Division, Islamabad, Institute of Regional Studies Islamabad, Parliament's library in Islamabad, Kashmir Studies Department University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Muzaffarabad, Central Library, University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Muzaffarabad, Press Information Department, Muzaffarabad, and FM radio library, Rawalakot.

I am also thankful to Samina and Zinat for their assistance related to my research. I am highly indebted to my colleagues and friends, especially Capt. Ayed Karim Asad who in fact motivated me to do M.Phil. His moral support was always there whenever I needed it.

I must recall the memory of my mother who had desired to see me with higher education degree but unfortunately did not live to see it happening. I would also like to thank to my sister Uzma, who always accompanied me wherever I went to collect data for my research. Without her support, it would have been very difficult for me to complete my research work.

Last but not the least, I am highly indebted to my family members especially my Nani Ammi, Maryam, Daud, Baji, Aunty, Bari Khala, Tasnim Aunty, Erum Khala, Navid Khala, Uncle, and all Mamus for their prayers and well wishes. I shall really thank to all those people and relatives who helped me during the whole period of my research.

Huma Anwar Kiani

ABSTRACT

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan played a significant role in the freedom struggle of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the first decade of 20th century when he opened his eyes in a middle class family of Poonch, the socio-economic and political life of the Muslims of the state was miserable. Though, they were in a majority, they were ruled by despotic and repressive Dogras who had kept the Muslims in the state of complete subservience.

In early 1940, a significant event took place in British Indian politics when All India Muslim League under the presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, passed a resolution in support of a separate homeland i.e. Pakistan for the Muslims of the sub-continent. The state of Jammu and Kashmir became a bone of contention between the two successor states i.e. India and Pakistan, and the issue was referred to UN Security Council. The Muslims of Poonch, Kotli, Mirpur and Muzaffarabad under the leadership of Sardar Ibrahim, started a liberation movement against the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. As a result, they were able to liberate some parts of the state where they established a government with the name of Azad government under the leadership of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. Thus he devoted himself for the cause of the liberation of Kashmir and because of his hard work and determination, he managed to establish the departments to run the government within the limited resources. After that he visited many countries to present the Kashmir issue at international level.

Besides this, he also took keen interest in the affairs of the Azad Kashmir government irrespective of his position in the government or opposition. His political career witnessed many ups and downs when some people created a rift among the top leaders of the Kashmir movement which damaged the Kashmir cause converting Azad Kashmir into a ground of power politics. Despite all this, he kept himself aloof from any corruption and devoted his life for libation of Kashmir.

INTRODUCTION

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan a prominent personality in the history of Azad Jammu and Kashmir devoted his whole life for the cause of Kashmir Liberation Movement. He became the first president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and later also served as an opposition leader. Though other Kashmiri leaders of his time, like K.H. Khurshid and Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan, also played a significant role in the Kashmir movement, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan had no comparison because of his services. Approval of the resolution calling for accession to Pakistan at his residence, by the leadership of Kashmir Liberation Movement in 1947, his becoming of the first president of Kashmir and his continuous and relentless struggle for the right of self determination of Kashmiris at international forums provide him a distinct position among all other Kahsmiri leaders.

Statement of problem:

Economic and social injustices have always been the cause of public agitations against the rulers. The creation of a large consolidated Muslim state along the border of the Jammu and Kashmir gave the Muslims of the state a new hope and an entirely different

outlook for future. As many as 3.2 million Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir had, for nearly one hundred years, lived a life of slavery and serfdom. They had patiently suffered insult, injury and servitude. They had been subjected to indignities, religious intolerance and Hindu fanaticism at the point of bayonet.

Under the Dogra Raj, Muslims had been subjected to political segregation, economic inequalities, educational disadvantage and step-motherly treatment in every walk of life. Despite being in majority, the Muslims of the state lived under a thoroughly hostile rule of Dogra dynasty. The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir very soon realized that their emancipation lay well within sight, especially after the creation of Pakistan.

After the establishment of Pakistan, the Maharaja's government became more aggressive. The people of the state of Kashmir were now fed up to face insulting behaviour of the Maharaja's forces and started to revolt against the ruler as they wanted a change. At that time, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan emerged as an unanimous leader from Poonch in Azad Kashmir. In his leadership, the people of Kashmir launched the struggle for their homeland. Though, the Muslims did not have adequate resources, but had a zeal and determination to fight for their rights. Thus with mutual understanding, they agreed to join Pakistan. The situation of Kashmir was becoming tense day by day. During this time, they approved a resolution of the accession to Pakistan at the residence of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in Srinagar on July 19, 1947.

After a long struggle, the people formed the government of Azad Jammu and Kashmir on October 24, 1947. It was a turning point for them and they were facing a number of difficulties. The establishment of a new government was not an easy task, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan became the first president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir at the time when many veterans like Mir Waiz Yusef Shah and Chaudhry Hameedullah had openly refused to head the government. Despite the difficulties, his foresightedness and wisdom enabled him to establish within six months a well-run administration. In 1948, he went to United Nations to represent Kashmiris for their self-determination. No doubt, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was that son of Kashmir who devoted his whole life for Kashmiris and struggle for liberation of Kashmir. In almost 60 years of his political career, he faced many ups and downs but he never lost his heart. No doubt, his services for freedom struggle are unforgettable. Moreover, his contributions in the politics are worth mentioning.

The present study tries to examine the political role and services of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in Kashmir and find out that how he managed to establish a new government despite having limited resources? What efforts he made for institution building and how he presented the Kashmir issue at international forums?

Researcher will try to test a hypothetical statement that Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan remained active politician and tried to save the interest of Kashmiries on national, regional and international level.

Scope and significance:

The time frame of this study comprises the whole life, services and achievements of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, but the main focus will remain on his political career. For the background and better understanding of the subject, a brief introduction of Kashmir Liberation Movement has also been mentioned wherever required.

The topic had a unique significance in the history of Kashmir because Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was one of those few sons of soil who played a pivotal role in the freedom struggle. He faced many hardships during the whole movement but never lost heart and devoted his whole life for Kashmiris. At a time when everyone felt reluctant to openly attend political gatherings, he arranged a number of meetings of the Muslims Conference at his house.

The role and services of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan have been usually explored in the context of his early life and career, his role in the approval of the resolution of accession to Pakistan and his contribution in the struggle of Kashmir Liberation Movement, but the steps he took and efforts he made for institution building in the state, his contribution towards highlighting the Kashmir issue at international level and his struggle for the demand of self-determination of Kashmiris have not been described properly by any research scholar. In fact, works on his life and career are not based on a serious academic research. The object of this study is to fill these gaps and elaborate the services of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan properly in a systematic manner.

Literature Review:

The life and political struggle of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan has been mentioned by some writers. However, most of them were not professional historians. They have not given full details about this important personality and very few had dealt with it in a systematic way.

Syed Mahmood Azad's '*Ghazi-i-Milat Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan ki sayasi sawan-i-umeri*' was descriptive work in Urdu language. This book basically covers the whole life of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. His early education, his entry to politics and his role as a leader of Kashmir Liberation Movement. Though it is a detailed work on Sardar Ibrahim, the author did not give any reference to prove his arguments which is a big mistake as a book without references always lack authenticity.¹

Muhammad Sarwar Abbasi's '*Sayaseyat-i-Kashmir*' is a very good source of information about the history and politics of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He touched upon almost all aspects of the Kashmir Liberation Movement in a very systematic way and partially mentioned the services of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. One can easily understand the politics and government of Azad Kashmir after reading this book. Since

¹Syed Mahmood Azad, *Gazi-i-Milat Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan ki sayasi sawan-i-umeri*(Muzaffarabad: Sayadat publications, 2000).

there is no reference in this book at all, it seems like a story book rather than a research study.²

Masud Ahmed's '*Tarikh-i-sudnuti*' presents the role of Sudnuti and the activities of famous personalities of the region during the liberation movement. Major part of the book is based on history and the struggle of the Sudnuti in liberation movement and there is only one chapter related to the personalities of the region, who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of their homeland which is not sufficient to understand the role of those important personalities.³

Mirza Shafiq Hussain's '*Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza 1947-1975*,' presents a detailed sketch, of the history, movements and structure of Azad Kashmir government. In this book, one can judge the activities of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan but its main focus is on politics of Azad Kashmir. This is in fact a detailed book on the government of Azad Kashmir with references.⁴

S.M. Jaffar's "*Kashmir sold and resold*" is a complete treatise on the tragedy of Kashmir. Professor Jaffar has ably drawn the complete and well-documented story of Kashmir from medieval time to its sale and resale and the untold miseries and tyranny to which the Muslims of Kashmir have been subjected to by the Hindu government of India,

² Muhammad Sarwar Abbasi, *Sayaseyat-i-Kashmir* (Rawalpindi: F.I printers, 2008).

³ Masud Ahmed, *Tarikh-e-sudnuti* (Lahore: Ehzar sons, n.d).

⁴ Mirza Shafiq Hussain, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza 1947-1975* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1990).

exploding its perfidious veil of secularism. This is a detailed source related to the history and politics of Kashmir with full references.⁵

Pervaiz Dewan's '*Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh*' is a comprehensive study on politics of Kashmir. The book is divided in different chapters. Each chapter has its own significance because the author has given information about the history of Kashmir, Kashmir Liberation Movement and setup of Azad Kashmir government. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan's role in politics of Azad Kashmir discussed in brief way. The main problem with the work is that it is too short which at times leave one confused at certain points.⁶

Masud Ahmed Khan's '*Gazi-e-milat: Azad Kashmir k bani sadar Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan ki mukhtasir sawan-e-hayat*' is a detailed book on life of Sardar Ibrahim in Urdu language but there is no bibliography in the end of it. The author has tried to cover all aspects of the life of Sardar Ibrahim but in a short form which creates confusion for readers at some points.⁷

Muhammad Jahangir Khan conducted his MA thesis titled '*Sardar Ibrahim Khan and jang-i-azadi-i-Kashmir*' at the Kashmir Studies Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore. He has largely based his study on secondary sources related to Sardar Ibrahim

⁵ S.M.Jaffer, *Kashmir sold and resold*(Lahore: Book traders, 1992).

⁶ Pervaiz Dewan, *Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh*(New Delhi: Manas publications, 2007).

⁷ Masud Ahmed Khan, *Gazi-e-milat: Azad Kashmir k bani sadar Sardar Ibrahim Khan ki mukhtasir sawan-e-hayat*(Lahore: Maqbool academy,n.d).

Khan. His work gives a lot of information but the thesis is not properly arranged and he did not consult even the available primary sources.⁸

Aims and Objectives:

Almost all studies on Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan have tried to present him in the context of his early life and career but no one properly highlighted his role in establishment of Azad Kashmir government and his role as an opposition leader in Azad Kashmir politics. The present study tries to provide comprehensive account on Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.

Methodology:

This study has followed a systematic pattern with developing the themes of the chapters but at some occasions, it has employed more vivid and comprehensive view. The chapters have been formulated on the basis of different levels. The descriptive and analytical approach has been used in this research. The different chapters in the present study explain different stages of the political life of the Kashmiri leader. The whole thesis is divided into five chapters apart from introduction and conclusion. Chapter one presents full information about the life history of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, while the

⁸Muhammad Jahangir Khan, Sardar Ibrahim Khan and jang-i-azadi-i-Kashmir(M.A.thesis, University of Punjab,Lahore.1998).

second chapter highlights the role and services of Sardar Ibrahim as a part of the government. Third chapter concentrates on the role played by Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim in opposition to the government whereas fourth chapter traces the details related to his regional, national and international politics. The fifth and last chapter is on his ideology related to Pakistan. The conclusion contains arguments of the whole thesis together to sum up the discussion and to derive the final findings.

Despite scarcity of the source material on the subject, the researcher was so intrigued by its importance that she had ventured to explore it. Luckily, the researcher got access to the private papers of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan which had never been consulted by any scholar and which have made the present study a worthwhile effort.

The study relies on published/translated primary sources for gathering historical information and data. Mostly the translated versions of the Urdu sources have been used. At some places, Urdu terms have been preferred as the translation of certain words tends to alter their connotation. The translated works have proved immensely useful, especially, 'Matah-e-zindgi.' Some translated articles were also consulted to make the thesis more useful.

Primary sources are available at National Documentation Centre, Islamabad, National Archive of Pakistan, Islamabad and at the residence of Sardar Khalid Ibrahim Khan (son of Sardar Ibrahim Khan) in Islamabad. The researcher tried a lot to collect audio and video cassettes of the speeches of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan but

unfortunately due to the earthquake in 2005, most of the material related to the Kashmir movement and the services of Kashmiri leaders was destroyed in the libraries, especially in Khurshid Library, Muzaffarabad. Some audio cassettes containing interviews and speeches of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan were found by the researcher in the library of an FM radio station in Rawalakot while some useful information was collected from the childhood friends of Sardar Ibrahim like Sardar Mukhtayar Khan of Rawalakot and Sardar Habib Khan, now living in Chaklala, Rawalpindi.

Secondary sources like books, articles and newspapers clippings were culled from National Library, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, Press Information Department, Islamabad, Press Information Department, Muzaffarabad, International Research Institute, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Central Library International Islamic University, Islamabad, Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, History Department of the Government Post-Graduate College for Boys, Bagh (Azad Kashmir), Department of Kashmir Studies, University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Muzaffarabad, Central Library University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Muzaffarbad, Khurshid Library, Muzaffarabad, Library of Kashmir Liberation Cell, Muzaffarabad, Kashmir Liberation Cell Centre, Chandni Chowk, Rawalpindi, and Kashmir Studies Center, Punjab University, Lahore.

The researcher had to face many hardships during the data collection. Once when she went to see a Kashmiri researcher and scholar Dr. Sarwar Abbasi at his residence, it was a great shock for her to see him to be stricken with Palsy and could not be able to speak. But she was happy that despite all difficulties and hard work, she fulfilled all the requirements of the research and was sure that almost 90 per cent data on Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan has been consulted in this research.

CHAPTER NO: 1

LIFE HISTORY OF SARDAR MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN

1.1: Background

In 1915, when Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan was born in Poonch,⁹ the state of Jammu and Kashmir was ruled by the Dogras under Partap Singh. The Dogras had acquired the state under Gulab Singh, the grandfather of Partap Singh in the wake of Anglo-Sikh war of 1846. When in 1819, Ranjit Singh defeated the Afghans at the battle of Shupian, the state of Jammu and Kashmir became a part of Punjab. Later, Ranjit Singh confided it to Gulab Singh, who through combination of power, military tactics and viciousness added Ladakh and surrounding areas of Jammu.¹⁰ Technically these territories had been conquered on behalf of the Punjab but in practice they were under Gulab Singh,¹¹ who harbored a secret design of carving out an independent Dogra state, including the state of Jammu Kashmir and frontier areas of Ladakh and Baltistan.¹² As long as Ranjit Singh was alive he could do nothing to implement his scheme, but when in

⁹ Original passport of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 4th January 1948.(See also Appendix no 1).

¹⁰ Bava Satinder Singh, Raja Gulab Singh's role in first Anglo-sikh war(Modern Asian Studies vol.(v),part 1,January 1971),36.

¹¹ Ibid., 37.

¹² Muhammad Yusef Saraf, *Kashmiries fights for freedom* vol.1(Lahore: Ferozsons ltd.,1977),130.

1839 the providence removed his master, Gulab Singh moved against the weak, deprived and inefficient successors of the Lahore darbar. He aligned himself with the British, pledging them favours against the Punjab in return for the identification of his sovereignty over Jammu and Kashmir.¹³

The Anglo-Sikh war of 1846, which eliminated the Sikh political power in the Punjab confirmed the Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmir. The treaty of Amritsar concluded on 16 March 1846 between Gulab Singh and East India Company declared that the British government transferred over an independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the undulating and mountainous country with its dependencies, situated at the eastward of the River Indus and westward of River Ravi. In deliberation of transfer made him and his heirs, by the provisions of forgoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British government the amount of 7.5 million rupees,(Nanach Shahi). Five million to be paid on endorsement of this agreement and two and half million on or before the 1st October of the existing year, A.D. 1846. Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledged the supremacy of the British government one horse, twelve goats of standard breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmiri shawls¹⁴.

With the ownership of the state of Jammu and Kashmir by the Dogras, the people of Kashmir entered a new phase of their history. During the early Dogra Raj, the

¹³ Joseph Davey Conningham, *The history of the sikhs*(London:John Murray publishers,1853),275-285.

¹⁴ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *The Kashmir saga*(Mirpur: Verinag publishers,1965),18-19.

condition of the people was pathetic. Gulab Singh, the founder of Dogra Raj, dealt with his subjects, especially the Muslims, with strong and stern hands. He treated his subjects step-motherly¹⁵.

The economy of the state was based on agriculture, shawl making and production of skills.¹⁶ Labourers were subjected to various restrictions. The shawl weavers were not allowed to change their line of work. The Kashmiri shawl earned world reputation but its weavers were heavily taxed and could hardly manage their lives¹⁷.

The system 'Begaar' or force labour was a conventional norm¹⁸. The innocent people were forced to do undesired labour. The Muslims in particular were victim of these atrocities. Sometime they had to capitulate whole of their towns to the Hindus to get rid of forced labour. As a result, the Muslims were reduced to tillers¹⁹. The forced labour constrained them to run away from their villages and towns, but whenever they were caught by the authorities; their relatives apprehended certain death to them. They were integral in military logistics and had to carry supplies, construct roads and build bridges. During the wild weather, they had to surrender their lives in the hardships of journey. If luckily survived, they generally ended up as slaves to tribesmen, particularly in Gilgit.²⁰

¹⁵ Mumtaz Ahmad, *Masla-e-Kashmir: Tarikhi, sayasi-o- qanuni mataleh* (Lahore: Al Mehrab publications, n.d),26-27.

¹⁶ Prem Nath Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir* (Srinagar: Kashmir publications,1941),79.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*,24.

¹⁹ E.F. Knight, *Where three empires meet* (Karachi: Indus publications,1978),23-25.

²⁰ A.H.Suharwardy, *The incredible freedom fight* (Lahore: Jang publishers,1991),11-12.

The government did not pay heed to the education of their masses. The literacy rate of the Muslims was enormously low as there was even not a single school for them.²¹

The social status of the Muslims was even lower than the cow in the state. The cow was considered to be more valuable than a Muslim.²² The religious harassment, injustice and sleaze were all pervasive. The people were at the mercy of the authorities who were unchecked; especially the Muslims were their sufferers.²³ Maharaja enjoyed absolute powers in the state and even Hindus had no right on property. The peasants having hereditary land were bound to pay 50 per cent of their production to the government.²⁴

In 1885, under these wretched circumstances, Maharaja Ranbir Singh was succeeded by his elder son Partab Singh, starting a new phase in the history of Kashmir. The Maharaja's supremacy was shared by the British government. This was not something new. The British government had started snooping in the politics of Kashmir from the very beginning of the Dogra Raj. Though in the treaty of Amritsar, total autonomy had been given to Maharaja but later, visualizing the strategic position of the Kashmir, Britishers did not want to honour their commitments.²⁵ They posted their officials in Maharaja's court to keep eyes on European tourists who used to visit Kashmir.

²¹ Mir Abdul Aziz, *Kashmir ki tahrik-e-azadi* (Lahore: Pakistan publishers, n.d), 36.

²² Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, *Emergence of Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University press, 1967), 282.

²³ Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, 62.

²⁴ A.H. Suharwardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir* (Lahore: Wajidalis, 1983), 10-12.

²⁵ Prithivi Nath Kaul Bamzai, *The history of Kashmir* (New Delhi: Metropolitan book co., 1961), 660.

The contention between the Maharaja and his brothers, gave a chance to the British Indian government to trim the powers of Maharaja. In 1889, the British Indian government sent a political agent to Gilgit, previously ruled by the Maharaja but now an agency. This brought a drastic change in the relationship between Gilgit and Kashmir,²⁶ which had far reaching effects for future. After strengthening their control over Gilgit and the Frontier areas, the British Indian government restored the Maharaja's internal autonomy to some extent. Later in 1920, the Maharaja requested the British Indian government for the right of full autonomy in the state. The British agreed to give him this right of self-governing and in the same year a darbar was held at Jammu. Lord Chelmsford, the then viceroy of India, announced the reinstatement of complete autonomy of Maharaja in the affairs of the state²⁷.

Though the British officials had introduced some reforms for the betterment of their subjects, the Muslims of the state remained largely unaffected. They were the symbol of misery and backwardness. According to the census report of 1911, the Muslims of the state were marked as 78 per cent of the total population of the state,²⁸ but their ratio in government services was zero. Despite the British reforms, the socio-economic, political and educational condition of the Muslims remained the same as it was in early Dogra Raj. According to Bazaz, the condition of Muslim masses was appalling,

²⁶ Ibid., 662.

²⁷ Farooq Tubbasum, Chaudhry Gulam Abbas: His Life and Time(M.phil.thesis,Quaid-i-Azam University,Islamabad,1987),24-26.

²⁸ Saraf, *Kashmiries fights for freedom* vol.i,40-41.

even clothed in rags which could hardly cover their bodies presenting the picture of gloom and vulnerability.²⁹

The Muslims could not fritter away their money which they earned with their sweat and toil. They were constrained to pay to the police, the revenue department, the forest department officials and even to the employees of the cooperative societies.³⁰ There were of course a few well-to-do Muslims but even they could not have the courage to claim equality with Hindus. The doors of army were also closed for Muslims³¹ because the Dogra rulers did not consider them trustworthy and loyal towards them.³² The Muslims were equivalent with the cutter of wood and a drop of water. All types of dirty and tedious work were to be done by them.³³ The government was not interested to accommodate Muslims of the state.

The first decade of the 20th century ushered the state of Jammu and Kashmir into a new era for socio-political resistance. Both the Muslim and the Hindu communities of the state could not remain indifferent to the activities going around them. So they gathered on a platform and established some organizations in the state and because of those organizations they got a chance to raise their voices against the Maharaja of Kashmir.³⁴

²⁹ Prem Nath Bazaz, *The history of struggle for freedom in Kashmir: political and cultural* (Karachi: National book foundation, 1976), 144.

³⁰ Sibtain Tahira, *Kashmir and UN: Success and failure* (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies Quaid-i-Azam University, 1990), 5.

³¹ Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir in crucible* (Mirpur: Verinag publishers, 1991), 28.

³² Bazaz, *Struggle for freedom*, 141.

³³ Ibid., 144.

³⁴ Saraf, *Kashmiries fights for freedom* vol. i, 45.

Some Indian Muslims like Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan, Syed Mohsin Shah, Khawaja Ferozuddin etc. having Kashmiri origin played momentous role in awakening of the Muslims of Kashmir.³⁵ They organised an ‘Anjuman’ called Anjuman-i-Kashmiri Mussalman-i-Lahore.³⁶ The main aim of this Anjuman was to provide a platform to the Kashmiri Muslims in other part of British India. It was renamed as “All India Kashmir Conference” in 1901.³⁷ Lack of education was the main cause of the Muslims’ backwardness. In 1916, the Conference sought the intervention of the Indian government to look into the matter and determine the causes of illiteracy.³⁸ The British government appointed Mr. Sharp as education commissioner to identify loopholes in the education system of the state and to improve it. Mr. Sharp presented his recommendations to the darbar in 1916, which were approved by Maharaja but were never implemented by the wretched state bureaucracy.

The Muslims were disgraced and they were denied even the basic facilities of life.³⁹ They were mostly condemned to forced labour, squalid housing, and starvation. On the other hand, Hindu minority community was enjoying maximum political and economic rights. They were all well-educated, economically strong and claimed to bigger chunk of military and civil services.⁴⁰ It was in this background that Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan opened his eyes and later embarked on a political career.

³⁵ Mirza Shafiq Hussain, *Kashmiri Musalmanu ki sayasi jad-o-jahad: Muntakhib dastiwizat 1931-1939* (Islamabad: National institute of historical and cultural research, 1985), 9.

³⁶ G.S. Raghavan, *The waring of Kashmir* (Allahabad: The pioneer press, 1931), 7.

³⁷ Shafiq, *Kashmiri Musalmanu ki sayasi jad-o-jahad*, 7.

³⁸ Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, 83.

³⁹ G.H. Khan, *Freedom movement in Kashmir 1931-1940* (New Dehli: Light & Life publishers, 1980), 399.

⁴⁰ M.A. Khan, *Kashmir tarikh key aieny mein* (Mirpur: Lalazar publications, 1991), 299.

1.2: Early Life:

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was born in a village "Rant"⁴¹ near Mateh-ny-cot, in Rawalakot⁴² on April 15, 1915.⁴³ His father's name was Sardar Alam Khan⁴⁴ and he was a land cultivator by profession. Though, he was not an educated man, he had zeal and determination to educate his children⁴⁵

Sardar Ibrahim completed his early education from Hurma Mehra⁴⁶ Boys School in Rawalakot at the age of 10 or 11 years.⁴⁷ He was an intelligent student and completed his primary education only in three years instead of five years' education.⁴⁸ He stood first in all examinations and got scholarship of amount 'two rupees' from the government.⁴⁹

After his exclusion Sardar Ibrahim found himself in Poonch High School.⁵⁰ He passed his matriculation from there and with his friend Sardar Habib Khan took

⁴¹ Interview with Sardar Javeed Ibrahim Khan(Son of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan)dated, 15 April 2010, Islamabad. Tape recording.

⁴² Mateh ny cot is a village, located almost 20 kilometers distance from district Rawalakot Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

⁴³ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim Khan(Son of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan) dated, 20 November 2009, Islamabad. Tape recording. And the passport of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan .(See also the Appendix no.1).

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*(Rawalakot: Derti publications, n.d.),9.

⁴⁶ Verification from old record of Hurma Mehra boys High school (See also the Appendix no 2).

⁴⁷ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*,9-13.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

admission to Islamia College, Lahore.⁵¹ In his childhood, as he wrote in his autobiography that he was doting to play games but now he left all and paid his full attention towards his studies.⁵² After passing intermediate examination from Islamia College, he did his B.A from Punjab University, Lahore, in the year 1938.⁵³ During his stay in Lahore, while he was busy in his studies, he got the opportunity to witness debates of the politicians as the year 1936-1937 was considered as the year of revolutionary changes in politics.⁵⁴ On his return to his room, he would discuss the views of Zafarullah Khan, Lala Lajit Roy, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru with his roommates and friends. After getting the B.A degree, he had a desire to go abroad for further studies in the subject of law.⁵⁵ Since, he was fond of reading English novels and fictions, therefore, these stuff gave him inspiration to go to England and get the degree of law. This was not easy for him due to the financial problems. He discussed this issue with his elder brother Sardar Ismail Khan, who was a teacher and he gave full support to him to get higher education in London.⁵⁶ With the support and suggestions of his elder brother, he submitted an application to the Maharaja of Poonch for scholarship.⁵⁷ Before this, Sardar Ibrahim had met a barrister in Lahore who had told him the total expenses to reside in London during the studies would be almost 20,000 rupees, Sardar Ibrahim thought it better to apply for scholarship. Later, this statement of the barrister proved to be wrong.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Interview with Sardar Habib Khan(A closest colleague and best friend of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan)dated,15 February 2010,Rawalpindi.Tape recording.

⁵² Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 10.

⁵³ Azad, *Gazi-e-milat ki sayasi sawan-e-umri*, 1-2.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 50-51.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 53-55.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

But he did not have any idea that getting scholarship from a Hindu government was a daunting task for a Muslim student. Firozpur Chand was the Prime Minister of Poonch at that time. He was a liberal minded Hindu. Sardar Ibrahim, his father, his brother and Khan Muhammad Khan⁵⁹ had met him in the form of a delegation and requested him to pursue this matter. The delegation told the Prime Minister that if the young men of Poonch would be educated, there would be no need to take the officers from Kashmir darbar. The Raja appreciated their eagerness and gave them all instructions about the whole process graciously. After long negotiations, Firozpur Chand agreed to give him scholarship, but unfortunately the process went too long, for almost one year and for this whole year the father of Sardar Ibrahim and brother Muhammad Ismail Khan suffered a lot due to visits from Rawalakot to Poonch and from Poonch to Lahore, as at that time no modern means of transportation were available and travel was possible only by foot.⁶⁰ After long progression, he got the amount of 6,000 rupees as scholarship for studies.⁶¹ Besides this, his father and brother arranged some more money for him.⁶² He spent an amount of Rs10,000 during his four-year stay in London.⁶³ After facing many hardships, Sardar Ibrahim reached London and stayed there with a friend. Because of lack of information about the sessions of London universities, he reached there before time and universities were closed for vacations. In this free time, he read some books of

⁵⁹ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim Khan(Son of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan) dated, 04 April 2011, Islamabad. Tape recording. Khan Muhammad Khan was a prominent leader in Kashmir and a member of Dogra Assembly before on the seat of Muslim Conference.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Interview with Khalid Ibrahim Khan, 20 November 2009.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 55.

law.⁶⁴ After vacations, he took admission to Lincoln Inn College⁶⁵ and then University College, London to do bar-at-law.⁶⁶ In the meanwhile, he went to India House to apply for his residence as he was unable to bear the expense of living as a paying guest. He was given an address of Indian family and he stayed there till the completion of his education. In 1939, he went to Paris in France to spend vacations but had to return due to the start of World War Second. When the college opened after vacations he made friends and enjoyed the college life completely.⁶⁷ There he started to play hockey and tennis as he was a good player of hockey from school time, soon he was selected for the college team.⁶⁸

The year 1939-40 was the era of revolution so the young boys used to discuss the situation of masses and countries in colleges. They delivered speeches against rulers and on the liberation of Hindustan. They even talked angrily with each other and raised their voices against their rulers openly, though Sardar Ibrahim had never participated with those revolutionists, but because of these discussions, the revolutionary thoughts were born in his mind which later played an important role in the liberation movement of Kashmir.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ibid., 62.

⁶⁵ Ibid. (See also the Appendix no 3).

⁶⁶ Ibid. (See also the Appendix no 4).

⁶⁷ Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1940.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Sardar Muhammad Raziq Khan, "Jad-o-jahad-e-azadi mein Gazi-e-milat ka qardar" (Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 53.

In 1939, Germany attacked Poland. London also announced war and called all British passport holders to gather on one place.⁷⁰ All institutions were closed and the students were sent to the bank of sea near a village 'Villaz'. Villaz was a small village and he enjoyed his time there. The people of 'Villaz' were very courageous and Sardar Ibrahim was inspired with them during the war time. At the end of the war, the students went back to their colleges. The condition of the country was not good after the war. The year 1940–41 was the last year of his education in London. He took the examinations of L.L.B and bar-at-law together. It was not an easy task and a number of students failed but Sardar Ibrahim passed the examinations through his hardwork. Then, he prepared himself for returning to his country.⁷¹

He got his seat reserved in the 'City and Hall Lian' ship,⁷² left his companions in London and started his journey through Canada and Africa for British India. This was almost three months journey, and the whole world was in danger in those days. For almost one month the ship was in danger zone but as it started moving from Africa, they got relief to some extent. They celebrated the Christmas and new year events on the ship. That was a turning point for Sardar Ibrahim because he was a shy boy and could not deliver a speech in public. The British arranged a play to mark the new year and gave a character to Sardar Ibrahim. That was a difficult task for Sardar Ibrahim as he could not even speak in public. First, he refused to take part in the play but the passengers of the ship forced him to do this, as they thought that Sardar Ibrahim was a right man for this

⁷⁰ Sardar Ibrahim's dairy, 1940.

⁷¹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 88.

⁷² Ibid.

character. At last when the day came, Sardar Ibrahim was so nervous, he thought that he would forget all dialogues on the stage. On his turn he was to push down on stage by the people, and a man on his back repeated his dialogues. Subsequently, Sardar Ibrahim spoke up and presented his role beautifully. Now he was much confident, but suddenly he forgot his dialogues, but he kept on speaking whatever was in his mind. The audience appreciated him and he left the stage and went back to his room. Next morning, people gave him good response and on that day he thought that delivering of a speech was not much difficult.⁷³

In the end of January 1941, he reached Calcutta.⁷⁴ At that time sources of communications were too scanty, so when he met his relatives in Calcutta, he asked about his mother, and on reply he planned to go to home first.⁷⁵

On his return to home, he saw the economic condition of his family was not good as his father had died. The poor people of his village thought that as he had returned from London so might be his name would have been changed, but Sardar Ibrahim told them that he was still Ibrahim and education could not change his name.⁷⁶ He was known as 'Babu Ibrahim' or Sardar Ibrahim in his hometown.⁷⁷

⁷³ Ibid.,92-96.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.,97.

⁷⁶ Ibid.,99.

⁷⁷ Abdul Razaq Khan, "Gazi-e-milat sy wabasta yadein"(Rawalakot: Barshaghil, number 1, volume 29-30, 1-15 August, 2007), 23.

It was considered that as he had educated from London he would get a good government job but Sardar Ibrahim knew that it was not much easy. Consequently, he went to Jammu as there was no other 'barrister' in the state. However, he had to suffer a lot as Gopal Susami Aanger was the prime minister of the state at that time and he was not willing to give him any job. Thus Sardar Ibrahim realized that it was very thorny for Muslims to get jobs in Hindu dominance.

In 1941, he left Srinagar and went to Delhi. In the meanwhile Raja Maharaj Singh replaced Gopal Swami Aanger and when Sardar Ibrahim met him, he was offered a job in Jammu. But suddenly Maharaja Sigh resigned from seat. Sardar Ibrahim now thought of starting practice in Srinagar and got license for that. Caylash Narain Huksar was appointed as the provisional prime minister. He offered a job to Sardar Ibrahim as legal representative of the government ⁷⁸ Sardar Ibrahim on the advice of some earnest friends accepted the job and was posted in Mirpur, where majority of officers was Hindu hence they were against Muslims. Later, he gained their support due to his soft nature. Maharaja Hari Singh was basically against the Muslim community thus he never wanted to see even a person in favour of the Muslims. This attitude of Hari Singh generated a storm of revolt against Maharaja in the state.⁷⁹

In the year 1943, Sardar Ibrahim got married to fulfill his mother's wish. His wife was a daughter of Haji Muhammad Qasim Khan, who was a reputable man of Rawalakot. After almost a year, Sardar Ibrahim was transferred to Jammu and since then he got a

⁷⁸ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 101.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 102-103.

number of achievements in his life. There he got the post of assistant advocate general in the high court. On the other hand, the condition of Hindustan had changed a lot. He was compelled to pursue the cases with the wishes of government, which was not tolerable for Sardar Ibrahim. He did not like the attitude of Hindus and even could not digest the flattering approach towards Hindus. Therefore, he decided to get rid of this system for the sake of Muslims' betterment. Subsequently, he resigned from the job. All the leaders of the Muslim Conference were in prison at that time, hence he started political work for Muslims with full zest and courage.⁸⁰

1.3: Political Profile:

In September 1946, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan entered politics soon after his resignation from the government service. All well-known leaders of the Muslim Conference were in jail at that time and Sardar Ibrahim was given the ticket on a seat of Muslim Conference to contest the election. He had no idea about the reaction of the public as he was a new entrant to politics but he started his work having complete faith in Allah and visited his birth town to hold dialogues with public on the condition of the state.⁸¹

At that time, Khan Muhammad Khan of Sudnuti was an illustrious leader of Poonch and Sudnuti region. The people of the state used to follow his instructions blindly

⁸⁰ Ibid., 111.

⁸¹ Interview with Sardar Mukhtay Khan (A closest colleague of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan) dated, 08 February 2010, Rawalakot. Tape recording.

because he was compassionate towards adolescent Muslims.⁸² He visited the intact area with Sardar Ibrahim and monopolised the community and told them that he was an aged man at present, therefore, he could not move further, hence Sardar Ibrahim was a young, energetic and accomplished man of their own tribe, the people were supposed to cooperate with him.⁸³ In the stormy month of January 1947, all community of Sudnuti came to the polling stations to poll their votes in favour of Sardar Ibrahim.⁸⁴ As a result he was elected to the constituent assembly from Sudnuti and Bagh. Afterwards, he went to Jammu and started his practice there.⁸⁵

In the year 1947, during his stay in Jammu, when he heard about the planning of mass murder of Muslims, by Hindus in the country, he called all the young Muslim men of Jammu to talk about the whole situation and instructed them to prepare themselves secretly. In the fist session of assembly which was held in March or April, Sardar Ibrahim delivered a critical speech on budget and on the government policies.⁸⁶ The speech was appreciated by public and from that day he started speaking openly against the government. After that Maharaja Hari Singh started to systematize his military and extend them all over the state, particularly in Poonch sector. Subsequent to concluding of the Assembly session when Sardar Ibrahim reached Poonch, he was shocked to see the units of military everywhere in the region. The Dogra forces thus started to torture the

⁸² M. Sadiq Khan and Gulam Hussain Ahzar, *Yagana-e-Kashmir* (Lahore: Bonus printers, 1986), 216.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 February 2010.

⁸⁵ Syed Atiq Ahamd Gerdezi, "Gazi-e-milat Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan aik azim rehenama" (Islamabad: Ausaf, 01 August, 2003), 11.

⁸⁶ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 115.

community through different ways, i.e. socially, traditionally, and religiously.⁸⁷ Because of that immoral behaviour of the soldiers, the public got outraged.⁸⁸

In these circumstances, Sardar Ibrahim and his companions gathered to make plan for next movement. They warned the government against the situation of the state through letters and telegrams. In the end of June 1947, Chauhdry Hameedullah Khan, an officiating president of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference came to Rawalakot at the time when the political activities were on its peak. As a result, many leaders were under surveillance or exiled. All the leaders of both tehsils reached Rawalakot but they could not arrange a meeting there because of a ban in the region. It was decided with mutual cooperation that a session should be held in the night on the residence of Molvi Iqbal Khan at the village Pothi Makwalan outside the city of Rawalakot. In this historical session, they took oath to give vote in favour of Pakistan and for this they would even sacrifice their bodies, soul and wealth. As a result, the Dogra forces demolished the house of Molvi Iqbal Khan.⁸⁹

The Dogra government wanted to arrest Sardar Ibrahim because with the emergence of Pakistan he had started presenting his views openly in support of Pakistan but they had no evidence hence they were helpless.⁹⁰ Now Sardar Ibrahim with his companions started arranging the people to fight with the Dogra forces, because only the people of this area

⁸⁷ Interview with Sardar Habib Khan, 15 February 2010.

⁸⁸ Syed Basheer Hussain Jaffri, *Sudan sarfarosh aur tahrik-i-azadi-i-Kashmir*. Unpublished work 331-333. And interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 February 2010.

⁸⁹ Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, *Azadi ka khawab-e-preshan*(Rawalpindi: F.I.printers, n.d),23-24.

⁹⁰ Interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 February 2010.

were familiar with the use of weapons as they had participated in the Second World War.⁹¹

Sardar Ibrahim requested some army officers e.g. Capt. Bostan Khan, Col. Sher Ahmed Khan, Col. Hussain Khan, Col. Hadayat Khan and Col. Mahbub Ali, Gen. Muhammad Akbar and many others⁹² to organize the people on the basis of a battalion of an army and called them as 'Azad force'.⁹³ Although Sardar Ibrahim had not much experience about war but during his stay in England, he had keenly observed and understood the war techniques. Thus he guided them with full eagerness. After preparing them for a revolutionary struggle, he went to Srinagar where he was put under arrest.⁹⁴ Here in Poonch, the condition went from bad to worse because the government had imposed a new tax on public with the name of "chuhla tax".⁹⁵

On 3rd June 1947, the British government announced its plan for the future of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Paramount over the states ceased on the appointed day, namely 15th August 1947, and the states were to be left free to decide to which dominion they should accede.⁹⁶ At the same time, the crown representative advised the rulers of the states to take into consideration economical factors, geographical contiguity, the wishes

⁹¹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 119.

⁹² M. Sadiq Khan and Gulam Hussain Ahzar, *Yagana-e-Kashmir*, 145-150.

⁹³ Asif Ashraf, "Gazi-e-milat hum sy bechrry" (Muzaffarabad : *Sadaey channar*, 31 July, 2009), 11.

⁹⁴ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 119.

⁹⁵ Mir Abdul Aziz, *Freedom struggle in Kashmir* (Lahore: Research society of Pakistan, 2000), 103-105. Chuhla tax was imposed on public by Dogra administration, in which public had to pay the tax on each item of kitchen.

⁹⁶ Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and political history of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2001), 68. And Khawaja Gulam Ahmed Pandit, *Kashmir azadi ki dehliz per* (Lahore: Jang publishers, 1991), 156-170.

of their people and other factors in arriving at a decision vis-a-vis accession.⁹⁷ At that stage, the most appropriate option was that to join Pakistan as the leaders of Muslim Conference had decided it earlier in accordance with the wishes of public.⁹⁸

The Muslim Conference leaders arranged a session of the general council to decide about the accession to Pakistan but the condition of the state had become too critical. The members came to attend the session but no one was willing to provide them a place for the meeting. All hotels and boat houses refused to give them room under the threat of the government and the National Conference, as both of them were against joining Pakistan.⁹⁹ Press was banned.¹⁰⁰ In these tense circumstances, Sardar Ibrahim offered his own house for the session in "Abi Guzar"¹⁰¹ and in this session, with mutual cooperation, the resolution was passed to join Pakistan on 19th July 1947.¹⁰²

After this announcement, the government banned all political activities and started arresting the leaders on large-scale. In these pathetic conditions, all earnest friends decided that Sardar Ibrahim should go to Poonch to lead the movement. It was also decided that Sardar Ibrahim and Agha Shouket Ali, the general secretary of Muslim Conference, went to Rawalpindi to fortify the movement from there, but Agha Shouket

⁹⁷ Ibid., 157-170.

⁹⁸ Khalid Mehmood and Razia Sultana, "Maslah-e-Kashmir :aik jaiza"(Islamabad: Research and auto machine centre, National Assembly Sectriate,1990). And interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 February 2010.

⁹⁹ Khan, *Matah -e-zindgi*, 120-124. And interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 February 2010.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. And Nazir Ahmed Tashna, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir 1324-2005*(Lahore: Al faisal publications,2006),528. Abi guzer is the name of a place in Srinagar where Sardar Ibrahim had hired a house of Mr. Muhammad Amin to live with his wife and son Javeed. And personal latter of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan which shows his residence in Abi guzar(See also Appendix no 5).

¹⁰² Khan, *Matah -e-zindgi*, 120-124.

was arrested very next day¹⁰³ and Sardar Ibrahim had to go back home as his little kid Javeed Ibrahim was suffering from fever on that day. He told his wife about his journey and left Srinagar.¹⁰⁴ His life was in danger at that time because the government wanted to arrest him too but he reached Abbottabad safely.¹⁰⁵ After one night stay in Abbottabad, Sardar Ibrahim went to Lahore to meet the top leaders and to get access to the heads of newspapers to expose the condition of the state and plight of the Muslims.

He was too much worried to see the condition of the state. Therefore, he tried his best to meet the army officers who belonged to Poonch and were posted in Pakistan.¹⁰⁶ He prepared them to go back to their country with weapons and ammunitions to start a war against their enemies. In the meanwhile, newspapers started propaganda thus military men went back to their country. Then Sardar Ibrahim went to Murree and established his headquarters there as this picturesque hill station was located near Kashmir.¹⁰⁷ From Murree, he got more help and started collecting weapons through different sources. Friends gave them ammunition,¹⁰⁸ and they were successful in arranging almost 50,000 men in the shape of army.¹⁰⁹ They delivered arms through River Jhelum. Swimming in River Jhelum was not an easy task but they did this to supply material to the soldiers. Tribals were also worried about the malicious condition of their Muslim brothers and

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Muhammad Yusef Saraf, *Kashmiries fights for freedom* vol. ii(Lahore: Feroz sons,1979),1236.

¹⁰⁵ Nasrullah Khan Nasir, "Gazi-e-milat or kasb-e-kamal"(Islamabad: *Nawa-i-waqat*, 22 August,2003),9.

¹⁰⁶ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*,133.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 February 2010.

¹⁰⁸ Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in the cross fire*(London: I.B.tauris,1996),133-134.

¹⁰⁹ Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1947.

they extended their full support to them in the shape of arms and ammunition.¹¹⁰ Soon they themselves were in a position to borrow some weapons. Now they were ready to face the Dogra forces. They divided the command of different areas to the people of different villages.¹¹¹ Then they started a revolt properly. The soldiers moved towards Srinagar from Muzaffarabad and got success.¹¹²

On October 24, 1947, they announced establishment of a provisional government in Azad area and Sardar Ibrahim was declared its first president. It was also announced that this government would treat his community in a cool manner and would take care of minorities. The government requested India to recognize the state, because it was the right government for public. The Dogra Raj ended in the state of Kashmir and Maharaja Hari Singh fled away from Srinagar, but he signed an agreement with India to accede the state of Kashmir to India.¹¹³ They announced this accession of state from New Delhi but the Pakistan government refused to accept this.

On October 27, the Indian forces landed in Srinagar through helicopters and a fight started there.¹¹⁴ The Azad forces achieved most parts of Kashmir with Ladakh and Baltistan. In January 1948, when the issue came before the UN Security Council, the

¹¹⁰ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 120.

¹¹¹ Syed Basheer Hussain Jaffri, *Zinda bad*(Bagh: Maki Medeni printers,2003),577.

¹¹² Khan, *Matah-e- zindgi*, 136.

¹¹³ Ibid.,137. And Syed Mahmood Azad, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir* vol iii,iv(Muzaffarabad: Sayat publications,1992),220-22.

¹¹⁴ Safeer Akhter, *Kashmir: Azadi ki jad-o-jahad*(Islamabad:Institute of policy studies,1990),28.

three-fourth parts of the state were in the hands of the Azad government.¹¹⁵ On January 17, 1948 Sardar Ibrahim with Zafarullah Khan and Dr. Muhammad Din Tasir went to New York to present the Kashmir issue at the UN Security Council.¹¹⁶

Unluckily Sardar Ibrahim did not get a chance to deliver his speech because the UN Council had to close its session over the death of Mahatma Gandhi in India. Sardar Ibrahim called a press conference in New York and highlighted the plight of the Muslims of the state and the causes of revolt against the Maharaja magnificently.¹¹⁷ This made him popular in the eyes of Muslim community.

Initially, when the Azad government came into being the capital was established in 'Juhanjal Hill' near Plandri.¹¹⁸ And the new cabinet started its work under the leadership of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. The people were in high spirits and they tried their best to run the new government efficiently. Despite, having limited resources for running the government they worked hard to make things possible because it was a general belief that this government would fall soon. The members of the new cabinet and the officers did not even have offices and had to sit under trees. Despite all these hardships, they kept on working with passion.¹¹⁹

Sardar Ibrahim went to Arab countries requesting them to recognise Kashmir as an independent state. By that time, he had become a national hero as well as shot to fame

¹¹⁵ Tahir Tubassum, "Sardar Ibrahim Bani Sadder", 31 July 2004 (Rawalakot: Barshagal, number, 1 volume 29-30, 1-15 August, 2007), 28.

¹¹⁶ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 143.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹¹⁸ Sardar Yasir Yasin, "Gazi-e-milat ka tarikhi kardar" (Rawalpindi: *Nawa-i-waqat*, 31 July, 2004), 5.

¹¹⁹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 146.

at international level. At the same time, he got the title of 'Gazi-e-Milat' from the people of Kashmir.¹²⁰

On the other hand, Chaudhry Gulam Abbas was released from the jail and reached Sialkot, Pakistan. Sardar Ibrahim had also reached there to welcome him and offered him to head the Azad government but he refused politely and gave him assurance to cooperate with him. However, later a tussle started between Sardar Ibrahim and Chaudhry Gulam Abbas on the issue of powers.¹²¹

On 1st January 1949, a ceasefire line was drawn between India and Pakistan but the Kashmiri leaders were not taken into confidence. A wave of uncertainty rose between the governments of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir.¹²² To overcome this situation, Mushtaq Ahmad Gormani, Minister of Kashmir Committee, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, president of Azad Kashmir and Chaudhry Gulam Abbas, the president of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference signed an agreement which was called 'Karachi Agreement'. In this agreement, the administrative responsibilities of Gilgit, Baltistan and Northern Areas were given to the Pakistan government.¹²³

The rift between the two top Muslim Conference leaders was on its peak when Sardar Ibrahim was sent to America to attend the UN session to present the Kashmir

¹²⁰ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 20 November 2009.

¹²¹ Ahmed, *Tarikh-e-sudnati*, 101-102.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Shabnum Gul and Andleeb Saabra, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir: 1947 ta hall* (Lahore: Nadim Yunis printers, n.d), 200.

issue again. And on his return in May 1950, under a conspiracy he was forced to tender his resignation and ¹²⁴Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan was selected as president. Sardar Ibrahim became opposition leader. After his resignation, the political scenario changed and agitation started all over Azad Kashmir. Though, the movement had not been started by him, he had no choice but to join it on public demand.¹²⁵Later, April 13, 1957, a session of the working committee was held in Muzaffarabad where Sardar Ibrahim replaced Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan as president. He took oath on the same day but the cabinet was appointed after 16 months in July 1958. In his second tenure, he strengthened the constitutional and administrative set up.¹²⁶The Mangla Dam project to produce energy started the same year.¹²⁷ In 1959, he received a call from secretary of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs in Karachi to resign as he was told that Pakistani President Ayub Khan was not happy with him because of his inefficiency. Thus, he tendered his resignation and K.H. Khurshid became president on 1st May 1959.¹²⁸ On 13 November 1959, he was arrested on the charge of instigating the public against the martial law government. He was sent to Rawalpindi jail but later was released as all courts gave their decisions against this action of the government. He had been sent to jail as he was against dictatorship. He also resigned as the Muslim Conference president and joined Nafaz-e-Islam Party and started his practice in Lahore High Court.¹²⁹ In April 1966, he decided to

¹²⁴ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*,155.

¹²⁵ Arshed Aziz, "Bani-e-Azad Kashmir:Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan"(Muzaffarabad: *Jammu-o-Kashmir*,31 July 2009),3.

¹²⁶ Shabnum and Saabra, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*,203.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 187.

¹²⁹ Muhammad Habib Jalib, "Gazi-e-milat: Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan: aik leader, aik sayasetdan"(Rawalpindi: *Kasheer*, 23-29 September,2003),4.

establish Azad Muslim Conference because of the tussle with Gulam Abbas and Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan. The main motto was the same as all Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference that was to continue the struggle for liberation of Kashmir and annex the state with Pakistan.¹³⁰

In the year 1970, the presidential elections were held. Sardar Ibrahim participated from the platform of Azad Muslim Conference, Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan from Muslim Conference, K.H. Khurshid from Liberation League and Chaudhry Tariq from Ray Shumari. Sardar Abdul Qayum won the elections and Sardar Ibrahim gave assurance to him for his cooperation. Later, he again joined Muslim Conference and was selected as its president.¹³¹

In 1975, Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan launched a movement of no confidence against him. In the same year, Sardar Ibrahim gave assurance to Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto for his cooperation with People's Party in Azad Kashmir. He decided to participate in the elections on behalf of four-party candidates. Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan did not agree with him and boycotted the elections. Hence he won the elections and took the oath as a constitutional president of Azad Kashmir government. He then joined People's Party Azad Kashmir wing on the request of Zulfiqar Ali

¹³⁰ Shubnum and Saabra, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*, 205,

¹³¹ Sardar Tahir Tubassum, "Gazi-e-milat or nazriya-e-elhaq-e-Pakistan" (Rawalpindi: *Kasheer*, 26 August-01 September, 2003), 6.

Bhutto.¹³² On 5 July 1977, martial law was imposed in Pakistan but Sardar Ibrahim remained president till October 1978.¹³³

Benazir Bhutto designated him as the president of Azad Kashmir People's Party in the year 1986. He reorganized the party and was elected as the member of Legislative Assembly in the elections of 1990, but Benazir Bhutto did not nominate him the seat of prime minister. Therefore, estrangement was created between them, and he established Jammu Kashmir People's Party. Later, they again reached an understanding and in the elections of 1996, he was elected as the president again. He remained president of Azad Kashmir till 2001.¹³⁴ After that he went to Rawalakot and quit politics because of his old age.

With all political ups and downs, he headed the Azad Kashmir government for four times, from 1947-1950, 1957-1959, 1975-78, and from 1996-2001.¹³⁵ He was the founder president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir at the age of 32 as well as the oldest president at the age of 86.¹³⁶ It is a historical fact that he accepted the presidentship of Azad Kashmir at a time when all prominent leaders, i.e. Mir Wiaz Yosef Shah and Chauhdry Hameedullah Khan had refused to assume power because their families had

¹³² Shubnum and Saabra, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir*,205.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Sultan Skander, "Aik roshni b sath gai aftab k" ((Muzaffarabad: Asian News, volume 1, number 23-24,),159.

¹³⁵ Basher Ahmad Qureshi, "Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan :Gazi-e-milat"(Rawalpindi: *Kasheer*,12 August to 18 August,2003),2.

¹³⁶ Sardar Shahid Aslam Khan, "Gazi-e-milat k nam sy university b qaim ki jay"(Islamabad: *Nawa-i-waqat*,18 August,2003),6.

been living in occupied Kashmir and they were afraid of any mischief with them. Sardar Ibrahim's family was also in Srinagar but he took risk not only for his own life but also for his family. Although, he was somehow lazy to offer even prayers in his daily life but had a purely honest nature¹³⁷ with an unblemished political career and was never involved in corruption.¹³⁸

1.4: Death

In the last stage of this life, he went to his hometown in Match-ny-cot and spent most of time there. He had three sons and one daughter. Because of old age, he became too weak and his children forced him to live with them in Islamabad. As he was self-made man so he did not want to disturb his children. He always did his work by his own hands as his wife had died almost 16 years earlier. He was a nature lover that's why after 2001 he preferred to live in his hometown to spend most of his time with natural beauty.¹³⁹ But when he felt that his health was deteriorating he called his youngest son Sardar Farooq Ibrahim to come to Rawalakot and take him to Islamabad. He stayed with Sardar Farooq Ibrahim, and often visited Sardar Khalid Ibrahim's house.¹⁴⁰

From early July he was not feeling well. A doctor time and again visited him in his house, and Sardar Habib Khan (his closest friend) told in his interview that when he

¹³⁷ Ershad Mehmood, "Sardar Ibrahim Khan ki yad mein" (Rawalakot: Barshagal, number 1 volume 29-30, 1-15 August, 2007), 6.

¹³⁸ Abdul Hameed Khan, "Ah: Gazi-e-Milat" (Islamabad: Nawa-i-waqat, 30 July, 2004), 6.

¹³⁹ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 20 November 2009.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

asked Farooq Ibrahim to hospitalize his father, Farooq whispered that once Sardar Ibrahim had said to him if they hospitalized him, it meant they wanted to get rid of him.¹⁴¹ Sardar Ibrahim died on July 31, 2003 at the residence of Farooq Ibrahim in Islamabad. He was buried in his hometown in Matcheh ny cot in a grave, he had himself selected few years back.¹⁴²

1.5: Publications

Besides political activities, Sardar Ibrahim also took part in literary activities. He wrote some articles in different newspapers but his major publications are in the shape of books with the name of “The Kashmir saga” and “Matah-e-zindgi”. The Kashmir saga covers the whole events during the Liberation Movement of Kashmir with the condition of the state at the time of Maharaja in detail. The second one is his autobiography which presents the stages of his life step by step in Urdu language. Another book “Kashmir ki jang-e-Azadi” is also authored by Sardar Ibrahim but it is actually an Urdu translation of the The Kashmir saga.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Sardar Habib Khan, 15 February 2010.

¹⁴² Ibid. And interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 20 November 2009.

CHAPTER NO: 2

SARDAR MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN IN GOVERNMENT

The political activities in British India during the 20th century brought a wave of awareness to the people of the princely states along with those of Kashmir, particularly the young skilled Muslims. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was one of them. As an apprentice of law college in London University, England, he had closely pragmatic a turning period in British Indian politics.¹⁴³ He imbibed the lessons of liberty and went back to the state after receiving his degrees in the year 1941, with eagerness and obsession to redress the grievances of his countrymen.¹⁴⁴

The people of the state strove to get rid of the tyrannical rule of Hari Singh. The bitterness of Muslims was on the edge of detonation more when an incident happened in Jammu on Eid day in May 1931, when a police sub-inspector stopped an Imam Masjid from delivering his "Khutba".¹⁴⁵ This was taken by the Muslims of Jammu as an

¹⁴³ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 85-88.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, *Atish-e-chanar* (Lahore: Chaudhry academy, n.d)), 67.

interference in their religious affairs. Hence, the Youngmen Muslim Association¹⁴⁶ of that time held a protest meeting against this incident and demanded that the police official should be given an exemplary chastisement. The Muslims protests had barely subsided when they were outraged by one more incident.¹⁴⁷ This happened in Jammu central jail where a Hindu sergeant snatched the Holy Quran from a Muslim constable while he was reciting it and threw it on the floor.¹⁴⁸ The Youngmen Muslim Association called a strike against this incident. As a result, the government started to take into custody the leaders of the association.¹⁴⁹

These forgoing developments prompted the Muslim leadership that they must have a countrywide political organisation which be supposed to bring all the Muslims on one platform. There were various regional, social, religious and literary organisations like Youngmen Muslim Association and Fateh Kadal Reading Room Party¹⁵⁰ which were used for political purposes. As a result, all well-known Muslim leaders of the state agreed to form a new political organisation named All Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference¹⁵¹(MC).

¹⁴⁶ Youngmen Muslim association was actually an organize party of the young and educated Muslims of Jammu.

¹⁴⁷ Abdullah, *Atish-e-chanar*, 67.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 68.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*, 27.

¹⁵¹ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 36.

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah (who was the general secretary of Fateh-e-Kadal Organisation) became the president of the party ¹⁵² and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas was its general secretary.¹⁵³ This party was a purely Muslim organisation and its membership was opened only for Muslims of the state.¹⁵⁴ It worked on communal basis but the non-Muslims also benefited from its achievements like the formation of Legislative Assembly and freedom of press etc.¹⁵⁵ This communal nature had remained until 1936 when Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah converted this party into the National Conference.¹⁵⁶ But still many youngmen preserved on their old organisation and established its office in the house of Yousef Qureshi.¹⁵⁷ In May 1940, other leaders like Chaudhry Gulam Abbas, A.R. Sagar and Chaudhry Hameedullah Khan also joined this party and very next year Chaudhry Gulam Abbas was designated as president of the Muslim Conference and Yusef Qureshi became its general secretary.¹⁵⁸ Soon after the birth of Muslim Conference a rift developed within the leaders of Muslim organisations, like the National Conference of Sheikh Abdullah was propagated Hindu Muslim unity, however, Muslim Conference was only for Muslims.¹⁵⁹

Sardar Ibrahim had remained in the Kashmir government even before the emergence of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Hence his political career can be divided into two parts, i.e. pre-partition era and post-partition era. In pre-partition era of Kashmir, he served as a prosecutor in the Dogra government and was promoted to the post of advocate general,

¹⁵² Abdullah, *Atish-e-chanar*, 54-56.

¹⁵³ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 37.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

subsequently became the member of Kashmir Assembly on the ticket of Muslim Conference. The post-partition era can be categorised as president of Azad state and as a member of Azad Kashmir Assembly. Though, he had served as opposition leader, this chapter will only concentrate on his services as a prosecutor, advocate general, assembly member and president of the state.

2.1: Pre-partition era:

Before the emergence of Azad Kashmir, when Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan returned from London after receiving his degrees of law and bar-at-law in the year 1941¹⁶⁰ the stipulation of the state was not satisfactory. The masses were living an impoverished life, and the organisations were running campaigns against their rulers.¹⁶¹

On his return to Poonch, he decided to go to Jammu for a government job, because no other gentleman of Kashmir had the degrees of law and bar-at-law from London University.¹⁶² He met all Muslim officials and they advised him to continue his struggle for government job.

At that time, Gopal Swami Anger was the prime minister of the state.¹⁶³ When Sardar Ibrahim met the prime minister, he antagonistically told Sardar Ibrahim that his government was not supposed to send him for higher education. In the second meeting,

¹⁶⁰ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 68.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid., 99.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

he clearly said that no job was there in the state for Sardar Ibrahim till he was the prime minister of Kashmir.¹⁶⁴

Sardar Ibrahim had recently observed the revolutionary behaviours in the second World War during his stay in England, thus he could not bear the harsh attitude of Prime Minister Gopal Swami Anger. He left Srinagar in the last months of the year 1941.¹⁶⁵ In the meanwhile, Raja Maharaj Singh replaced Gopal Swami Anger as the prime minister of Kashmir.¹⁶⁶ Sardar Ibrahim met him and he was astonished to hear that, there was no job for him in the state inspite of his higher education. After Raja Maharaj Singh's resignation, Sardar Ibrahim decided to start practice in Srinagar.¹⁶⁷

2.1.1: As a public prosecutor in Dogra Administration

In the meanwhile, Caylash Narain Hukser had become provisional prime minister of the state. He called Sardar Ibrahim in his office and told him about the unoccupied job in the government.¹⁶⁸ Sardar Ibrahim accepted his offer on the advice of his friends and was appointed in Mirpur.¹⁶⁹ Soon he realised that to do job in Hindu dominated area was not as that easy. They all were against him because he was a Muslim, but slowly and steadily he overcame all opposition through his attitude of conciliation.¹⁷⁰ He raised his

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.,100.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.,101.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Sardar Habib Khan, *A story of a Bureaucrat*(Islamabad :Profile printers, n.d),329.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Sardar Mukhatayar Khan ,08 February 2010.

status in the eyes of Hindus and Muslims and in the city of Mirpur because of his soft and friendly behaviour.¹⁷¹

For the first time he said “Assalam-o-Alaikum” to the Muslims because before this the government servants had no courage even to say these words to the Muslims.¹⁷² After sometime, he was transferred to Jammu where he lived a satisfactory life.

2.1.2: As an assistant advocate general in Dogra Administration

After one year stay in Jammu, he got promotion and became the assistant advocate general.¹⁷³ After this honour, he often used to travel from Jammu and Srinagar to oversee the high court affairs as well.¹⁷⁴ After assistant advocate general, he would become apparent to be advocate general and then to become a judge of high court was not much difficult for him as he had got the talent.¹⁷⁵ Though he had an attractive government job, sometime Hindu officer's biased attitude became unbearable for him. As a government servant when he pursued the Hindu-Muslim riot in a court he pushed his conscience back and that was like beating his self ego. So getting relieve of this stance was possible only after leaving the government job.¹⁷⁶ At last, he tendered his resignation to the Hindu prime minister. The prime minister was reluctant to accept it but Sardar Ibrahim forced him through intercession to accept his resignation. The people were surprised to hear

¹⁷¹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 107.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 Februray 2010. And Alastair Lamb, *Crisis in Kashmir* (London: Routledge & Kegan paul, 1966), 66.

¹⁷⁴ Azad, *Gazi-e-milat ki sayasi sawan umri*, 4.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

about his resignation from this job, but his self-esteem gave him courage and he was satisfied. At that time, Muslim Conference's leaders were in detention on allegation of agitation against the government.¹⁷⁷ He entered politics and devoted his life to it with full zeal.

2.1. 3: As a member of Kashmir Assembly

In the mid-1946, he resigned from the government job, and it was the time when the Muslim Conference had defrosted to some extent. Chaudhry Hameedullah and Mir Wiaz Yosuf had some differences with each others and it was impossible to reconcile them again. The Indian sub-continent was going to divide, and National Conference of Shiekh Abdullah had strengthened its position in the valley of Kashmir. The leaders of Muslim Conference had divided into two blocks so it was very hard for the Muslim Conference to hold a session even.¹⁷⁸

Soon after his resignation in 1946, he with the cooperation of Khan Muhammad Khan decided to register himself in 1946 elections.¹⁷⁹ The Muslim Conference gave him a ticket for constituency of Sudnuti and Bagh.¹⁸⁰ He launched his campaign throughout the area. Since he had no sufficient resources to run election campaign, he contested elections with the help of Almighty Allah and his sincere friends.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 20 November 2009. And Khan, *Mateh-e-zindgi*, 111.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 Februray 2010.

¹⁸⁰ Jaffri, *Zinda bad*, 577.

¹⁸¹ Khan, *Mateh-e-zindgi*, 112.

Prime Minister Ram Chander Kok was a Hindu. He announced the election in the month of January when snow was falling all over the state of Kashmir.¹⁸² When Sardar Ibrahim proceeded towards his area, he even had not any idea about the response of the community because he was a new comer in politics and the area administration was against him.¹⁸³ Minister of Poonch (Behem Seen) made a plan to nominate his puppets and to make them successful in any case, either by rejecting the papers of Sardar Ibrahim or to adopt some different strategies.¹⁸⁴ They wanted to defeat the Muslim Conference at any cost, but luckily the circumstances changed and the National Conference had boycotted elections.¹⁸⁵ Prime Minister Ram Chand Kok thought that, if all political parties boycotted the elections, then the elections of the assembly would look only a deceit and thus he accepted his papers.¹⁸⁶ On 4th of January, the day of elections¹⁸⁷, there was a heavy snowfall in the region but the people came to the polling stations to cast their votes.¹⁸⁸ The Minister of Poonch Beham Singh wanted to rig elections but he could not do this because Sardar Ibrahim and his companions had stamped on all ballot boxes thus he won the elections and elected as “chief whip” in Kashmir assembly under Dogra administration.¹⁸⁹ After that he went to Jammu and started his practice.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸² Interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 Februray 2010.

¹⁸³ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 113.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 114. And interview of Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 Februray 2010.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Sardar Ibrahim's personal dairy of 1947.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 08 Februray 2010.

¹⁸⁹ Abbasi, *Sayaseyai-e-Kashmir*, 41.

¹⁹⁰ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 114.

The first session of the Assembly was held in March in which Sardar Ibrahim delivered a critical speech on budget. This was appreciated by the public and Prime Minister Ram Chander Kok as well. Muslim community got spirit after his speech as it contained a positive and constructive criticism on the government.¹⁹¹

When the question of Muslim Conference's leadership was raised in Kashmir Assembly, majority of the members of the Muslim Conference agreed on Sardar Ibrahim instead of Chaudhry Hameedullah¹⁹² despite the fact that Sardar Ibrahim was inexperienced man in politics. He, however, refused to accept it because he wanted to keep the Muslim Conference cohesive¹⁹³ and because of lack of financial resources the Muslim Conference was not in a position to be divided into different blocks.¹⁹⁴ When the session ended, Sardar Ibrahim went to Poonch. There he was shocked to see the Dogra forces spread all around the region of Poonch.¹⁹⁵ The army treated ruthlessly the community. They even occupied the places where the young girls usually used to go to collect water. The Dogra army personnel starting using these places for taking bath. This was especially intolerable for public and clashes started between public and the Dogra forces.¹⁹⁶

This vicinity was politically organised and that's why it was difficult for even an assembly member to control them. Sardar Ibrahim apprised the government about the

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.,116. And Suharwardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir*,130.

¹⁹³ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*,114.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Alastair Lamb, *Birth of tragedy in Kashmir 1947*(Hertingfordbury: Roxford books 1994),60-63.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Sardar Habib Khan, 15 Februrary 2010.

situation through letters, telegrams and even in meetings, but it was not interested in resolving the matter.¹⁹⁷

Sardar Ibrahim smelled the incoming dodgy situation of the state and realised that it was necessary to organise the community. He used to deliver speeches in the day time and at nights they organised the people to wage a Jihad against Dogra forces.¹⁹⁸ He started presenting his views openly in favour of Pakistan. He explained the geographical location of Pakistan intelligently and started insurgency activities furtively.¹⁹⁹ The government wanted to arrest him but they failed to get any evidence of his rebellious activities and they were helpless. After inculcating revolutionary ideas in the mind of public, he went to Srinagar.²⁰⁰ He was put under surveillance whereas other political leaders were sent to jail.²⁰¹

The condition of Poonch had become more volatile and the Muslim Conference's general council called a session. The Kok government started creating more troubles for public. Almost 200 people reached Srinagar to join the session but because of the fear of the government and National Conference, no one was willing to provide them a place for holding the session.²⁰² The Muslim Conference was under pressure from all sides as the press was also banned. They had lack of funds for sessions and meetings. Mir Waiz

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Sardar Mukhtar Khan, 08 February 2010.

¹⁹⁹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 124.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Sardar Mukhtar Khan, 08 February 2010.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 127.

Yosef Shah was also against them.²⁰³ In this tense situation, Sardar Ibrahim allowed and invited them to his residence to hold the session.²⁰⁴ Chaudhry Hameedullah, the president of the Muslim Conference, presented the resolution in favour of independent Kashmir. This group wanted the independent Kashmir though they thought that after the announcement of the creation of Pakistan, it would be with Pakistan automatically while other people like Sardar Ibrahim and his companions was against this decision. They thought that it was like playing a game with Pakistan and the Muslim Conference was actually also against this plan. After a long discussion on July 19, 1947, the Muslim Conference leaders agreed to pass a resolution in favour of Pakistan²⁰⁵ as the Muslim Conference was the representative of 80% of the Muslims living in the state.²⁰⁶ After the announcement of this resolution, the condition of Poonch went worst than bad. Sardar Ibrahim and others were under observation in Srinagar. Sardar Ibrahim was worried about the crucial condition of Poonch because he had promised the Poonchis to remain with them in all circumstances. He wanted to go there to fulfill his promise.²⁰⁷

Ram Chander Kok was dismissed because he was accused of having soft corner for Pakistan, and a Dogra army officer was appointed as the new prime minister.²⁰⁸ Chaudhry Hameedullah and Sardar Ibrahim went to meet him but could not achieve their goal. They were completely disappointed with the attitude of the prime minister. Agha Shaukat Ali, the general secretary of the Muslim Conference, and Sardar Ibrahim

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 123. And Abdul Mannan Khalifa, *Kashmir: A story* (Lahore: Abko publishers, 1970), 115.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Syed Mahmood Azad, *Tarikh-e-Poonch* (Bagh: Maraf-e-Kashmir, 1970), 818-822.

²⁰⁸ Khan, *Matah-e-Sindgi*, 123.

discussed the whole matter with their companions at the residence of Dr. Muhammad Din Tasir in Srinagar. They advised Sardar Ibrahim to leave Srinagar for Poonch to strengthen the movement there.²⁰⁹

Next day, Sardar Ibrahim went to meet Agha Shoukat for next planning. He was told that Agha Shoukat Ali had been sent to jail again. He came back to his home as his little son Javeed was suffering from high fever.²¹⁰ He explained about his journey of Poonch to his wife, asked Dr. Noor Hussain to take care of his son and departed for Poonch.²¹¹ Raja Hameed Khan of Muzaffarabad arranged a vehicle for him and in early morning at about 3am, he left Srinagar. He reached Abbottabad²¹² without any untoward incident, as the Srinagar police came to know about his presence in Abbottabad when he sent a telegram to his wife upon reaching there.²¹³ From Abbottabad, he advised his political agents secretly and told them that he had safely reached there to boost their morale. After that from Rawalpindi he called a meeting to let them know about the forthcoming danger, subsequently he went to Lahore to brief the newspaper owners about the condition of the state.²¹⁴

Pakistan itself was a newly-emerged country and facing the refugees' problems with other issues. Sardar Ibrahim tried to meet Quaid-i-Azam but unfortunately he could not

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Sardar Mukhtayar, *Azadi ka khawab-e-preshan*, 97.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Azad, *Gazi-e-milat ki sayasi sawan umri*, 21.

get access.²¹⁵ Then he gathered Pakistan army soldiers and told them to go back to their homeland for starting revolt against the autocratic rulers.²¹⁶ He himself reached Murree to establish a headquarters there and started monitoring the activities in the state from there.²¹⁷ The government posted its army at the bank of River Jhelum from Mirpur to Sialkot.²¹⁸

Sardar Ibrahim had no proper plans in his mind. Some of his friends decided to fight the Dogra forces with arms under the leadership of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan²¹⁹ as they did not have other way except to revolt against Dogras.²²⁰ They started to collect arms and ammunition²²¹ with the help of sincere friends and soon after that they opened a factory of local rifles in Kohala to fight Dogra forces.²²² They secretly sent rifles and other material to Poonch and Muzaffarabad through River Jhelum. They swam and crossed River Jhelum,²²³ and gave instructions to the fighters. They had almost 30,000 men ready with arms and ammunition. Although they were not professional²²⁴ soldiers but all civil and retired military officers were there for Jihad.²²⁵ They divided them into battalions and called them Azad army. In the meanwhile, the people of tribal

²¹⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir ki jang-e-azadi* (Lahore: Din Muhammdi press, 1966), 102-103.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 85-87.

²¹⁷ Sardar Aftab Hasrat, "Gazi-e-milat: Sardar Ibrahim Khan" (Islamabad: *Nawa-i-waqat*, 9 November, 2003), 8.

²¹⁸ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 74.

²¹⁹ Ijaz Hussain, *Kashmir dispute: An international law perspective* (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1998), 106.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1947.

²²² Interview with Sardar Mukhtay Khan, 08 February 2010.

Kohala is located at the sangum of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan on river Jhelum between Murree and Muzaffarabad.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ajit Bhattacharjea, *Kashmir: The wounded valley* (New Delhi: UBS publishers and distributorshd., 1994), 126.

²²⁵ Jaffer, *Kashmir sold and resold*, 90.

areas and the N.W.F.P. also provided arms and help.²²⁶ The tribesmen had taken great interest in and deeply concerned about the killing of Muslims in the Indian Dominion. A.H.Suharwardy wrote in his book that their Islamic fervour had been aroused and political officers found difficulty in curbing it. From the Muslims of Poonch, who went to the tribal territory to buy whatever arms they could, they heard tormenting tales of cruelty, oppression, loot, arson, rape and murder by Dogra Hindus, which further enraged them.²²⁷ In the month of October about 900 Masuds, the wildest tribe, started march for Kashmir in Trucks from Waziristan. Others from neighbouring tribal areas soon followed: Wazis, Daurs, Bhittans, Turis, Mohammads, Afridis, Swatis, Dhries, from both sides of Durand line and even Suleman khail and Gilzis from Afghanistan. Some of the tribesmen, who could not find motor transport, started on foot, ferrying across the Indus on rafts or inflated cow-skins.²²⁸ Sardar Ibrahim sent some companions to Srinagar to observe the conditions there. They reported that they were ready for revolt but it was necessary to give them aid in time.²²⁹ Poonch had already prepared for revolt.²³⁰ All these preparations were carried secretly and people were ready to obey the order of Sardar Ibrahim. There was a complete peace before a storm in state of Kashmir.

On 6th October 1947, it was a small agitation in Bagh sector which alerted the Dogra forces.²³¹ On 22nd of October, the organized revolt started from Muzaffarabad and

²²⁶ Shuja Pasha, *Masla-e-Kashmir* (Lahore: Sang-e-meal publishers, 1992), 242.

²²⁷ Suharwardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir*, 114.

²²⁸ Ibid., 115.

²²⁹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 135.

²³⁰ Abdus Samad Wani, "Azad Kashmir ka qayaam" (Sawant kal: True Kashmiries, 1989), 38.

²³¹ Aelaaf din Turabi, *Tarik-i-azadi-i-Kashmir: Manzil ba manzil* (Lahore: Albader publications, 1991), 91-92.

moved towards Srinagar. Revolt broke out in the areas of Ladakh and Gilgit. The people of Poonch revolted in the first week of October.²³²

2.2: Post-partition era:

After clearing most of the areas of Kashmir, they decided to announce establishment of a new government, and this was the second phase of the political career of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.

2.2.1: First tenure in government as the AJK president(1947-1949)

When most of the area of the state got independence, a new government was established under the leadership of Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan on October 24, 1947, with its headquarters in Plandri.²³³ His cabinet consisted Syed Ali Ahmed Shah as defence minister, Chaudhry Abdullah Khan Bahali as revenue minister, Khawaja Ghulam Din Wani as home minister, Syed Nazir Hussain Shah as finance minister, Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusef Shah as education minister and Khawaja Sanaullah as civil supplies minister. Radio and newspapers announced this news with the statement that to abolish the Dogra government in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and the new government

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*,116. And Chaudhry Sharif Tariq, *Kashmir in strangulation*(Islamabad: Pictorial printers,1991),36. And Pakistan Times,25 October,1947.

would treat its public with courteously and would take care of minorities in the state. The Indian government was asked to accept this new government.²³⁴

Maharaja Hari Singh fled from Srinagar and managed to make some secret deals with the Indian government. The secretary of Indian government reached Srinagar through aeroplane and signed an agreement with the annexation of state with India. It was announced from New Delhi.²³⁵ The Pakistan government considered it a fraud and refused to accept this annexation.²³⁶

On October 27, the Indian forces entered Srinagar by aeroplanes and fight started between the Indian forces and Azad forces in Baramola and Patten.²³⁷ The Indian forces were defeated at very first stage and after this the fight spread all over the state. Ladakh and Gilgit got total independence²³⁸ and later the two countries announced a ceasefire after the issue was presented before the UN Security Council.

During the war, the relations between Pakistan and India got more strained. The situation was precarious and the Quaid-i-Azam ordered his forces to attack Jammu and Srinagar but his members of the government did not agree with him. If at that time, they had obeyed the order of the Quaid-i-Azam, the situation of state would have been totally different.²³⁹ After ceasefire, the azad forces stayed near Chanari and they are still there

²³⁴ Bilqees Taseer, *The Kashmir of Sheikh Abdullah* (Lahore: Feroz sons, 1986), 318.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Khan, *Kashmir ki jang-e-azadi*, 119.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 138-139.

even today. In 1948, majority of the areas were snatched from the azad government, because of lack of arms and ammunition.²⁴⁰

In January 1948, Sardar Ibrahim's government established its headquarters in Junjall Hill near Plandri.²⁴¹ They had no offices to run the affairs of the government and no resources to maintain departments. However, within the short span of six months, all departments were running properly because of their hard work, determination and sacrifices.²⁴² In this regard Sardar Ibrahim had requested the public for financial help and he himself had traveled the whole Kashmir by foot instead of using government vehicle to save the expenditure of government even for his official work.²⁴³ Establishment of roads, supply of food items, recruitment of army,²⁴⁴ civil administration, maintenance of law and order in the state and refugees were the major problems for the government.²⁴⁵

They had been facing many difficulties. Even there was no space for clerical staff where they could start their work. They did have a single typewriter to carry on government work. Those clerks proved to be most spirited as without the hope of any salary they tried their best to maintain the government record.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Pandit, *Kashmir:azadi ki dehliz per*, 67.

Junjall hill is a forest located between mountains near Plandri Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

²⁴² Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir:aik sayasi jaiza*, 140. And Abbasi, *Sasaseyat-e-Kashmir*, 82.

²⁴³ Interview with Sardar Mukhtar Khan, 08 February 2010. And Interview with Sardar Habib Khan, 15 February 2010.

²⁴⁴ Personal dairies of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1948.

²⁴⁵ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir:aik sayasi jaiza*, 142.

²⁴⁶ S.N.Kaul, *Political turmoil of Kashmir*(New Dehli: Rajat publications,2005),219. And Qudrutullah Shahab,*Shahab nama*(Lahore:Sang-e-meal publications,2001),381-382.

The condition of the state was too pathetic at that time but Sardar Ibrahim with the help of his ministers, clerks, friends and public tried his best to run the government affairs on constitutional bases. Only the spirit of Jihad to liberate their homeland from cruel rulers drove them to do hard work. Because of their hard work and devotion, within six months police and judiciary departments started functioning properly. The government built new buildings in May 1948. One high court was established in May 1949. Dak system was introduced. All taxes were banned which were implemented under the Dogra Raj, and in early 1949, they started to construct roads²⁴⁷ with the financial help of Pakistan.²⁴⁸ In April 1949, land revenues were incised by 50 per cent and some other taxes were discontinued. The country raised few agricultural products; its chief export was timer, the forests being owned by the government.²⁴⁹

Sardar Ibrahim tried his best to facilitate the refugees who had migrated from India. As a head of government, he provided them all available amenities of life. He himself visited the refugees camp to solve their basic needs. Because of hard work and loyalties of his public, soon they were able to run the government affairs properly. After this he went abroad to discuss the Kashmir affairs with different countries. On his return, other leaders hatched conspiracies against him. He was too young and only at the age of 32, he accepted the presidentship of the newly-emerged country at that time when other leaders refused to head the government because of their families, who remained in Srinagar. Sardar Ibrahim gave the first priority to his homeland, and when the administrative set up

²⁴⁷ Suherwardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir*, 132.

²⁴⁸ Josef, Karbel. *Danger in Kashmir* (Karachi: Oxford University press, 1954), 200.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

of the government started running smoothly, his opponents wanted to get power.²⁵⁰ In March 1949, new ministers were appointed to please the other group²⁵¹ but the circumstances got tense day by day because unity of the government had turned into disunity. When he returned from his foreign tour, he was constrained by Mushtaq Ahmad Gormani (Minister of Kashmir Affairs) either to surrender or accept some conditions to remain president. Sardar Ibrahim refused to accept their conditions. As a result, his government ended.²⁵² Within 20 hours, the people revolted. It was at this time that Sardar Ibrahim realized the love and affection of the masses for him.²⁵³

2.2.2: Second tenure as the AJK president(1957-1959)

The people boycotted the civil administration units to protest against the toppling of the Ibrahim's government in the year 1955. The whole structure of the government got disturbed because of the civil disobedience movement. The people of Kashmir were against the ministry of Kashmir affairs in Pakistan. Leaders of Azad Kashmir blamed that the disturbance in Azad Kashmir was only because of the interference of the ministry of Kashmir affairs. They demanded to disband the ministry.²⁵⁴ Meanwhile, All Parties Kashmir Conference was held at Karachi in November 1955 to reorganize the Kashmir issue.²⁵⁵ In this Conference, Sardar Ibrahim

²⁵⁰ Abbasi, *Sasaseyat-e-Kashmir*, 79.

²⁵¹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 152.

²⁵² Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 197.

²⁵³ Ibid., 198.

²⁵⁴ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 170-173.

²⁵⁵ Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1957.

called for abolishing the ministry of Kashmir affairs.²⁵⁶ Chaudhry Muhammad Ali promised to abolish the ministry but later refused to do so. Sardar Ibrahim boycotted the All Parties Kashmir Conference.²⁵⁷ In the meantime, A.H. Suharwardy replaced Chaudhry Muhammad Ali and in Azad Kashmir, the Muslim Conference nominated Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan as president of the state.²⁵⁸ Though, the Pakistan government did not like this, the new cabinet was established. After some months, the Pakistan government offered Sardar Ibrahim to head the government but he refused. Later, the Azad Kashmir government committed some mistakes which were intolerable for the Pakistan government and according to Sardar Ibrahim's 'Matah-e-zindgi,' Iskander Mirza offered him to take the office otherwise he would make someone else as president of Azad Kashmir.²⁵⁹

On the advice of some friends, he accepted the offer and became the president of Azad Kashmir second time on April 13, 1957 but he formed his cabinet after 16 months in July 1958. Pir Ali Jan Shah, Hakim Molvi Muhammad Hussain, Raja Abdul Hameed and Khawaja Ghulam Din Wani were included in his cabinet.²⁶⁰ He remained the president of Muslim Conference as well. By that time, the Kashmir Liberation Movement had started in Azad Kashmir by Qayum group but this movement failed to achieve its goals.²⁶¹ During his second tenure, he faced a difficult situation at the time of launching of Mangla Dam project²⁶² as the people of Mirpur were against this project. Sardar Ibrahim met the

²⁵⁶ Syed Mahmood Azad, *Hiyat-e-quaid-e-Kashmir* (Rawalpindi: Book centre, 1992), 82-84.

²⁵⁷ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 223.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 176.

²⁶⁰ Saraf, *Kashmiri's fights for freedom*, vol. ii, 1318.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1972.

leaders of Pakistan, discussed the benefits of this project with them and later visited the affected area to convince the people. He apprised them about the benefits of this project and managed to convince them to accept the proposal of Mangla dam²⁶³ and tried to make projects to resettle them.²⁶⁴

In the mid-1959, secretary of ministry of Kashmir affairs made a phone call to Sardar Ibrahim that President Ayub Khan was not happy with him so he should resign. Sardar Ibrahim wanted to meet the president to know the fact but failed to get access. He was forced to resign and K. H. Khurshid was nominated as president.²⁶⁵

Sardar Ibrahim was arrested on November 13, 1959 from his residence in Rawalpindi on a charge of hatching a conspiracy against the martial law government and was sent to jail. He appealed in court against this injustice. All civil and military courts gave their decision against his detention and he was released after 28 days. He then resigned as the president of the Muslim Conference too.²⁶⁶

2. 2. 3: Third tenure as the AJK president(1975 – 1978)

It was decided to hold the presidential elections in Azad Kashmir in 1970. Sardar Ibrahim participated from the platform of Azad Muslim Conference, Sardar Qayum from the Muslim Conference, K.H. Khurshid from Libration League and Chaudhry Tariq as

²⁶³ Khan, *Gazi-e-milat*, 168.

²⁶⁴ Sardar Ibrahim's personal dairy, 1957.

²⁶⁵ Abbasi, *sayaseyat-e-Kashmir*, 155. And Ershad Mehmood, "Status of AJK in political milieu" Policy Perspectives, Islamabad: Institute of policy studies, volume 3 number 2, July-December, 2006), 109.

²⁶⁶ Shabnum and Saabra, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir: 1947 ta hall*, 204.

independent candidate. The polling was held on October 30, 1970 and Sardar Qayum won the election. Sardar Ibrahim accepted his victory and extended his full cooperation. Later, he again joined the Muslim Conference and was nominated as its president. In 1975, the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly launched a disobedience movement against Sardar Abdul Qayum. Speaker Assembly Manzar Masud took charge as provisional president.²⁶⁷

In 1975, on the desire of Pakistan's Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Sardar Ibrahim agreed to cooperate with People's Party in Azad Kashmir. Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan and his political agents did not agree to him. Thus the Muslim Conference once again divided into two groups. Sardar Ibrahim was pitted against Abdul Qayum as a candidate of a four-party alliance.²⁶⁸ Sardar Abdul Qayum boycotted the elections and Sardar Ibrahim won the election with heavy margin.²⁶⁹

Sardar Ibrahim took the oath as constitutional president of Azad Kashmir on May 29, 1975. This was his third time in the presidency. Sardar Qayum became the prime minister of Azad Kashmir.²⁷⁰ This was for the first time, that a parliamentary system of government was established in Azad Kashmir.²⁷¹ Though Sardar Ibrahim won the

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 206.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Khan, *Gazi-e-milat*, 168.

elections with the collaboration of the Muslim Conference, he joined Azad Kashmir People's Party.²⁷²

On July 5, 1977, martial law was imposed in Pakistan. The politics in Pakistan always affects the Azad Kashmir government. Therefore, with the suggestions of political parties of Azad Kashmir, and on the advice of the chief martial law administrator, Azad Jammu Kashmir Council and Legislative Assembly were dissolved. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and other leaders of Azad Kashmir political parties decided that Sardar Ibrahim would remain president till the new elections were held.²⁷³ Rest of the government structure was abolished. Thus Sardar Ibrahim remained president till October 1978.²⁷⁴ In the beginning, Major-General Abdul Rehman worked with him as a chief executive and later on this post was given to Brig. Mohammad Hayat Khan. After that Brig. Hayat ruled Azad Kashmir for almost five years.

In 1986, Benazir Bhutto nominated Sardar Ibrahim as president of Azad Kashmir People's Party. He reorganized the party and strengthened it.²⁷⁵ In 1990, he was elected as member of Legislative Assembly. It was obvious that he would be the prime minister of Azad Kashmir but Benazir Bhutto selected Raja Mumtaz Hussain Rathore instead of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. This made him angry and he decided to make a

²⁷² Shabnum and Saabra, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir: 1947 to 1986*, 206.

²⁷³ Ibid. (See also the Appendix no 6).

²⁷⁴ Khan, *Gazi-e-milat*, 169.

²⁷⁵ Shabnum and Saabra, *Tarikh-e-Kashmir: 1947 to 1986*, 207.

separate group in the People's Party. Later, he once again merged his group with Jammu Kashmir People's Party.²⁷⁶

2.2. 4: Fourth tenure in as the AJK president (1996 – 2001)

The Azad Kashmir People's Party won the elections in 1996 and Sardar Ibrahim once again became the AJK president on August 25. Despite his old age, he was never looked tired. He worked hard to prove that the decision of 1947 was not wrong. He asked the people in a press conference to work hard with mutual understanding and cooperation like 1947 when everyone helped them a lot.²⁷⁷ In his last tenure as the president, he said it was not difficult for him to establish the government and that he would go abroad to resolve the Kashmir issue.²⁷⁸ He said in a press conference that to resolve the Kashmir issue in accordance with the desire of Kashmiris, construction of roads and democratic type of government would be their priorities.²⁷⁹ He had a wish to liberate Kashmir from India as once he said Muzaffarabad was not their destination. They would establish their offices in Srinagar. Throughout his stay at the presidency, he tried to resolve the Kashmir issue.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Ershad Mehmood, "Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim ki yad mein" (Rawalakot: Barshagal: number 1, volume 29-30, 1 August-15 August, 2007), 6., 6-7.

²⁷⁷ *Nawa-i-waqat* (Islamabad: 26 August, 1996), 2-6.

²⁷⁸ *Kasheer* (Rawalpindi: 13-19 August, 1996), 7.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ *Kasheer* (Rawalpindi: 27 August-2 September, 1996), 5.

Sardar Ibrahim had a desire to give representation to Northern Areas in the AJK Legislative Assembly.²⁸¹ He remained president till 2001. This was the first time when People's Party had inclusive his tenure in the history of Kashmir as president and prime minister had mutual cooperation thus this term was actually a peaceful era.²⁸²

2.2.5: As a member of AJK Legislative Assembly

Sardar Ibrahim became a member of the legislative assembly three times. In 1975, he won the election for the first time and at that time he was the president of Muslim Conference (Ibrahim group), but he did not take oath of MLA as he became the president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.²⁸³ In 1990, he was the president of People's Party and won the seat from Hajira. In 1996, he again won the elections on the ticket of Jammu and Kashmir People's Party, but again did not take oath and was elected as president of Azad Kashmir.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ *Kasheer*(Rawalpindi:10-16 December,1996),7

²⁸² Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim(Son of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan) dated, 15 April 2010, Islamabad. Tape recording. And Interview with Ersahad Mehmood(A researcher on history of Kashmir particularly on Azad Kashmir)dated, 05 May 2010, Tape recording.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER NO: 3

SARDAR MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN IN OPPOSITION

Both the treasury and the opposition are integral parts of any government. When one political party gets power, the other plays the role of an opposition. Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan remained in politics of Kashmir nearly 60 years. Though, he achieved the power in government but for larger part of his political career he played his role as an opposition leader.

3.1: First tenure of Sardar Ibrahim in opposition (1950-1956)

When in 1949, Sardar Ibrahim had gone to the US to attend the UN Security Council session, a meeting of the Muslim Conference's general council was held,²⁸⁵ and Sardar Ibrahim was not informed about it by any one. It was decided in the meeting to dismiss Sardar Ibrahim from presidency.²⁸⁶ Actually when Chaudhry Gulam Abbas came to

²⁸⁵ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 196.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 197.

Pakistan after his release from jail, he was given the name supreme head of Azad Kashmir government. Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, which was established in March 1949, played an important role to swell the rift between the leaders of the state.²⁸⁷ Sardar Ibrahim thought that there was interfering in his work whereas Gulam Abbas was thinking that there was no importance of the Muslim Conference for Sardar Ibrahim.²⁸⁸ As a result of these conspiracies, Sardar Ibrahim had to resign as the president.²⁸⁹ One can examine differences between Sardar Ibrahim and Gulam Abbas with the statement of Akhter Masud Wani. In an interview, he said they had started avoiding social gatherings whenever they came to know that the other would be present in that gathering.²⁹⁰

The new cabinet consisted of Col. Syed Ali Ahmed Shah as president, Khawaja Sanaullah Shamim as a minister for development, Syed Nazir Hussain Shah as minister for finance and forest and Col. Sher Ahmed Khan, minister for defence, education and health.²⁹¹ Sardar Ibrahim said it clearly that he didn't have any information about this change in Azad Kashmir government. Furthermore, first time in public he had admitted the differences between Gulam Abbas and himself and presented his views that this change was also the result of that tussle.²⁹² Although, formally they offered Sardar Ibrahim the designation of presidentship again but he refused to become the president of

²⁸⁷ Khan, *Gazi-e-milat*, 136.

²⁸⁸ Ibid. 136.

²⁸⁹ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 196

²⁹⁰ Interview with Ahter Masud Wani, (Information officer of all Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference and the editor of weekly Kasheer) dated, 30 May 2010, Rawalpindi. Tape recording. Masud Wani's house was always used for political gathering as his father Abdus Samad Wani was prominent leader in Kashmiri politics.

²⁹¹ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 197.

²⁹² Ibid.

the cabinet that had been chosen by Gulam Abbas.²⁹³ Basically Sardar Ibrahim had gained fame suddenly and wanted to rule without any partnership.²⁹⁴ Sardar Ibrahim in a statement on February 23, 1949 said some people were spreading reports that there were differences between the Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference and the Azad Kashmir government. He said the Muslim Conference was the parent party and the Azad Kashmir government was just like its institution and there were no differences between them as the Muslim Conference was the only representative party of the Muslims of the state and the Quaid-i-Milat was the only leader.²⁹⁵ Hence with the nomination of Ali Ahmed Shah, the rift between the two Muslim Conference leaders became visible. Furthermore, President Ali Ahmed Shah's cabinet member Col. Sher Ahmed Khan tendered his resignation under the pressure of his tribe and on June 5, 1950 he gave the reasons of his resignation that the present cabinet was not able to take public into confidence, therefore, it was better for him to resign from this government²⁹⁶.

In mid-1950, the condition of the state launched agitation because of the political splits.²⁹⁷ An open revolt had started within 24 hours soon after the resignation of Sardar Ibrahim in Plandri and other parts of Poonch District. The prominent leaders of Azad Jammu and Kashmir like Sardar Abdul Qayum had the opinion that Sardar Ibrahim's representatives had been misguiding the people by telling that the government had been

²⁹³ Ibid.,198.

²⁹⁴ Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan, *Rahis-ur-ehrar: Chaudhry Gulam Abbas* (Lahore: Nayaz Jahangir printers, 2010), 62.

²⁹⁵ Basheer Ahmed Qureshi, *Quaid-e-Kashmir* (Dachapaaazay, 1985),94.

²⁹⁶ Pandit, *Kashmir azadi ki dehliz per*,264.

²⁹⁷ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir:aik sayasi jaiza*,198.

dislodged from power and it was a good time to speak up for the rights of the Suduns.²⁹⁸ Sardar Ibrahim did not gear up the public for this protest against the government, as stated by Sardar Ibrahim himself in an interview to Radio Muzaffarabad.²⁹⁹ Later, when the condition of the government became worst, he with the suggestion of Mushtaq Ahmed Gormani turned this shakeup in the political movement and became the leader of opposition.³⁰⁰ He and his followers confessed that it was a conspiracy against his government which was created by the government of Pakistan seeing that the officials of Pakistan too were jealous because of his international fame as he was the youngest man and had become the hero of the movement.³⁰¹ It was a fact that the consent of the state of Kashmir to Pakistan was essential for Pakistan even, because of water problem, if Pakistan had no control on the rivers in Kashmir; it would be always like a threat to Pakistan. However, this agitation was not against Pakistan but only flanking to the changing of Azad Kashmir government. On May 8, 1951 Ibrahim's group met Mr. Gormani, the minister for Kashmir affairs and requested him to do something for the condition of Azad Kashmir but in vain. Thus on June 1951, the Muslim Conference (Ibrahim group) decided to set up a parallel government and established its offices in Poonch.³⁰²

This agitation continued for almost 17 months. A large-scale political disaster had been created in the state, all departments of the government had boycotted, including the

²⁹⁸ Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan, *The Kashmir case* (Rawalpindi: Sigma press, 1993), 26.

²⁹⁹ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, Interview to the radio Muzaffarabad, Available in audio cassettes, FM library Rawalakot, 1-7-1989.

³⁰⁰ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 165.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 147.

³⁰² Ahmed, *Tarikh-e-sudnati*, 104.

police and judiciary. The public was in the hands of Sardar Ibrahim and his companions and they even refused to pay taxes to the government.³⁰³ Because of civil disobedient movement in tehsils of Plandri and Rawalakot, the government seemed helpless. They called army from Pakistan to control the public and a fight started between Sudun tribe and armed forces which created great trouble in the state.³⁰⁴ Sardar Ibrahim's companions termed this agitation a democratic struggle and the basic demand was to give the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir.³⁰⁵ Though, this movement had started from Poonch, all prominent people joined it like Raja Haider Khan from Muzaffarabad, Chaudhry Noor Hussain from Mirpur and Col. Rehmat Khan from Poonch. When Col. Ali Ahmed Shah failed to control the situation,³⁰⁶ an adhoc committee was established with the help of the ministry of Kashmir affairs and the Muslim Conference.³⁰⁷ Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusef Shah was its president and Mir Abdul Aziz became its secretary.³⁰⁸

In these crucial conditions, Liaquat Ali Khan decided to visit Kashmir and after a stopover in Rawalpindi to solve this issue but unfortunately he was assassinated in Rawalpindi.³⁰⁹ After one month of his murder, the government was dissolved and a new interim government was established.³¹⁰ It was also acknowledged that the next government would be on the wishes of public of Azad Kashmir. Thus Muslim Conference's elections were held and after the struggle of six months, general council

³⁰³ Syed Mahmood Azad, *Tarik-e-azadi Kashmir k bani gazi-e-Kashmir: Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan Karalvi*(Rawalpindi: S.T.printers,1996),161.

³⁰⁴ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*,211.

³⁰⁵ Khan,*Gazi-e-milat*,143.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.,142.

³⁰⁷ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*,211.

³⁰⁸ Pandit, *Kashmir: azadi ki dehliz per*,268.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Khan,*Matah-e-zindgi*,167.

nominated the president, but the ministry of Kashmir affairs in the government of Pakistan refused to accept these elections and a new type of government had been established, which had not any relation with the Muslim Conference even, although it was a big defeat of democratic elements, but it was the triumph of some officials.³¹¹ After that the Muslim Conference worked for almost four years as opposition against this government, but no one had the courage to commence a political movement.³¹² Sardar Ibrahim, who had been dismissed from power, had appreciated the set up of Muslim Conference's elections and the appointment of Mir Wiaz Muhammad Yusef Shah. He also emphasized the arrangement of elections at district and tehsil level.³¹³ For the preparation of general council's elections, he started meeting people through meetings and debates. The Sudun tribe was already with him but he gained sympathies of other people too. Thus on May 18, 1952 general council's session was held in which Sardar Ibrahim was nominated as president of the council and Qureshi Muhammad Yusef as general secretary. Moreover, the general council nominated Raja Muhammad Haider Khan as president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.³¹⁴

On May 16-18, 1952, a session of the Muslim Conference was held in Muzaffarabad, and the representatives of all areas were present there, but still this session was incomplete because Chaudhry Gulam Abbas group did not join it as they earlier had announced

³¹¹ Ibid.,168.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*,215.

³¹⁴ Ibid.,216.

quitting politics. It looked like a one man show of opposition because majority of them were from Ibrahim group.³¹⁵

In the meanwhile Gulam Abbas's companions arranged a session in Rawalpindi and requested Gulam Abbas to return to politics. He accepted their offer next year. In 1952, the minister of Kashmir affairs Dr. Mehmood Hussain went to Murree with the aim to establish a strong government in Azad Kashmir after solving the problems of political rudiments.³¹⁶

An important member of the Sardar Ibrahim group Col. Ali Ahmed Khan agreed for the presidentship and Chaudhry Noor Hussain agreed to accept ministry even without the consultation of his group.³¹⁷ Other three members i.e. Chaudhry Hameedullah Khan, Sardar Abdul Qayum and Pir Ziauddin Indrabi were taken from Abbas group and a coalition government was established.³¹⁸ Mir Wiaz Yusef Shah was also satisfied as they had been appointed as minister of Kashmir affairs. Although the new government was a coalition no one accredited it as their own government. The Ibrahim group had opinion that it was a result of a plan of the ministry of Kashmir affairs. But in fact this government had their loyalties with Abbas group because majority of the members were from that group. Now in March 1953, Chaudhry Gulam Abbas announced his re-entry in politics.³¹⁹

³¹⁵ Ibid.,216.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ Ibid.,220.

On September 21, 1953, the Ibrahim group arranged a symposium of the Muslim Conference in Rawalpindi in which Sardar Ibrahim stressed the need to resolve the Kashmir issue according to the resolutions of the United Nations and demanded the structure of the Azad Kashmir government.³²⁰ Col. Sher Ahmed Khan was also from the Sudun tribe, and for this reason he was nominated as president but the Sudun tribe refused to accept the leadership of anyone else as a substitute of Sardar Ibrahim.³²¹

On February 18, 1955, police attacked a mosque in Plandri to arrest a rebel Sudun Sardar Sher Dil Khan, but serious clash broke out among public and police. After two days, a massacre took place in village "Baral." As a result, the people attacked Plandri jail and incarcerated all district officers. After that all prominent personalities were arrested and the Sudun tribe established a parallel government.³²² This agitation continued for several months.³²³

Martial law was imposed in district Poonch and heavy police contingents were called in from Punjab to control the situation. Almost 100 houses were demolished while many people were injured by the shelling. Old cases once were again reopened and many people were sent to prison. The Muslim Conference sent a memorandum to Pakistan's National Assembly and demanded that the police should be called back and investigation commission should be appointed to examine the matters which took place in district

³²⁰ Ibid.,221.

³²¹ Ibid.,221.

³²² Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1955.

³²³ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*,220-221.

Poonch.³²⁴ Col Sher Ahmad's government appointed a commission to investigate the whole matter but later Col. Sher Ahmad withdrew all the cases even without consulting ministry of Kashmir affairs.³²⁵

At the same time, an all parties Kashmir Conference was held. Sardar Ibrahim wanted to present the issue of Poonch in this Conference but Muhammad Ali Bogra requested him that it would be not good for Pakistan's reputation. Thus Sardar Ibrahim ignored this matter and demanded that all agitation and disturbance was only because of ministry of Kashmir affairs so it should be abolished. First, Muhammad Ali agreed but later he did not show any interest in this matter thus Sardar Ibrahim boycotted the conference.³²⁶

In 1956, a new coalition was made in the politics of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Sardar Ibrahim served as president of Azad Kashmir in 1957 and Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan became the prime minister till 1959.³²⁷ In 1958, martial law was imposed in Pakistan.³²⁸ President Ayub Khan was not happy with Sardar Ibrahim. Sardar Ibrahim has written in his book that President Ayub was angry because of two reasons i.e. Sardar Ibrahim was not present in the meeting of "Anjuman-e-Hamayat-e-Islam" of which he was president, although it was not so much important for Sardar Ibrahim as he thought but President Ayub had made it an issue when he saw empty chair on the stage. The other reason was the late arrival of Sardar Ibrahim at the airport, when President Ayub Khan was leaving

³²⁴ Ibid.,224.

³²⁵ Ibid.,222.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim,15 April 2010.

³²⁸ Khan ,*Mateh-e-zindgi*,178.

Rawalpindi. After that Sardar Ibrahim tried to meet President Ayub but unfortunately he could not do so. These were not important issues but they became the basis of the conflict.³²⁹

3.2: Second tenure in opposition (1958)

In 1957-58, a movement with the name of Kashmir Liberation Movement (KLM) was started by the Muslim Conference (Gulam Abbas group). At that time, Sardar Ibrahim was president of Azad Kashmir. The relations between Chaudhry Gulam Abbas and Sardar Ibrahim were not good. Thus Sardar Ibrahim thought that this movement had been launched against his government.³³⁰ He gave a statement that this movement was not against India and it was limited to Muzaffarabad and Chanari³³¹ But the Gulam Abbas group said the main aim of this movement was to cross ceasefire line to liberate Kashmir.³³² Sardar Ibrahim did not support this movement and later it failed to achieve its goal.³³³

In 1962, elections were held on the basis of basic democracy. Sardar Ibrahim nominated Pir Sahib as his party's candidate. Sardar Abdul Qayum and K.H. Khurshid were also the candidates. K.H. Khurshid won the elections.³³⁴ In this election, the Muslim Conference's two candidates had failed and after the election once again Sardar Ibrahim and Chaudhry

³²⁹ Ibid.,186.

³³⁰ Ibid.,247.

³³¹ Abdus Samad Wani *Kashmir Liberation Movement: KLM*(Rawalpindi:Pervaiz brothers,1960),144.

³³² Unpublished work of Ahter Wani, *Kashmir ki kahani*.And Abbasi, *Sasaseyat-e-Kashmir*,149-153.

³³³ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim,15 April 2010.

³³⁴ Ibid.

Gulam Abbas made convergence as a result Sardar Ibrahim separated himself from Azad Kashmir's politics for some time.³³⁵

3.3: Third tenure in opposition (1960-1966)

Sardar Ibrahim went to Lahore and started practice in high court in 1960. At that time, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali's Nafaz-e-Islam Party was in opposition in Pakistan and Sardar Ibrahim joined it.³³⁶ He supported Fatima Jinnah in the 1964 elections against President Ayub Khan. Sardar Ibrahim was actually in favour of democratic government and, therefore, he supported Miss Fatima Jinnah.³³⁷

Sardar Ibrahim remained in opposition during his stay in Lahore and arranged a convention with the name of People's Convention in Faisalabad with the cooperation of Sheikh Rasheed, Mumtaz Rana and Rao Khurshid, who were known as leftists in Pakistani politic. Later, Rao Khurshid, Sheikh Rasheed and Mumtaz Rana joined the party of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.³³⁸

3.4: Fourth tenure in opposition:(1966-1974)

In 1966, he re-entered Azad Kashmir politics and established Azad Muslim Conference. At that time, Raja Hameed Khan was president of Azad Kashmir. At that

³³⁵ Khan, *Gazi-e-milat*, 147.

³³⁶ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 15 April 2010. And interview with Ersahad Mehmood, dated, 05 May 2010.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

time three major political parties of Azad Kashmir tried to get united. K.H. Khurshid, Sardar Abdul Qayum and Sardar Ibrahim made a union against the government of Raja Hameed Khan. They demanded elections in Azad Kashmir in a session which was held on January 23, 1970.³³⁹ Same movement had been launched in Pakistan and General Rehman had been nominated as interim president in the state of Azad Kashmir.³⁴⁰

In 1970, because of the struggle of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan and other prominent leaders, Azad Kashmir got constitution under which an assembly was established which consisted 25 members having full authorities.³⁴¹ In the year 1970, he participated in presidential elections but unfortunately could not win and Sardar Abdul Qayum became the president till 1975 on the result of adult franchise elections.³⁴²

After getting the office Sardar Abdul Qayum requested Sardar Ibrahim to rejoin the Muslim Conference and he accepted this request and returned to the Muslim Conference but later in 1974, the act of 1970 was replaced with a new act, in which parliamentary system was established instead of presidential system. After the implementation of this act, a disobedience movement was launched against Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan and later Sheikh Manzar Masud became the interim president of Azad Kashmir government who held the elections in three months in which ³⁴³ Sardar Ibrahim participated against Sardar Abdul Qayum and won the election on adult franchise basis.³⁴⁴ Thus Abdul Hameed Khan took the oath as prime minister of Azad Kashmir on 5 July 1975. This was the first time parliamentary type of government was established in Azad Kashmir. At the same

³³⁹ Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1969.

³⁴⁰ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 15 April 2010.

³⁴¹ Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1970.

³⁴² Khan, *Gazi-e-milat*, 148.

³⁴³ Ibid. 149.

³⁴⁴ Abbasi, *sayaseyat-e-Kashmir*, 210-212.

time Sardar Ibrahim was selected as an MLA but he took the oath of president of Azad Kashmir government.³⁴⁵

In 1977, martial law was imposed in Pakistan and Gen Zia ul Haq became the martial law administrator. He promised that he would arrange elections within three months but later on he did not fulfill his promise and forced Sardar Ibrahim either to accept their conditions and remain president of Azad Kashmir or resign. Sardar Ibrahim did not accept their conditions and as a result he was ousted from the government on 8 October 1978 and Major General Hayat Khan was installed as the president of Azad Kashmir.³⁴⁶

Actually Ziaul Haq had no right to depose him as a martial law administrator. Sardar Ibrahim filed an appeal in court and later on all courts gave their decisions against this step of Ziaul Haq.³⁴⁷

In the year 1981, Sardar Ibrahim was arrested for third time because he was accused of hatching conspiracies against the government.³⁴⁸

3.5: Fifth tenure in opposition (1982-1995)

Meanwhile, General Rehman replaced Brig. Hayat. People's Party had launched MRD in Pakistan against the Zia government. On the call of People's Party, Sardar Ibrahim decided to start a long march from Rawalakot to Islamabad in 1983.³⁴⁹ He gave the statement that this long march would be joined by MRD workers from all over the

³⁴⁵ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 15 April 2010.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 15 April 2010.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Sardar Muhammad Tahir Tabbasum, "Batl-e-huryat" (Islamabad: Khabrein, 31 July, 2004), 4.

country and would be started at any cost, however would try to avoid direct clash with the authorities.³⁵⁰ They started the long march using vehicles to reach Islamabad if police continued to obstruct it. Originally it had planned to reach Islamabad in seven days.³⁵¹ Sardar Ibrahim remained in opposition and announced to lead this long march but was arrested on the way and was sent to jail³⁵² in Lohar Gali Rest House in Muzaffarabad.³⁵³ After getting released from the jail, he actively participated in the political affairs in Azad Kashmir from the platform of People's Party Azad Kashmir Wing, and boycotted the elections of 1985.³⁵⁴

In 1986, he first time became the president of People's Party Azad Kashmir Wing and tried to prepare himself for next elections.³⁵⁵ Then in the year 1990, he was elected on the ticket of People's Party and it seemed that he would be the next prime minister of Azad Kashmir but Benazir Bhutto nominated Mumtaz Hussain as prime minister thus Sardar Ibrahim was enraged by this step and left People's Party. Then he established his own Azad Kashmir People's Party but later merged it with People's Party.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁰ *Dawn*(Islamabad:30 November,1983),5.

³⁵¹ *Dawn*(Islamabad:3 December,1983),6.

³⁵² Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 15 April 2010. And Interview with Ahter Masud Wani, dated, 30 May 2010.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 04 April 2011. And interview with Sardar Rasheed (A journalist and writer on Kashmir history and politics) dated, 12 April 2011, Islamabad. Tape recording.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER NO: 4

SARDAR MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN: NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Sardar Ibrahim played an important role in national, regional and international politics. He had close relations with the politicians of Pakistan. Sardar Ibrahim was keen observer of politics; even he scrutinized the politics of Hindu and Congress. In his opinion there were some unforgettable mistakes committed by Congress which led to the creation of Pakistan. Although, Congress was a leading party having prudent and mature leaders, but these mistakes during its power from 1937 to 1939 paved the way for the partition of the country.

4.1: National Politics

When Pakistan got independence, Sardar Ibrahim and his companions decided to join Pakistan. After a long struggle, Azad Kashmir government came into being under the

leadership of Sardar Ibrahim. He made an appeal to India to accept this new government.³⁵⁷ It seemed that he wanted to make good relations with India.

Sardar Ibrahim acknowledged that Quaid-i-Azam was a great leader who achieved Pakistan through his determination and wisdom. Soon after the birth of Azad Kashmir government in 1947, he had started his work as president of Azad Kashmir. He made visits to seek help from Pakistan the same year ³⁵⁸ for the war of liberation of Kashmir but unfortunately he could not get access to the leaders of Pakistan. He tried hard to meet Quaid-i-Azam through Mian Ameer-ud-Din and Raja Ghazanfer Ali Khan but could not get access.³⁵⁹ Though he was disappointed by the behaviour of Pakistani politicians, he never harboured grudge against them in his heart.³⁶⁰ The ministry of Kashmir affairs had been established to serve as a tool between Azad Kashmir government and the government of Pakistan.³⁶¹ All instructions of Security Council were given to the Azad Kashmir government through this ministry.³⁶²

4.1.1: Karachi agreement on Northern Areas issue (1949)

Pakistan was an important party on the Kashmir issue and because of its geographical, political and ideological relations with the state, it was necessary to reorganize its relations with Kashmir as with the passage of time some confusion arose between

³⁵⁷ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 137.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 132.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 133.

³⁶¹ Abbasi, *Sayaseyat-e-Kashmir*, 98.

³⁶² Ibid.

Kashmir and Pakistan.³⁶³ In fact in the year 1949, the cleft between two top leaders Chaudhry Gulam Abbas and Sardar Ibrahim was open and this was the first bungle stanching by Muslim Conference workers whose differences paved the ways for the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs to easily bring the area of Gilgit-Baltistan under their control. Mushtaq Ahmed Gormani was of the opinion that without the active help of Pakistani government it would not be possible for Azad Kashmir government to have efficient control of Northern Areas where proper administration was necessary to control the interference of groups.³⁶⁴ Thus after ceasefire they decided to sign an agreement to overcome this situation.³⁶⁵

On April 28, 1949,³⁶⁶ ministry of Kashmir affairs under the government of Pakistan, Azad Kashmir government and All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference signed an agreement which was called 'Karachi Agreement'³⁶⁷. Mushtaq Ahmed Gormani as minister of Kashmir affairs, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan as president of Azad Kashmir government and Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas as president of Muslim Conference signed this agreement.³⁶⁸ According to this agreement, defence, dialogue with the United Nation Commission for India and Pakistan, foreign policy of Azad Kashmir, exposure in Pakistan and foreign countries, organization of planning for relief and rehabilitations of refugees, coordination of publicity and all arrangements in

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Tariq, *Kashmir in strangulation*, 13. (See also Appendix no. 7).

³⁶⁵ Dewan, *Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh*, 198.

³⁶⁶ Original Karachi agreement from the private papers of Sardar Ibrahim at the residence of Sardar Khalid Ibrahim in Islamabad. (See also Appendix no 8).

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

connection with the plebiscite, all activities within Pakistan itself with regard to Kashmir like procurement of food and civil supplies, transport, running of refugee camps, medical arrangements etc. and all affairs of Gilgit and Ladakh areas under the political agent of Gilgit were given to the government of Pakistan.³⁶⁹

4.1.2: Sardar Ibrahim and elections in East Pakistan (1954)

After 1950 although the politics of Pakistan had faced many crises but time and again Sardar Ibrahim had participated in Pakistani politics. Once when Muhammad Ali Bogra became the prime minister of Pakistan, Sardar Ibrahim went to East Pakistan on his behalf and delivered speeches during the election campaign in 1954.³⁷⁰ Although later on he himself said that he should have not been the member of any party. Muslim Conference and Muslim League had terms for long time but due to Kashmir's politics and condition he should not have done this but during his visit to East Pakistan he learnt more things from the leaders of East Pakistan as the public was poor but they were more aware of politics. They were biased towards their province and had more emotions for their region. It is a fact the Muslim League was not much popular in East Pakistan so Bogra got a bad defeat there. All local officers were against Muslim League and the conditions of the centre had deteriorated after the defeat of Muslim League.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 04 April 2011.

³⁷¹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 156.

During the years 1950-1955, agitation started in Azad Kashmir and some Kashmiri writers agreed that this was the diplomatic scheme of the government of Pakistan for grabbing power but Sardar Ibrahim could not give his views against the government of Pakistan. Instead he said this was only because of changing of government in the state of Azad Kashmir.³⁷²

4.1.3: Sardar Ibrahim and Kashmir Liberation Movement(1958)

In 1958, a movement with the name of Kashmir Liberation Movement (KLM)³⁷³ was launched in Azad Kashmir on behalf of Sikander Mirza.³⁷⁴ In this movement, all prominent leaders of the Muslim Conference decided to hold a long march and to cross the ceasefire line for the liberation of Kashmir,³⁷⁵ but this movement unfortunately failed. Sardar Ibrahim was the president of Azad Kashmir at that time.³⁷⁶ He gave the statement that the movement was actually the conspiracy of leaders of Pakistan with mutual understanding of supreme head of the Muslim Conference Chaudhry Gulam Abbas³⁷⁷ as they wanted to cross the ceasefire line to solve the Kashmir issue³⁷⁸ but in the opinion of Sardar Ibrahim, the main aim of this movement was to get power in Azad Kashmir and to dismiss him from the office with other political motives.³⁷⁹

³⁷² Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 233-240.

³⁷³ Wani, *Kashmir ki kahani*. an unpublished work.

³⁷⁴ Shabir Chauhdry, *Kashmir ki qomi azadi aur Pakistan* (Mirpur: Kashmir International friendship club, 1991), 154.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 169.

³⁷⁷ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir: aik sayasi jaiza*, 233.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

According to Mirza Shafiq, this statement of Sardar Ibrahim seemed to be correct to some extent as Rao Abdul Rasheed was the Inspector General in Azad Kashmir police at the time of this movement.³⁸⁰ He said this movement was actually the scheme of Sikander Mirza, the president of Pakistan, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Chaudhry Gulam Abbas and the secretary to the president of Pakistan Qudratullah Shahab.³⁸¹ He had the opinion that Sikander Mirza had revolted against the central government before in 1956 through Khan of Qalat but after its failure he turned towards Azad Kashmir and planned that through the KLM. The condition of Azad Kashmir turned towards agitation so that the government of Pakistan might get an excuse to take step to maintain law and order and would thus dismiss the civil government of Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon and in Azad Kashmir Sardar Ibrahim, who had good relations with Feroz Khan so that the aim of Chaudhry Gulam Abbas might be fulfilled and he himself might be able to strengthen his power in Pakistan.³⁸²

Muhammad Yusef Saraf, the secretary general of the movement, writes in his book that when Kashmir Liberation Movement started in the state, Malik Feroz Khan Noon was the prime minister of Pakistan while Sikandar Mirza was president.³⁸³ The country was preparing for its first general elections under the constitution of 1956.³⁸⁴ Feroz Khan Noon and other political leaders wanted to hold the general elections but President

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid. And Shabir, *Kashmir ki qomi azadi*, 154.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Saraf, *Kashmiries fights for freedom*, vol. ii, 1321.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

Sikander Mirza had different plans because it seemed that after the elections there would be no chance for him to remain in power.³⁸⁵ Actually, it was sponsored by Sikander Mirza to disrupt the programme for general elections.³⁸⁶ The result was that the movement did not get the authorized backing of the political parties.³⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the government announced that it would not let the public cross the ceasefire line because it would create disturbance in the state.³⁸⁸ Despite all this planning, some prominent leaders of the movement were arrested. Although at the start, this movement got momentum but later on the condition of the state got disturbed.³⁸⁹ At the same time, at the result of turbulence in Pakistan, Ayub Khan imposed martial law and this also affected the politics in Azad Kashmir.³⁹⁰ General Ayub Khan released all agents and workers of Kashmir Liberation Movement who were in jail and gave the statement that Pakistan would be with Kashmiris to liberate the state from India.³⁹¹ On 15th January 1959, Chaudhry Gulam Abbas announced to stop the movement.³⁹² On the other hand, General Ayub Khan was a dictator and Sardar Ibrahim was in favour of democracy so they both could not live long. As a result, he was dismissed in 1959,³⁹³ and K.H. Khurshid was nominated as president of Azad Kashmir.³⁹⁴

On 13th November 1959, Sardar Ibrahim was arrested and sent to jail on a charge of hatching conspiracies against the martial law administration, but all civil and military

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.,1322.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.1323.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.,1324.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Abbasi, *Sayasiyat-e-Kashmir*,153.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

judiciary departments gave their decisions in favour of Sardar Ibrahim and he was released from jail after four weeks.³⁹⁵

4.1.4: Sardar Ibrahim and Azad Muslim Conference (1966)

After dismissal, Sardar Ibrahim went to Lahore and started his practice there. On December 5, 1966,³⁹⁶ he returned to politics and organized a party with the name of Azad Muslim Conference³⁹⁷. It was actually a party of Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy in Pakistan which was in opposition at that time. Sardar Ibrahim was its president, Chaudhry Khadim Hussain was its general secretary and Khawaja Muhammad Ameen Mukhtayar was its vice-president.³⁹⁸ When in 1970, presidential election was held, Sardar Ibrahim participated in election from the platform of this party but could not win the elections. Therefore, Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan became the president at that time.³⁹⁹

4.1.5: Three parties' coalition (1977)

After this, he was in favour of Pakistani politics but in 1977 when Ziaul Haq became the martial law administrator, because of this new uncertain situation in Pakistan it was decided to restructure the government of Azad Kashmir too. Thus on July 27, 1977⁴⁰⁰ on the wishes of the government of Pakistan, leaders of Muslim Conference, People's Party

³⁹⁵ Saraf, *Kashmiries fights from freedom* vol.ii, 1324.

³⁹⁶ Abbasi, *Sayasiyat-e-Kashmir*, 178.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Khan, *Gazi-e-milat*, 148.

⁴⁰⁰ Original agreement from the private files of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, at the residence of Sardar Khalid Ibrahim at Islamabad.(See also the Appendix no 6).

and Azad Muslim Conference with mutual cooperation agreed to sign an agreement to hold fresh elections. It was decided in this agreement that the present president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan would continue as interim president, provided he did not seek election for any other office. In case, he did, he would resign and the powers of the president would be devolve to chief executive and Major General (retired) Abdul Rehman would be appointed as chief executive of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.⁴⁰¹ Sardar Ibrahim did not agree with the points given by Ziaul Haq and took the step to tender the resignation to Ziaul Haq. In 1983, on the call of Benazir Bhutto, he decided to start a long march against dictatorship but was arrested.⁴⁰²

4.2: Regional Politics

Although Sardar Ibrahim had participated in regional politics too but as compare to national and international politics, his role seems to be very limited in regional politics. When he got the opportunity to head the new independent state of Azad Kashmir, he clearly gave the statement that this provisional government would remain friendly and show goodwill towards its neighbouring domination of India and hoped that India and Pakistan would sympathize with the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their efforts to exercise their birth right of political freedom.⁴⁰³ He expressed his views that India was only passing its time on Kashmir, because Kashmir was a real part of Azad Kashmir and

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Interview with Ersahad Mehmood, dated, 05 May 2010.

⁴⁰³ Kaul,S.N. *Political turmoil of Kashmir*,218.

sooner or later it would merge with Pakistan.⁴⁰⁴ He appealed to India to accept Kashmir thus there would be peace in the region.⁴⁰⁵ He said in a press conference that Kashmiris would continue their struggle till the liberation of Kashmir and the policies of India were dangerous for the peace in South Asia.⁴⁰⁶ He said if India did not control its forces, the Mujahideen would go to Delhi to get rid of the Indian forces. In his opinion, if the super power Russia could not take control of Afghanistan, then how India could think of capturing Kashmir?⁴⁰⁷ In 1965, he addressed to the public and said the relations between India and Pakistan could not move further till the liberation of Kashmir.⁴⁰⁸

Sardar Ibrahim said in a press conference that Indian government should permit the leaders of Hurayat Conference to come to Pakistan so that negotiation could start to solve Kashmir issue. He said India's claim to two ways negotiation was not much important because through this way, they could not get the solution of this issue. He said India got disappointed after its extreme of cruelty but he could not break the will of Kashmiris.⁴⁰⁹ The democratic slogan of India had got down. He warned India to stop its atrocities on innocent people after staging a drama of ceasefire. He said the day was not far when India like Russia would pack its bag and baggage and go back.⁴¹⁰ He said temporary ceasefire was not the solution. There should be permanent ceasefire line.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁴ *Jang*(Rawalpindi: 20 April, 2010),6.

⁴⁰⁵ Personal dairies of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1965.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Nawa-i-waqai*(Rawalpindi :Kashmir addition ,05 -02-2001),1.

⁴⁰⁸ Sardar Ibrahim's personal dairy 1965.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁰ *Khaberin* (Muzafferabad:20 February 2001),3.

⁴¹¹ *Jang*(Rawalpindi: 25 Februry,2001),3.

Sardar Ibrahim termed Indian suppression on Kashmir similar to Israel. It was a big challenge and “our motto is to liberate Kashmir and annex it with Pakistan”. He wanted to establish a Muslim society in Kashmir.⁴¹²

He wanted to keep good relations with India even but time and again warned that if India did not stop unfavorable attitude towards Kashmir it would be charged full agitation.

4.3: International Politics

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan urged the Islamic countries and the European countries to exert pressure on India on Kashmir problem and to solve that issue on the basis of the resolution of Security Council and demanded the right of self determination for Kashmiris for their future.⁴¹³ He said struggle of liberation of Kashmir was based on international principles.⁴¹⁴ When he was going abroad for the first time in January 1948 to present the Kashmir issue at international level, he delivered the speech in Karachi in which he said he was going abroad to highlight the Kashmir issue and for this purpose government of Pakistan was not giving them any aid, it was totally wrong observation that Pakistan was supporting Kashmiris, the material they were using had been collected from Dogras and Hindus and Allah would help them as they were promoting peace in the state of Kashmir.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² *Kasheer*(Rawalpindi:14 June 1975),4.

⁴¹³ Sarfraz Hussain Mirza, *Pak-Bharat tanaza-e-Kashmir*(Lahore: Sang-e-meal publications, 1993),26.

⁴¹⁴ Sahafat(Muzafferabad:03 October,2000),3.

⁴¹⁵ Altaf Pervaiz, *Azadi-e-Kashmir*(Rawalpindi:Zamindar book depot,1982),133.

4.3.1: First visit of Sardar Ibrahim to UN Security Council (1948)

On 13th January 1948, first time Sardar Ibrahim went to Security Council in New York. The 3/4th area of the state including Ladakh and Baltistan was in the hands of Azad Kashmir government at that time. India went to Security Council with a blame that Pakistan was supporting insurgency in Kashmir and had attacked and created some trouble. They should force Pakistan to keep aloof itself from the state of Kashmir.⁴¹⁶

On January 17-18, he along with Dr. Mohammad Din Tasir who was his Secretary was present in New York.⁴¹⁷ Upon reaching New York, a tragedy took place with them, and the news and pictures of their arrival were published in a local newspapers but because of a mistake they gave the picture of Dr. Tasir and wrote down the name of Sardar Ibrahim under that picture.⁴¹⁸ This was propagated and highlighted later on by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah.⁴¹⁹ Sardar Ibrahim refuted this news⁴²⁰ but, as the New York press did publish this rebuttal prominently so majority of the population could not know the reality.⁴²¹ It is also fact that because of death of Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Ibrahim could not get access to deliver his speech in Security Council rather he called a press

⁴¹⁶ Muhammad Iqbal and Ahmed Shamim, *Azad Kashmir: Road to process* (Muzaffarabad: The information directorate of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, 1965), 28.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 142.

⁴¹⁹ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim (Son of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan) dated, 10 February 2010, Islamabad. Tape recording.

⁴²⁰ *New York Times*, 20 January, 1948. (See also Appendix no 9).

⁴²¹ Ibid.

conference there⁴²² and presented the causes of revolt against Maharaja's government. Although before that the issue was presented in a negative way from India, so the media men asked some negative questions too. Sardar Ibrahim never lost his heart and was able to tackle the whole matter softly. He made it clear that they were not against India but against the Maharaja's government and he explained the condition of the state and the masses in detail and said that it was impossible to live in this type of the state where no one had right. Therefore, he said, it was their right to speak for their rights.⁴²³

4.3.2: UNO Commission (1949)

A commission was sent by Security Council and it announced the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan in 1949.⁴²⁴ It was a fact that if Azad army had equipments at that time and if Pakistan army had agreed to help it, Azad Kashmir would not have agreed for any ceasefire. According to Sardar Ibrahim, the condition of state was not like that and if the war had continued for only a month, then the area which was now called Azad Kashmir would have been in the hands of India. At least now the Kashmir issue was in Security Council.⁴²⁵

The UNO commission for India and Pakistan was busy in its activities to bring peace in the region. The commission went to Muzaffarabad to discuss the whole matter

⁴²² Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 143-144.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ M.M.R.Khan, *The United Nation and Kashmir* (Newyork: J.B. Wolters, 1956), 102. And Ahmed Syed Riaz, *Pakistan treaty series 1947-1953 vol. 1, Pakistan-India agreement to the settlement of Kashmir dispute 1948* (Islamabad: Ministry of foreign affairs (research division) government of Pakistan, 2006), 88-96.

⁴²⁵ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 149.

with Azad Kashmir government. They were happy to see the zeal of government servants as they were doing work in tents without any office or any facilities. The commission accepted the separate Azad Kashmir government that the administration of the area had been running properly. After that the delegation of Security Council visited many times but because of political crisis in Pakistan the condition went from bad to worst.⁴²⁶

4.3.3: 2nd Visit to UN Security Council (1949-50)

In the last month of 1949,⁴²⁷ Sardar Ibrahim again went to Security Council on the order of prime minister of Pakistan to present the Kashmir issue.⁴²⁸ In London, Sardar Ibrahim gave an interview to the BBC and addressed Pakistani students. After this, he reached New York. Mr. Gormani, the minister for Kashmir affairs, and Chaudhry Muhammad Ali were present there and Sir Zafarullah Khan headed this delegation. Sardar Ibrahim went to Washington to meet and deliver speeches there.⁴²⁹ After that he received an order to leave his companions in New York and go to London.⁴³⁰

4.3.4: Visit to London and establishment of Azad Kashmir League (1950)

On his return from Security Council, he delivered a speech to highlight the Kashmir issue in London. For this purpose, he had established a league with the name of

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*, 158.

⁴²⁸ Shafiq, *Azad Kashmir:aik sayasi jaiza*, 147.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 148.

⁴³⁰ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 153.

Azad Kashmir League there and its branches were established in London, Birmingham, New Castle, Leeds, Manchester and Scotland.⁴³¹ Same organizations were working in Egypt, Turkey and other Muslim countries. These branches from all over the world contributed towards the Azad Kashmir movement in terms of money, material and goodwill.⁴³² The Kashmiri people living in London were working wholeheartedly for the liberation movement of Azad Kashmir. It was only because of the efforts of Azad Kashmir League that they were able to arrange a big meeting in Holborn Hall in London. The meeting got success. It was presided over by Mr. Hector Hughes, a member of the British Parliament. Sardar Ibrahim presented his point of view in detail and delivered the speech on the importance of Pakistan for Kashmir. His speech was so powerful while summing up this lecture Mr. Hughes was able to say that if the statements and points were really based on facts then there was no reason to doubt that Pakistan was bound to win its case against India in the Security Council.⁴³³

4.3.5: Visits to different countries (1950 and 1964)

Sardar Ibrahim's political role is also important in context of several visits to foreign countries. Most of his foreign visits focused on exploration of Kashmir issue. In 1964, Sardar Ibrahim on the request of the government of Pakistan visited a number of foreign countries to highlight the Kashmir issue. Although it was not part of his duties because at that time he was not in government, but there were two motives of his visits,

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Khan, *The Kashmir saga*, 160-161.

⁴³³ Ibid., 162.

first to perform a national duty and secondly to establish working relations with Pakistan government. Conceding these two motives, Sardar Ibrahim took two days for thinking and next day he agreed to carry out the visit.⁴³⁴

Khawaja Shahab-ud-Din was the leader of that delegation in which Sardar Ibrahim had been chosen as a member. They started their journey in March 1964 for two months from Karachi Airport.⁴³⁵ During this visit, the delegation visited African, Middle Eastern, West Asian and East Asian countries and tried its best to highlight Kashmir issue.⁴³⁶ They started to arrange press conference in Beirut, but it was not an easy task to rouse interest in the Kashmir issue abroad. Slowly and steadily with the help of press they started their struggle.

4.3.6: Visit to Ivory Coast/Ghana (1964)

Most of African people had the experience of the chains of slavery, therefore, they showed their all sympathies for the people of Kashmir when Sardar Ibrahim presented the picture of Kashmiris in front of the presidents of 'Ivory Coast' and 'Ghana'.⁴³⁷ The president of Ghana, Nakrura expressed sympathy for the plight of Kashmiris with the assurance to the delegation that he would write down a letter to Nehru

⁴³⁴ Khan, *Matah-e-Zindgi*, 195. Dr. Rehman who was a deputy secretary of ministry of Kashmir affairs at that time said to him that government of Pakistan had a desire that he visit abroad to explore Kashmir issue, it is a national work that's why he should do otherwise government would be angry with him. Thus he took some time for thinking and next day he agreed to visit abroad.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 198-199.

⁴³⁶ *Dawn* (Karachi: Friday, 17 April, 1964), 3.

⁴³⁷ *Dawn* (Karachi: Tuesday, 14 April, 1964), 4.

and would discuss the Kashmir problem with him.⁴³⁸ But some areas of Africa were so poor, the Muslims living there were illiterate and living the life of ignorance so they did not show their interest in any matter thus this delegation got disappointment to some extent. But some areas of Africa like Somalia; they respected the Pakistani people with the core of their hearts.⁴³⁹

4.3.7: Visit to Egypt (1950 and 1964)

In 1950, Sardar Ibrahim visited Egypt and stayed in Cairo for number of days. Cairo is the centre of all Middle East and Arab countries. Egyptians and the Egyptian government showed sympathies with the Muslim cause of Kashmir. The press undoubtedly accepted the case of Pakistan as the real truth about Kashmir thus the delegation got positive response from Egyptians⁴⁴⁰ but later on in 1964 when Sardar Ibrahim visited Egypt again, the people did not show sympathies with Kashmir issue because they did not want to make India angry, although in 1948, it was loyal towards Kashmir.⁴⁴¹

4.3.8: Visit to Turkey (1950 and 1964)

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 201.

⁴⁴⁰ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*, 248-250.

⁴⁴¹ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*, 204.

Sardar Ibrahim visited Turkey two times to highlight the Kashmir issue; first in February 1950⁴⁴² and second time in March 1964.⁴⁴³ Turkey was very sympathetic towards Pakistan.⁴⁴⁴ In his book “The Kashmir saga”, Sardar Ibrahim has written that when in the year 1950, he visited Turkey, the country had a very good press which gave real welcome to him.⁴⁴⁵ During his stay in the country, he lectured at a number of places and addressed a number of conferences to present the Kashmir issue.⁴⁴⁶ Press gave them enough coverage in a very liberal manner. The delegation received very positive response from Turkish government.⁴⁴⁷

4.3.9: Visit to Malaysia/Indonesia(1964)

After two days' stay in Karachi, when the delegation reached Malaysia through Colombo, the government of Malaysia did not accept Sardar Ibrahim's presence in the country because he had established a revolutionary government in Kashmir that's why they even could not agree to make him their guest in capital, as during Malaysia and Indonesia's internal tussle India provided its support to Malaysia. Later, when this delegation met the president of Malaysia, he was not willing to talk on Kashmir but after flattery attitude of the delegation he gave the notions towards Kashmir issue.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴² Personal dairy of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan of the year 1950.

⁴⁴³ Dawn(Karachi: April,09,1964),2.

⁴⁴⁴ Personal dairy of Sardar Ibrahim of the year 1950.

⁴⁴⁵ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*,245.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.,244.

⁴⁴⁷ Khan, *Matah-e-zindgi*,203.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

4.3.10: Visit to Japan (1964)

Same was the case with Japan. Its prime minister announced his cooperation after a long discussion. They stayed there in Tokyo for four days and during their short stay in Tokyo, they came to know about the developments of Japan. At that time, Tokyo was preparing itself for Olympics hence they were not paying attention to any other matter. They had completed their visit through Bangkok, Malaysia and China, and came back to Pakistan after two months. But this was really a fruitful effort of the delegation. He commented about his visit to abroad in a press conference that the delegation had visited the countries and got positive response from abroad that showed they were in support of the right of self-determination.⁴⁴⁹

4.3.11: Foreign visits with Kashmir committee (1994)

He went to attend OIC's meeting with Kashmir committee in 1994. This time he visited Belgium, Netherlands, France, Sweden, Austria, Spain, Turkey and UK from March 29 to April 29, 1994.⁴⁵⁰ Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan headed this delegation with the aim to highlight the Kashmir issue in these countries.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., And *Dawn*(Karachi:17 April,1964).

⁴⁵⁰ Report, Kashmir on world Forum: Parliamentary Kashmir committee report, 1996.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid. And Record of Audio speech of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in Rawalakot after the visit of abroad in 16 May,1994.

Sardar Ibrahim said in a press conference that the UN should examine the condition of the state impartially and should furnish its report to the Security Council. Furthermore it was the duty of the Security Council to fulfill its pledge according to the resolutions. In addition, he expressed the hope that American President George W. Bush should play central role to solve Kashmir issue to prevent a nuclear war in the region.⁴⁵²

On General Pervez Musharraf's visit to India, he had commented that the invitation to General Pervez Musharraf from the Indian government showed that foreign countries were pressurizing India to start negotiation on Kashmir problem and India should be more responsible and accept the ground reality to solve Kashmir problem.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² *Jang* (Rawalpindi: 19 December, 2000)

⁴⁵³ *Jang* (Rawalpindi: 26 December, 2000)

CHAPTER NO: 5

SARDAR MUHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN: A PRO-PAKISTANI IDEOLOGUE

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan played an imperative role in the history of Kashmir for almost 60 years. He remained affiliated to four different political parties in Azad Jammu and Kashmir but after the study of his political career it seems that throughout his life he had bound himself with one objective that was accession of the state with Pakistan.

Actually, they had decided the accession of the state with Pakistan on May 29, 1947, when the Dogra forces had attacked the innocent people of Damni⁴⁵⁴ as they thought that some spies were there in the houses of Sardar Chaman Khan and Sardar Gulab Khan.⁴⁵⁵ Thus the Dogra forces tortured them and arrested them.

This injustice enraged people and Sardar Ibrahim Khan addressed a meeting on June 1, 1947. He clearly warned the Maharaja's government to stop the tyrannies on poor public. Moreover, he said they had to decide the accession of the state with Pakistan and

⁴⁵⁴ Damni is a village in Rawalakot. Interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 15 February 2010.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

they could not compromise until the full liberation of the state.⁴⁵⁶ Although, he was not a spiritual man but he had a strong faith and determination on Almighty Allah⁴⁵⁷ thus he was honest towards his ideology, on the basis of that he wanted to annex the state with Pakistan after its liberation.⁴⁵⁸

5.1: Sardar Ibrahim and the accession of Kashmir with Pakistan (1947)

Before the establishment of Azad government in 1947, the British government had announced its plan for the future of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.⁴⁵⁹ Paramountcy over the states were to be left free to make decision which terrain they should accede.⁴⁶⁰ But the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir was not able to decide the issue of state accession. Although on Pakistan day, the Muslim Conference had confirmed unambiguously in favour of accession of the region to Pakistan⁴⁶¹ but July 17 was fixed for a convention of Muslim Conference⁴⁶² and at last on July 19 it was decided to announce formally the accession of the state with the country of their own choice.⁴⁶³

Sardar Ibrahim had unoccupied his own house for convention because at that time National Conference and government were against them so they were not ready to give

⁴⁵⁶ Sardar Muhammad Gulzar, *Tarikh-e-tarik-e-azadi-e-Kashmir: Inqalab-e-poonech 1947* (Mirpur: Verinag publishers, 1999), 75-83.

⁴⁵⁷ Ershad Mehmood, "Sardar Ibrahim Khan ki yad mein" (Rawalakot: Barshagal, number 1, volume 29-30, 1-15 August, 2007), 6.

⁴⁵⁸ Hayat Khan, "Sardar Ibrahim Khan :Aik banul aqwami leader thy" (Rawalakot: Barshagal, number 1, volume 29-30, 1-15 August, 2007), 15.

⁴⁵⁹ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*, 34.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² Sardar Ibrahim's dairy of the year 1947. And Khalifa, *Kashmir: A story*, 114-115.

⁴⁶³ Kaul, *Turmoil of Kashmir*, 189-190.

them any space for that convention. Therefore, this was a revolutionary step of Sardar Ibrahim which showed his deep hearted loyalties with Pakistan that he even did not care about his life and family and presented his house for convention of accession of the state with Pakistan.⁴⁶⁴ Secondly, in the conference a resolution on independence for Kashmir was read out which was sent by former party president Chaudhry Gulam Abbas from prison cell and party president Hameedullah Khan supported it but Sardar Ibrahim shot it down then the meeting decided in favour of Kashmir's accession with Pakistan.⁴⁶⁵

Although the people could not bother about the approval of resolution as they thought that this was not much important summit but at that time it was impossible because in July headquarter of Kashmir was used to be transferred from Jammu to Srinagar. Thus Maharaja's all machinery was present in Srinagar and it was very hard to take any step against them under the eyes of Maharaja. Even if anyone had taken the step like this in Sheikh Abdullah's region or any political opponent went to his region the supporters of Shiekh Abdullah would have created great trouble for him so Sardar Ibrahim's this step had been considered as a first stone against Dogra Raj and through this step he wanted to remind the administration of the state that their loyalties were with Pakistan.⁴⁶⁶ According to the wishes of public, he provided a platform for their movement and agitations which paved the way for the establishment of Azad Kashmir.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁴ Abbasi, *Sayaseyat-e-Kashmir*, 53.

⁴⁶⁵ Kaul, *Turmoil of Kashmir*, 189-190. And M.R.Zaman Inqalabi, *Kashmir kyun tutu* (Gujrat:Nabil printing press, 1990), 58.

⁴⁶⁶ Raja Sajjad Latif Khan, *Mataleh-e-Kashmir* (Lahore:Sangat publishers, 2003), 163-164.

⁴⁶⁷ Interview with Sardar Sakander Hayat Khan, ex prime minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir by Abdul Qayum Farooqi (Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 16.

Sardar Sikander Hayat Khan said in an interview that his father had told him that they had been living in Srinagar for 12 years and the stage was in hands of Sheikh Abdullah and no one had courage to even enter his area. Therefore, this step of accession of Kashmir with Pakistan which was taken by Sardar Ibrahim was like a watershed event in the history of Kashmir.⁴⁶⁸

At that time, a rift had been created between Mir Wiaz and Chaudhry Hameedullah. Chaudhry Hameedullah was going to preside over the convention whereas Mir Wiaz and his companions had decided to create trouble but because of Sardar Ibrahim's foresightedness they could not carry out their programme.⁴⁶⁹ Chaudhry Hameedullah presented the resolution that the state may remain independent.⁴⁷⁰ In his opinion, if Maharaja had announced independence of the state, then Congress would capture the state, and after division the state would part of Pakistan automatically because of its geographical location.⁴⁷¹ But Sardar Ibrahim and his companions who were present in that convention did not agree to accept this resolution because at that time public were in favour of accession to Pakistan. Thus another resolution was presented in which they with mutual understanding decided to join Pakistan because Pakistan had geographically, economical, culturally, religiously and linguistically close links with Kashmir.⁴⁷² Eighty percent population of the state consisted of Muslims and all big rivers which reached Punjab are originated from Kashmir and boundaries touched Pakistan.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.,17.

⁴⁶⁹ Abbasi,*Sayasiyat-e-Kashmir*,53.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.,54.

⁴⁷² Shafiq,*Azad Kashmir : aik sayasi jaiza*,88.

Thus it was obvious to annex the state with Pakistan.⁴⁷³ Syed Mumtaz Gillani said in an interview that because of this step of Sardar Ibrahim, the Kashmir issue went to the Security Council and because of this resolution some foreign countries had accepted the right of self determination of Kashmiris.⁴⁷⁴

5.2: Shifting from Srinagar to Pakistan (July 1947)

After the accession of the state with Pakistan, the situation of the state seemed more crucial and the leaders of the Muslim Conference decided that Sardar Ibrahim should leave the state, go to Rawalpindi, and organize the movement of Jihad from there.⁴⁷⁵

When Sardar Ibrahim saw that the Maharaja was prepared to call Indian forces he left his son and wife there in Srinagar though he knew about the dangerous situation of the state as the daughter of Chaudhry Gulam Abbas had also been kidnapped but he left all that because of his country.⁴⁷⁶

From there Sardar Ibrahim went to Lahore to meet the owners of newspapers and tell them about the whole background and the crucial condition of the state. He wanted to meet Quaid-i-Azam to discuss the condition of the state but because of lack of interest of

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Interview with Pir Syed Mumtaz Gilani, ex senior minister by Abdul Qayum Farooqi, Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 21.

⁴⁷⁵ Ajmal Khan Thorari, "Gazi-e-milat Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan" (Islamabad: *Pakistan*, 31 July, 2004), 5.

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 15 April 2010.

some leaders, he was not able to do so.⁴⁷⁷ Some writers had opinion that in fact at that time Pakistan had tried its best to keep itself away from any involvement in Kashmir. Thus for example when Sardar Ibrahim Khan tried to meet Jinnah, he refused to entertain him on the ground that such a meeting might be viewed in terms of Pakistan's involvement in Kashmir.⁴⁷⁸ It is also fact that Quaid-i-Azam was worried about the refugees who were coming from East Punjab. If from here Sardar Ibrahim went disillusioned but still he did not mind the attitude of Pakistani leaders as he felt that at that time, Pakistan itself was a newly emerged country so obviously it had its own internal problems.⁴⁷⁹ Still he was happy that the Pakistani newspapers had taken this matter in their hands and people who were in Pakistani army had seen the tribulations of the state and run back to their homelands with arms and ammunitions.

Then he established headquarters at Murree in Pakistan and started the liberation movement of Kashmir.⁴⁸⁰ After the establishment of Azad Kashmir government, Sardar Ibrahim was always determinant about his ideology was to liberate the whole state and access it with Pakistan as time and again he reiterated that Pakistan and Kashmir were just like a body and soul.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁷ Interview with Sardar Javeed Ibrahim, 15 April 2010.

⁴⁷⁸ Ijaz, Hussain. *Kashmir dispute: An international law perspective* (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1998), 115.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim, 15 April 2010.

⁴⁸⁰ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*, 188.

⁴⁸¹ Record of audio Speech of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan at Girls Collage Khirik Rawalakot on 12-8-1996.

In October 1947, the Azad Kashmir government was established, it defined itself as a war council whose sole objective was the liberation of Jammu Kashmir from Dogra dynasty and then the Indian authorities, furthermore to annex it with Pakistan.⁴⁸²

5.3: Accession of Kashmir with Pakistan: views and commitments

Sardar Ibrahim had faith that Kashmir was a natural part of Pakistan.⁴⁸³ He tried to justify his statement through the construction of some links, even in 1950 at Security Council his delegation had justified their points related to the accession of the state with Pakistan.

5.3.1: Geographical location of Kashmir and Pakistan

In his opinion, the first and most important link between Kashmir and Pakistan was its geographical location. An ordinary man in geography could judge that the nature had designed the state as to be the natural part of Pakistan instead of any other country.⁴⁸⁴

The mountainous track of the soil in the North and the North West, common between the bordering districts of Pakistan on one side and Jammu and Kashmir state on the other confirmed the fact that Kashmir and Pakistan were one.⁴⁸⁵ Climate, agricultural and other physical conditions in these two areas are same without prior acquaintance one cannot discriminate between the two.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸² Raju. G.C. Thomas, *Perspectives on Kashmir* (USA: West view press, 1992), 237-239.

⁴⁸³ Khan, *The Kashmir saga*, 188

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 189.

5.3.2: Communication and economic links of Kashmir with Pakistan

The two main transportation and communication ways in the shapes of roads and railway link between Jammu and Sialkot had been the lifelines of Kashmir's trade and commerce in the past. Since the India's forcible occupation of the valley of Kashmir, the working of these communication lines had been completely destroyed with the result that Kashmir's trade had received a serious setback, rather a death blow, during 15 years. With regard of trade items of Kashmir, especially the fresh fruits and vegetables, the nearest markets for these fruits and vegetables are Rawalpindi and Sialkot in Pakistan.⁴⁸⁷

What really connects the economy of Pakistan with Kashmir is the flow of rivers from Kashmir into Pakistan. Because of the natural flow of these rivers from Kashmir into West, Pakistan a system of irrigation has been brought into being which contributed almost 90% to the welfare and well being of the inhabitants of West Pakistan.⁴⁸⁸ The three rivers, the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab which flow from Kashmir to Pakistan control, to a very large extent, the agricultural economy of Pakistan itself. As much as 19 million acres of land are irrigated in West Pakistan from the waters of these rivers. If Kashmir was to accede to India, this supply was liable to be cut off altogether.⁴⁸⁹

5.3.3: Religious and social attachment with Pakistan

⁴⁸⁷ Khan, *Kashmir ki jang-a-azadi*, 50-66.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

The inhabitants of Kashmir and Western Pakistan belong to the same race. Islam is in fact more than a sufficient link between the people of Kashmir and Pakistan. Islam is a way of life and not a collection of rituals, customs and conventions. It teaches equality and brotherhood to its followers. It follows that people having one and the same way of life are a single nation. More than three-fourth of the population of Jammu Kashmir state comprises Muslims and the religion of the inhabitants of Kashmir and Pakistan is Islam.⁴⁹⁰ It is a fact that the language of the borders of the states is same and so is the dress and Islam is the common faith. Vivisection of the Indian sub-continent took place on the basis of religion, and keeping this thing in view, they would only be self interested persons who would try to justify and endorse India's policy with regard to Kashmir. Justice demands that Kashmir should go to Pakistan, with which the future of its people is linked.⁴⁹¹

5.3.4: Defence and strategic aspects

It is very lucid that for the purpose of Kashmir's defence, it is Pakistan which can be depended upon and not India. During the liberation movement, India's many times bigger army could not succeed in war against the semi-armed Azad Kashmir army in 1947-1948.

How can India be anticipated to defend Kashmir in future from any outside aggression? Kashmir, from the defence point of view completely environs, from one end

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

to another nearly the whole of West Pakistan. If Pakistan's frontiers, to a length of 500 miles are exposed to an antagonistic army, along with other frontiers that Pakistan has to preserve against India in the East and West wing of Pakistan, the country will need a gigantic army.⁴⁹² The maintenance of a bulky army cannot be legitimate in any case by the economy of the country. Therefore, to think the conditions of Pakistan without Kashmir as independent country is a complete allegory. If Pakistan is to remain independent and its territorial sanctity is to be maintained, Kashmir must become a part of it. If for the same reason, the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir state cannot be achieved, Pakistan's independence would be exposed to a constant threat.⁴⁹³

5.4: Sardar Ibrahim's fortitude: liberate Kashmir and accession to Pakistan

Although he was always in favour of Pakistan but during his almost 60-year political life, he faced some ups and downs as well. Sometimes the leaders of Pakistan created troubles for him but even then he could not think about the accession of the state with India or to keep it independent. He opted for the idea to access the state of Kashmir with Pakistan. He said it was obvious to join Pakistan for the leaders and public of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. He said before 28 years the Muslims considered themselves to be the part of Pakistan and started freedom liberation for themselves. He said in a press conference that Kashmir was the natural part of Pakistan and no one could impose the decision which would be against the wishes of the public and Sheikh Abdullah's

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

conspiracies would never succeed, because the public loved Pakistan. People were excited to accede Pakistan. Kashmiris would achieve their goal one day and Kashmir would annex with Pakistan, he said.⁴⁹⁴

Sardar Ibrahim said that July 13 was watershed event for them and Kashmiris did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for liberation of the state and the struggle for freedom of the state was based on the will that the public who wanted to join Pakistan, Kashmiris had shown their determination and aim through strikes and agitations that their vote was to join Pakistan.⁴⁹⁵

He even said there was no need to accept the government of Azad Kashmir by other countries because Pakistan had already accepted this government,⁴⁹⁶ and Kashmir issue was a live fact thus Kashmir and Pakistan were like the two men in one soul that's why Kashmiris for the last 28 years had been giving sacrifices to join Pakistan.

He repeated his views that Kashmir was economically, geographically and socially linked to Pakistan.⁴⁹⁷ Resolution of Pakistan was like a backbone for both the Pakistanis and Kashmiris. They were united thus Muslims of Indo-Pakistan had got a

⁴⁹⁴ *Nawa-i-waqat* (Rawalpindi Islamabad: 19 July 1975),1.

⁴⁹⁵ *Nawa-i-waqat* (Rawalpindi:13 July,1975),2. And audio record of speech of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in a press conference at Rawalakot on 9-9-1996.

⁴⁹⁶ *Kasheer* (Rawalpindi: 6 May 1967),4.

⁴⁹⁷ Record of Audio speech of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in the ceremony of Do Than, Rawalakot on 29-8-1998.

separate country under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and in the light of resolution of Pakistan one day Kashmir would be a part of Pakistan.⁴⁹⁸

Moreover, he expressed his thoughts in the press conference that soon after the approval of the Pakistan Resolution, the Kashmiri people had merged their liberation movement to the movement of Pakistan. Before the establishment of Pakistan the Kashmiris had considered themselves with Pakistan and it was a fact that Pakistan would be complete only with the accession of the Kashmir with it. He said Insha Allah Kashmiris who had sacrificed their lives for their homeland would be able to make the occupied Kashmir accede to Pakistan.⁴⁹⁹ Sardar Ibrahim gave his loyalties to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto on the condition that under the leadership of Bhutto Kashmir would gain more economic ties and development.⁵⁰⁰

He said in a statement that they were ready for any sacrifice for the accession of the state with Pakistan and was satisfied that a democratic type of government had been established in Azad Kashmir and through this government they would prove their aim to liberate the state and annex with Pakistan.⁵⁰¹ In his views, the division of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was on the basis of two-nation theory thus the people of Jammu and

⁴⁹⁸ *Kashmir* (Muzaffarabad: 31 March, 1976), 12.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid. And Record of Audio speech of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan at council hall Rawalakot on 28-10-1997.

⁵⁰⁰ *Jang* (Karachi: 8 June 1975), 1.

⁵⁰¹ *Jang* (Karachi: 14 July, 1975) And Record of Audio speech of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan at Girls Collage Khirik Rawalakot on 29-10-1997.

Kashmir had demanded the accession of the state with Pakistan on the basis of their geographical, religious, economical and historical condition.⁵⁰²

He emphasized that the people should remember that this movement was actually the part of the movement of Pakistanis after the long struggle they had achieved Pakistan thus the basic aim of the movement was accession of Kashmir with Pakistan because Kashmir was the important part of Pakistan.⁵⁰³ History shows that Sardar Ibrahim had devoted his whole life for liberation of the state, ideology to the accession of the state with Pakistan and the establishment of the basic rights of the masses and establishment of the democratic institutions. He tried his best to make the relations strong between Pakistan and Kashmir to fulfill his desire to access Kashmir with Pakistan.⁵⁰⁴ Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan said in an interview that Sardar Ibrahim Khan had a powerful man with the determination of accession of the state with Pakistan.⁵⁰⁵

Sardar Habib Khan had expressed his views that he had remained with Sardar Ibrahim for almost 80 years. Sardar Ibrahim achieved three credits in his life. First he offered his own house for holding a convention in favour of Pakistan, led agitation against Dogra and accepted the presidency of a revolutionary government.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰² *Kasheer*(Rawalpindi: 31 October,1976)

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁴ Sardar Tahir Tubassum, "Gazi-e-milat Sardar Ibrahim Khan and nazriya-e-elhaq -e-Pakistan" (*Shehreg-e-Pakistan*: September, 2003), 35.

⁵⁰⁵ Interview with Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan by Abdul Qayum Farooqi (Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 101.

⁵⁰⁶ Interview with Sardar Habib Khan by Abdul Qayum Farooqi (Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 148.

Although Pakistan was a newly emerged country at that time and it was not possible for it to give proper attention to the state of Kashmir but Sardar Ibrahim did a lot and never left the basic objective of accession of the state to Pakistan. He repeated his motto time and again that although the mission was huge but for the accession of the state with Pakistan, the people of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir both needed unity and determination to fulfill this dream.⁵⁰⁷

Sardar Ibrahim was himself a history of Kashmir. Struggle for accession to Pakistan was not an easy task at that time because this step could have led to his assassination, but he had done that without any fear.⁵⁰⁸

In fact, Sardar Ibrahim played the role of a bridge between Kashmir and Pakistan.⁵⁰⁹ Thus accession of Kashmir with Pakistan was actually the basic and center point in the politics of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan.⁵¹⁰

He had never been disappointed during his whole life though he had faced some ups and downs. In politics, he was admirer of Quaid-i-Azam throughout his life and he had taken Quaid-i-Azam as a role model. Though he had differences with Pakistani politicians but he never lost his heart and continued his struggle for democratic type of

⁵⁰⁷ Interview with Sardar Anwer Khan, ex president of Azad Jammu and Kashmir by Abdul Qayum Farooqi, Tahir Farooqi and Sarfraz Mir(Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 15.

⁵⁰⁸ Interview with Sardar Sayab Khalid, ex speaker Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir in 2003 by Abdul Qayum Farooqi (Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 19.

⁵⁰⁹ Khawaja Muhammad Yasin, "Gazi-e-milat: bani sadder" (Rawalpindi: *Nawa-i-waqat*, 02 August, 2004), 5.

⁵¹⁰ Interview with Sardar Haji Muhammad Yaqoob Khan, ex minister of health Azad Jammu and Kashmir by Qayum Farooqi (Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 27.

government, although earlier he had been the head of a revolutionary government. He started his struggle in Lahore and in elections, he remained with Fatima Jinnah in competition of Ayub Khan.⁵¹¹

He was the president of Azad Kashmir when a democratic government was there in power in Pakistan and when army captured power, he was dismissed. He changed four political parties⁵¹² during his political career but no one had a proof that he joined the party which was against the accession of Pakistan. All these four parties were in favour of accession of the state with Pakistan. He had the opinion that Pakistan was a democratic type of country thus there should be the role of Kashmiris in Pakistani politics. He wanted the Kashmiris to participate in Pakistani politics through democratic ways. This was his foremost desire that they remained linked with Pakistan and when Kashmir would get independence, then they should get representation in the parliament of Pakistan.⁵¹³ But a time came when he said if there was no other way to solve this, then like India the Azad area should get representation in Pakistani parliament so that when they had gone through a decision related to Kashmir, then they should decide in the interest of Pakistan. This was his thinking but he never thought that he would personally join the Pakistan parliament. He had the opinion that the people of Kashmir and the refugees of Jammu and Kashmir should have representation in parliament of Pakistan.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹¹ Interview with Sardar Khalid Ibrahim Khan, 10 February 2010. And interview with Sardar Mukhtayar Khan, 15 February 2010.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

He actually wanted to see the egalitarian and burly Pakistan with illustration of Kashmiris as well.⁵¹⁵ He had the fortitude of accession of the Kashmir with Pakistan and remained strong in this faith. He always stressed upon the leaders of People's Party that liberation movement of Kashmir, accession of Kashmir with Pakistan and the strengthening of Pakistan was his main aim. He advised them to be sincere with their faith to respect the constitution, to maintain law and order and honesty should be their first priority.⁵¹⁶ Despite differences with some governments in Pakistan he had never harboured any negative thought about Pakistan in his mind and heart.⁵¹⁷

He always used to say that "governments come and go. The personalities would change. Some people get power but the reality was and is that the people of Azad Kashmir and Pakistan should be linked with each other by heart." In all crucial conditions he never threatened anyone against the accession of the state with Pakistan.⁵¹⁸

He actually paved the way of struggle of liberation for Kashmiris in 1947 after the passing of a resolution in his own house and it is a fact that at that time this movement had a background which was directly linked with the Pakistan movement as the base of both the movements were the same.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ Interview with Sardar Abdul Hameed Khan, ex-president of Jammu Kashmir Peoples Party, by Raja Kafil Ahmed Khan and Dr. Amir Waqil, Asian news, number 1, volume 23-24, 108. And interview with Mujeed Bandey, visiting professor in Kashmir Studies Centre, University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, dated, 17 May 2010, Muzafferabad. Tape recording.

⁵¹⁷ Statement of Sardar Attique Ahmed Khan, president of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 110.

⁵¹⁸ Statement of Sardar Muhammad Hussain, advocate (Muzaffarabad: Asian News, number 1, volume 23-24), 111.

CONCLUSION

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was one of the prominent leaders of Kashmir in early 20th century. He was born at a time when the state of Jammu and Kashmir was ruled by the Dogras. At that time though the Muslims were in majority in the state, they were living the life of misery and servitude under the Maharaja's administration. When in the year 1915, a child was born in the house of Sardar Alma Khan in district Poonch, no one had thought that this little boy would later on shine on the stage of Kashmir and would be known as a shining star in the history of Kashmir.

After getting his early education in the state, he went to Lahore for further education. From there, he went to London for higher education and on his return, he started his career as a public prosecutor in Maharaja's government, soon he was promoted to the assistant advocate general in the same administration. By then, he had felt that this job was not for him as he could not even bear the biased attitude of the government. Therefore, he decided to get the Kashmir's rid of this autocratic Dogra administration and give them their own identity and freedom in which they could live with their own choice. Thus he resigned from government job and in early 1940s, entered politics and started the struggle to provide a ground to the Kashmiris for their liberation

and after participating in the elections of Maharaja's assembly, he became member of the Assembly on the ticket of Kashmiris' only political party, named the Muslim Conference. In this regard, he offered his own house for the resolution of accession of the state with Pakistan. This was actually first revolutionary step of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan against the Dogra administration which later on led to the liberation of half Kashmir. It seemed to be too difficult to give one's personal residence for political purposes at that time when one knew that this step could jeopardize one's life as well as family's but as Sardar Ibrahim had already decided that he would devote his life for the people of the state. Thus he presented himself to face all challenges for the liberation of the state of Kashmir. After the approval of this resolution, he secretly went to Pakistan, established a headquarters in Murree and started to organize movement from Rawalakot, Bagh and Muzaffarabad. He had no weapons and no experience but the people who were with him had great zeal and determination for the liberation of their homeland. Thus after the war with the forces of Maharaja, they were able to establish a revolutionary government under the leadership of the same leader.

To overcome the seen and unseen difficulties of a new government, Sardar Ibrahim started to establish the institutions to run the government affairs and with the help of public, within six months he was able to establish all important departments which were necessary to run the government affairs. After that he went to Security Council to present the issue at international level. In the year 1950, he once again went to Security Council and other foreign countries like UK, Turkey and Egypt etc. to present the same issue. On his return, the power politics had started in the state as Gulam Abbas

had been released from jail and many people had hatched conspiracies against Sardar Ibrahim and told to Gulam Abbas that he should be the president of the state because he was the oldest leader of Muslim Conference.

Ministry of Kashmir affairs also strengthened this rift between these two oldest leaders of Kashmir. As a result, Sardar Ibrahim was dismissed from the presidency and this was the starting point of power politics in the state of Azad Kashmir. On the whole Sardar Ibrahim had become the president of the state four times in 1947-1950, 1957-1959, 1975-1978 and 1996-2001. Rest of his time he was mostly involved in opposition. From 1960-1966 although it seemed that he left the politics of Kashmir and started his practice in Lahore High Court but in practice he had not quit politics as in Lahore he joined the Nafaz-e-Islam Party which was in opposition in Pakistan at that time. In the meanwhile, he once again visited European and Arab countries to present the issue of Kashmir in 1964. Upon his return, he started the struggle for the right of self determination for Kashmiris with the mutual cooperation of K.H.Khurshid and Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan in which he succeeded. He joined four political parties like Muslim Conference, Azad Muslim Conference, Nafaz-e-Islam and Jammu Kashmir People's Party but it was also fact that he never changed his ideology to liberate the state and to accede it with Pakistan. Although from very start he had stated that the liberation of half Kashmir was not their destination and they would continue their struggle till the liberation of whole Kashmir but unfortunately he could not fulfill his desire because of the tussle of power politics between these two prominent leaders of Kashmir.

The differences between them ultimately damaged the cause of freedom movement in Kashmir. The Azad area which was to be used as a base camp for the struggle for freedom in Kashmir became a zone of power politics between Gulam Abbas and Sardar Ibrahim. He always had said this was his desire to liberate the state and to accede it with Pakistan. But with this desire in his heart, he died on July 31, 2003.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX NO. 1

PASSPORT	
<p>These are to request and require in the Name of the Governor General of India of those whom may concern to allow the bearer to pass freely without let or hindrance, and to afford him every assistance and protection of which he may stand in need.</p> <p>Given at KARACHI</p> <p>the _____ day of January 1923</p> <p>By order of the Governor General of India</p> <p>Passport Officer for Sind.</p>	
<p>This Passport contains 32 pages. Ce passeport contient 32 pages.</p> <p>PAKISTAN PASSPORT. PASSEPORT. EMPIRE OF INDIA. EMPIRE DES INDES BRITANNIQUES.</p> <p>No. of PASSPORT No. du PASSPORT</p> <p>NAME OF BEARER NOM DU TITULAIRE</p> <p>ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE (Husband name) ACCOMPAGNÉ DE SA FEMME (Nom)</p> <p>(and by or de) children enfants</p> <p>NATIONAL STATUS NATIONALITÉ</p> <p>BRITISH SUBJECT BY BIRTH BRITISH PROTECTED PERSON, NATIVE OR A PROTECTED SUBJECT OF PAKISTAN (PUNJAB)</p>	

W.M. Weller
Vishnu D. D. R. A. H. M.
Kashmir 3/1/2010

2		3	
DESCRIPTION SIGNALEMENT		PAKISTAN PHOTOGRAPH OF CARRIER	
Profession } <i>Driver / Bilingual (not-clay)</i> Profession		Wife - Femme <i>(none)</i>	
Place and date of birth <i>(none)</i>		Lieu et date de naissance <i>(1915)</i>	
Domicile Domicile		10 street	
Height Taille		5 ft 7 in	
Colour of eyes Couleur des yeux		Blue	
Colour of hair Couleur des cheveux		Black	
Visible distinguishing marks. Signes particuliers		Scar on left hand Scar	
CHILDREN - ENFANTS			
Name Nom	Date of birth Date de naissance	Sex Sexe	
<i>CA</i>		<i>CA</i>	
		SIGNATURE OF CARRIER <i>John Smith</i>	
		SIGNATURE OF ISSUER <i>John Smith</i>	

APPENDIX NO. 2

از دفتر صدر معلم گورنمنٹ بوازی ہائی سکول ہورنہ میرہ

تاریخ 22-03-2010

حوالہ نمبر 113

ل Cedric

اُس افر کی القبولیق کیجاتی ہے کہ سردار محمد ابراء یم خان
معائی اسکول ہورنہ میرہ میں تریپرسنسلہ قیر 416
وزیر ولیخیر 21 داخل ہوئے اور اپنی تدریس کا
آغاز فرمایا نیز مذکور تریپرسنسلہ قیر 416 اور وزیر ولیخیر 0
کلاس سوٹھ میں تریپرسنسلہ قیر 416 اور وزیر ولیخیر 0

Head Master
Boys High School
Jummanara

دہونہ میرہ

APPENDIX NO. 3

The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn.

H. C. H. FAIRCHILD,
UNDER TREASURER.

TELEPHONE: HOLBORN 0138.

YOUR REF.

OUR REF. FCC/C 01M.

TREASURY OFFICE,
LINCOLN'S INN,
LONDON, W.C. 2.

6th May, 1954.

Dear Sir,

As requested by you, I enclose herewith your B.A. Degree Certificate of the Punjab University.

Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,

H. C. H. Fairchild

Under Treasurer.

Mohd. Ibrahim, Esq., B.A., LL.B.,
109 Mackeson Road,
Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

Enc:

Air Mail

Further request for a degree certificate for a copy

APPENDIX NO. 4

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON SENATE HOUSE, W.C.I

TELEPHONE: MUSEUM 3000



TELEGRAMS: UNIVERSITY, LONDON

JV

27 May 1954

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of 19 May. I regret that when I wrote to you on 5 May I did not know that your LL.B. certificate had not been written and sealed with the University Seal but was the wartime certificate.

The certificate will be ready within the next few days and it will be sent to you without further delay by air-mail.

I apologise for any inconvenience this may have caused you.

Yours faithfully,

C. A. Mizen

C. A. Mizen
Assistant, Academic Department

Mohammed Ibrahim, Esq., B.A., LL.B.,
109 Mackeson Road
Rawalpindi
Pakistan



115 AM
28 MAY
1954
D



Mohammed Ibrahim, Esq., B.A., LL

109 Jackson Road

Rawalpindi

Pakistan

First fold here

Second fold here

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Sender's name and address:

SENATE HOUSE, LONDON, W.C.1,

ENGLAND.



NOTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER
IS MAILED BY ORDINARY MAIL

APPENDIX NO. 5

در عینیت کے سے یہ قلمبندی کی تو سماج خواہار کو
تو گل خیرت میں صورت خواہ درگوئی ہے جس کی

لین ره گردید و هر چنان که بود که قدرم
آدمی و حیله هر چنان که بود - غریب
بروکن آن را بسیاری بود که از این امر بگفت

سکه های
میرزا حسن

APPENDIX NO. 6

Heads of Agreement

1. The elections to the Legislative Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir shall be held in October 1977 within 10 days after the elections of Pakistan, and shall be conducted under the rules/conditions similar to those in Pakistan. *(With 10 days)*
2. The existing Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council and the Legislative Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir shall be dissolved.
3. The present President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan, shall continue as interim President provided he does not seek election for any office. In case he does, he shall resign and the powers of the President shall devolve on the Chief Executive mentioned in para 5.
4. The Prime Minister, the Ministers, the Advisors and the Speakers of the Legislative Assembly of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and the Advisors of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council shall cease to hold office.
5. Major General (Retired) Abdul Rehman shall be appointed as Chief executive of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and shall exercise all the powers conferred by the Interim Constitution Act 1974 on the Prime Minister.
6. The executive authority of the Council shall be exercised by the Chief executive of the Government of Pakistan.
7. The new Assembly and Government shall be inducted within a week after the announcement of results of elections.
8. Justice Mohammad Gul shall be the Chief Election Commissioner who will conduct elections on the basis of existing electoral rolls, after updating them to the extent possible under the circumstances.

9. The signatory parties undertake to get the interim Constitution and other relevant laws amended through the prescribed procedure by ~~2nd~~^{6th} August 1977 to incorporate arrangements outlined in paras 1-8 and matters connected therewith.

On behalf of the Azad Kashmir People Party:

Shafiq 27/7

On behalf of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference:

S. J. M. 3

27/7

On behalf of Azad Muslim Conference:

J. S. J. 27/7/1977

Countersigned.

Rawalpindi

27 July 1977

J. A. G. L. b (20) C. C. C. C. C.

Chief of Army Staff
Qasim

C. M. A.

APPENDIX NO. 7

Sardar M. Iqbal Khan
B.A., LLB. (London)
BARRISTER-AT-LAW

PRESIDENT,
Pakistan Peoples Party,
(AZAD KASHMIR)

Phone : 852034
90 Khiaban-i-Iqbal
F-8/2,
Islamabad Pakistan

6.5.1989

سید م. اقبال خان
بی اے، ال بی بی (لندن)
بارستر-اٹ-لے
پرنسپل، پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی،
(اے ڈے کیشمیر)
6.5.1989
سید م. اقبال خان
بی اے، ال بی بی (لندن)
بارستر-اٹ-لے
پرنسپل، پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی،
(اے ڈے کیشمیر)
6.5.1989
سید م. اقبال خان
بی اے، ال بی بی (لندن)
بارستر-اٹ-لے
پرنسپل، پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی،
(اے ڈے کیشمیر)
6.5.1989
سید م. اقبال خان
بی اے، ال بی بی (لندن)
بارستر-اٹ-لے
پرنسپل، پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی،
(اے ڈے کیشمیر)
6.5.1989

APPENDIX NO. 8

S E C R E T.

Heads of agreement between Hon'ble Minister without Portfolio, The President of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and the President of the Azad Kashmir Government.

Civil Administration of Azad Kashmir Area.

(i) The Azad Kashmir Cabinet shall formulate policy and generally supervise administration in Azad Kashmir area. Day to day administration shall however, be entrusted to executive officers viz. the Heads of Departments who shall also be secretaries to Government for their respective Departments.

(ii) Besides the Heads of Departments the Azad Kashmir Government will have only the following two Secretaries:

1. Secretary, Finance Department, and
2. Cabinet Secretary.

The Cabinet Secretary besides maintaining record of Cabinet proceedings will be directly responsible to keep the Cabinet well-posted with all matters connected with the plebiscite and all correspondence with the Plebiscite Administrator.

(iii) The details of the set up will be as follows:

<u>Subject.</u>	<u>Head of Deptt.-cum-Secretary.</u>	<u>Minister-in-charge.</u>
1. Law and Order, including Jails and Police.	Commissioner-cum-Chief Secretary.	Hon'ble President.
2. Food and Civil Supplies.	Director of Food and Civil Supplies and Secretary to Government Civil Supplies Deptt.	Minister for Civil Supplies.
3. Revenue (including Forests, Customs) and Public Works.	Commissioner-cum-Chief Secretary.	Revenue and Finance Minister.
4. Finance.	Finance Secretary.	Revenue and Finance Minister.
5. Rehabilitation.	Director of Rehabilitation and Secretary, Rehabilitation Deptt.	Minister of Rehabilitation.
6. Medical and Health.	Director of Health Services and Secretary, Health Department.	Minister of Health and Education.
7. Education.	Director of Education & Secretary, Education Department.	Minister of Health and Education.
8. Cabinet and Plebiscite work.	Cabinet Secretary.	Hon'ble President.

(iv).....

(iv) No one below the rank of Head of Department/Secretary shall have access to the Ministers and orders to lower staff shall always be communicated through the Head of Department/Secretary.

(v) Heads of Departments/Secretaries shall submit all important cases to their Ministers and shall generally keep them fully informed of developments in their respective Departments.

(vi) Heads of Departments/Secretaries who are at present located outside Azad Kashmir area may continue to be so located. But they would meet their Ministers once or twice a week and put up cases on which orders of Ministers have to be obtained.

(vii) Whenever a Head of Department feels that an order passed by an Hon'ble Minister needs revision, he would bring the case to the notice of the Commissioner who in his capacity as Chief Secretary to the Azad Kashmir Government, will endeavour to have the matter satisfactorily settled, if necessary, in consultation with the Chief Plebiscite Adviser to the Pakistan Government, who will also be notified by the Azad Kashmir Government as their Chief Adviser.

(viii) Officers loaned to Azad Kashmir Government will be formally appointed as Officers-on-Special Duty with the Chief Plebiscite Adviser and their Services will informally be placed at the disposal of Azad Kashmir Government who would formally appoint them to office by notification in their own Gazette. All correspondence of the Azad Kashmir Government with the Secretariat of the Minister without Portfolio, Government of Pakistan, will be through the Chief Plebiscite Adviser.

(ix) ^{Pending 15 April 1949} Instead of a Public Services Commission for Azad Kashmir an ad hoc Committee consisting of the following may be appointed to ~~control~~ ^{recommend} future recruitment and promotions in services in the Azad Kashmir Government.

1. Commissioner (Chairman)
2. Judge of Azad Kashmir High Court.
3. The Head of the Department concerned.
4. Cabinet Secretary as Member-Secretary.

II. FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

- (i) Money advanced to the A.K. Government for specific purposes shall be spent for those purposes and no other. The Pakistan Government shall satisfy themselves that they have been properly spent.
- (ii) Money advanced to the A.K. Government as general grants-in-aid shall be given only after the A.K. Government has produced a budget statement for the Government as a whole. In the case of these funds, the Government of Pakistan shall satisfy themselves that the A.K. Government spend according to the budget proposals. For this purpose, they may ask for periodical statement of accounts from that Government.
- (iii) The Pakistani Government shall loan the services of an Accounts Officer for employment as Account General of the Azad Kashmir Government.

III. DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN, THE AZAD KASHMIR GOVERNMENT AND THE KASHMIR CONFERENCE.

A. MATTERS WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT.

- (i) Defence. (Complete control over A.K. Forces).
- (ii) Negotiations with U.N.C.I.P.
- (iii) Foreign Policy of A.K. Government.
- (iv) Publicity in Pakistan and foreign countries.
- (v) Co-ordination of arrangements for relief and rehabilitation of refugees.
- (vi) Co-ordination of publicity and all arrangements in connection with the plebiscite.
- (vii) All activities within Pakistan itself with regard to Kashmir such as procurement of food and civil supplies, transport, running of refugee camps, medical arrangements etc.
- (viii) All affairs of the Gilgit and Ladakh areas under the control of the Political Agent at Gilgit.

B. MATTERS WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF A.K. GOVERNMENT.

- (i) Policy with regard to administration in Azad Kashmir.
- (ii) General Supervision of administration in the Azad Kashmir area.
- (iii) Publicity with regard to activities of the A.K. Government and its administration.
- (iv) Advice to H.M. without Portfolio with regard to negotiations with U.N.C.I.P.

- 4 -

(v) Development of economic resources of A.K. area.

C. MATTERS WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF MUSLIM CONFERENCE.

- (i) Publicity with regard to plebiscite in A.K. area.
- (ii) Field work and publicity in the Indian occupied area of the State.
- (iii) Organisation of political activities in the A.K. and the Indian occupied areas of the State.
- (iv) Preliminary arrangements in connection with plebiscite.
- (v) Organisation for contesting the plebiscite.
- (vi) Political work and publicity among Kashmir refugees in Pakistan.
- (vii) General guidance of the A.K. Government.

(viii) Advice to H.M. without portfolio with regard to negotiations with U.N.C.I.P.

Mohammed Ibrahim Khan agrees to do his best to achieve the aims and objects of the Conference.

(Mohammad Ibrahim)

President Azad Kashmir Govt.

28/4/71

(Ghulam Ibbas)

President All Jammu

and Kashmir Muslim Minister without

and Kashmir Muslim Portfolio, Govt.

Conference.

(H.A. Gurmani)

Minister without

Portfolio, Govt.

of Pakistan.

Ghulam Ibbas

28/4

Marsbad

Y/D

*Mohammed Ibrahim
President*

Khalid Ali
105/10
KARACHI

APPENDIX NO. 9

*This Clipping From
NEW YORK, N. Y.
HERALD TRIBUNE*

JAN 20 1948

Picture Misidentified

A picture of Dr. M. D. Taseer, United Nations correspondent of "The Pakistan Times," was identified incorrectly in yesterday's New York Herald Tribune through error of an air line as that of Sardar Mohammed Ibrahim Khan, head of the Azad (free) Kashmir government.

Dr. Taseer arrived at LaGuardia Airport Friday on the same plane with Mr. Ibrahim Khan, and was photographed with the Azad Kashmir government head at the airport. Mr. Ibrahim Khan came to this country to present his government's claim to control of Kashmir to the Security Council of the United Nations.

APPENDIX NO 10

Photos of Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan



Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in Young Age (1950's)



Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan in his Last age

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