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**Institute of Public Policy Research
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Freedom Struggles of Kashmir

Kashmiris have roused several times against tyranny, oppression and subjugation and there are umpteen historical documents of its medieval history, where they have challenged numerous rulers for their ugly behaviour, right from 1585, at the onset of Mughal rule. First three years of the thirties of twentieth century form a landmark in the history of modern Kashmir. It was during these years that a growing concern developed among the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to launch an organized struggle against the Dogra rule.

Kashmir has been wrongly looked upon as a price for India or Pakistan. People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future.



**Consultancy: Institute of Public
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Kashmiris have roused several times against tyranny, oppression and subjugation and there are umpteen historical documents of its medieval history, were they have challenged numerous rulers for their ugly behaviour, right from 1585, at the onset of Mughal rule. Anjumam-i-Nusrat Islam was established in 1905 by Mirwaiz Rusul Shah to impart religious and modern education among the Kashmiri Muslims.

Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadees was founded in about 1925, among the founder members were Haji Mohammad Shahdad, Mohammad Anwar Bhat [later called Molvi Anwar Shopiani] and Sabzaar Shah¹.

First three years of the thirties of twentieth century form a landmark in the history of modern Kashmir. It was during these years that a growing concern developed among the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to launch an organized struggle against the Dogra rule. This concern ultimately concretized in the formation of the first ever-known political organization of Kashmir—All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, on 21st June 1931 by Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah, Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, Chowdhury Ghulam Abbas G.N Gilkar [Qadiyani], Ahmad Shah Jalali and others, and on 13th July 1931, [since then, 13th July is observed as 'Martyrs Day' in Jammu and Kashmir] police firing in Srinagarⁱⁱ on agitators, who were protesting against the tyrant rule of Maharaja resulted into more than two dozen deaths. And in January 1932 Civil Disobedience movement was launched by Muslim Conference. All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference received the formal approval from the leadership on 16th October 1932, later on the conversion of Muslim Conference (MC) into National Conference (NC) in 1938 but officially announced on 9th June 1939, played a prominent role against autocratic rule in Kashmir.

Jamaat-e Islamiⁱⁱⁱ was the first organised Islamic reformist movement in the Indian subcontinent formed on 26th August 1941 in Darul Islam [Jamaalpur], Pathankot under the leadership of Syed Abul Ala Maududi; but proper organizational shape given in a convention at Lahore.

Maulana Abul Ala Maududi was born on September 25, 1903 in Aurangabad, a well-known town in the former princely state of Hyderabad, Deccan. He was the direct descendant of Khwaja Qutubuddin Maudood Chishti, whose teachings reached Indian subcontinent through his well-known disciple Khwaja Moinuddin of Ajmer.

Maududi's father Syed Ahmad Hassan Maududi was an advocate by profession. He practiced in Meerut and then shifted to Hyderabad, Deccan –educated at Aligarh but in later life was much disgusted with the British Imperialism and western culture and gave up his legal profession since found it contrary to Hassan's aim of life—because of his abhorrence for the English way of life instead of sending child to the English schools employed tutors to teach Abul Ala Maududi at home, among all classical subjects, the English language and literature, modern disciplines and Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages.

On 3rd August 1945 National Conference adopts 'Naya Kashmir' programme in its annual session at Sopore, Baramulla for the all-round economic development of J&K and on 9th May 1946 'Quit Kashmir' movement was launched by the NC against the rule of Maharaja and for establishing a popular Government in J&K. Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla^{iv} had come under the influence of Pt. Nehru, was more focused on government though advised by a low profile NC leader Bakshi for not doing so².



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“On 27th October 1947, the working committee of the NC passed a resolution recommending the accession of Jammu Kashmir^v to India, and the resolution was ratified in a special convention.³”

The government of Jammu and Kashmir did not accept the constitution of India as a constitution for the state. Despite the accession, the state was still to be governed by the old constitution Act, 1939. This was because the government of India had given an undertaking that the people of Kashmir could frame their own constitution. The government of India could not force the state to accept the constitution (of India), for that would violate the agreed terms of the association of Kashmir with India. The state had voluntarily surrendered three matters only and the government of India could not enlarge the sphere of its jurisdiction at its own discretion⁴. The Maharaja made an order on October 30, 1947, appointing Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla as “ the Head of the Administration with the power to deal with the emergency” and appointed a 23 member Emergency Council “ pending the formation of the Interim Government”.

Similarly on 11th November, 1947, Prime Minister of India, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru in a public speech near Palladium cinema of historical Lal Chowk, Srinagar, promised Kashmiris that they will be given the right to express their future allegiance by granting them their right of ‘Plebiscite’.

A proclamation issued on March 5, 1948 by the Maharaja and decided “to replace the Emergency Administration by a popular Interim Government and to provide for its powers, duties and functions, pending the formation of a fully democratic Constitution”. Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla was appointed Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers was to function “on the principle of joint responsibility”. It was enjoined to convene “a National Assembly based upon adult suffrage” to frame a constitution. The Assembly was to submit the Constitution “ through the Council of Ministers for any acceptance”.

Meanwhile in mid-1948 Jammu and Kashmir police claimed that they have recovered 643 crude bombs, 666 hand-grenades and 83 tin boxes of fuses in raids, which led to 22 arrests. Authorities allegedly maintained that these explosives had been brought from Pakistan by a Srinagar resident Salim Jahangir Khan.

Dr. Mohammad Ramzan, Marhama, Bijbehara of Anantnag, Kashmir was coordinating the acts of armed activities in Kashmir⁵, he was in contact with Mohammad Akram Sheikh [Bijbehara Anantnag] an ex-soldier[Rangrut^{vi}], who participated in World War-II, then elevated as an officer, after the partition of British India opted to join Pakistan Army with the perception that Kashmir will be the part of Pakistan, Akram^{vii} came to his native town and distributed some weapons among his friends saying that they will serve the purpose of self-defense, which he had taken from Army depot, where he was posted, by entering into the distribution channel of weapons, because after the partition of British India weapons were also to be divided and distributed between the two new born countries as per the armed forces strength, even the finances in the similar manner but India didn’t do it, on this M.K Gandhi registered a protest for the unaccomplished promise by India with Pakistan⁶.

So the weapons available with selected youth of Kashmir in general and youth of South Kashmir in particular, including Budgam and its nearest areas towards summer Capital Srinagar were not brought from Pakistan but arranged in a different manner as a part of anti-India anguish.



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On 16th October, 1948 some annoyed young men under the patronage of Tahseer-ul Islam Zia [Muzaffarabad] launched Mujahid Home Front led by Dr. Abdul Majeed Sheikh and other youth which include Haji Jalal Ud Din [Charar-e -Sharief], Abdul Salam Kutay, Wali Mohammad Shah, Ghulam Qadir Mangnu, Ghulam Nabi Parrey, Mohi- Ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Mohammad Bassu, Ghulam Ahmad Salroo, Ghulam Rasool Badr, Ghulam Nabi Shora, Dr. Davood—Abdul Gani and Abdul Rehman [Mendhar Pooch] besides several others mostly supporters of Muslim Conference. Declaring the instrument of accession with India invalid on the terms that Maharaja was unauthorized for executing it, as he [Maharaja] was not an elected public representative and openly criticized NC for the resolution in support of accession. It also propounded the struggle against feudalism, establishment of peoples government not like that of National Conference, giving people right to decide their future and openly supporting accession to Pakistan, to gather support of the common stock, party members [youth] use to enchant rhythmic songs [folklore] in various streets of Urban and Sub-urban Kashmir especially Anantnag in evening hours for the youth **assemblages**⁷.

In the meantime, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru recorded the issue, the provisions, to embody the State's membership of the Union in the proposed Constitution of India discussed in a letter to Sheikh Mohammad Abdulah on 18th May, 1949. The State was to have its own Constitution and "it will be for the Constituent Assembly of the State, when convened, to determine in respect of what other subjects the state may accede". On June 16, 1949 Sheikh Mohammad **Abdulla**^{viii}, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, Molvi Mohammad Saeed Masoodi and Moti Ram Baigra took the pledge and signed the Register of Members of the Constituent Assembly of **India**⁸. The constituent Assembly adopted the constitution of India on November 26, **1949**⁹. It replaced the government of India Act, 1935. Article 394 provided that most of its provisions would come into force from January 26, 1950, Thursday. On November 25, 1949 the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir made a proclamation declaring that "the constitution of India shortly to be adopted by the Constituent Assembly and constitution of India shall in so far as it is applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, govern the Constitutional relationship between this State and the contemplated Union of India **.....**"¹⁰.

On January 26, 1950, Thursday, the President of India made the first Constitutional (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) order, 1950 under the Article 370 of the Constitution of India. It conformed strictly to the Instrument of **Accession**¹¹.

"Kashmir has been wrongly looked upon as a price for India or Pakistan. People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future. **.....[sic].**"^{ix}

On August 20th 1951, Monday, the Government Rest House at Akad, on Anantnag—Pahalgam road, was set on fire, along with nearby bridge. The police claimed that they discovered in investigations—group responsible for Government Rest House— arson had also carried out at five places earlier, unexplained attacks, the burning of Kangan, Sagipora and Singhpora bridges on roads leading out of Srinagar, the destruction of the forest hut in Nagrang, Rajouri and cutting of a military telephone line from Srinagar to **Gulmarg**¹².

However, the political rivalry cannot be ruled out, as the attacks preceded the nomination in Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly and in the state government's view, were intended to disrupt the democratic process, but alienation of Kashmiris towards India could be the key





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factor to these acts. Mujahid Home Front carried out all these acts to send a sensational message to the general public of Jammu and Kashmir and the main motive behind such acts was to congregate the Anti-India sentiment to a common point, especially among youth of Kashmir¹³. Fourteen people were arrested for these attacks out of which nine were under trial, which include Sheikh Abdul Majeed, Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Qadir Mengnu, Ghulam Mohammad Badr^x, Ghulam Nabi Shora, Wali Mohammad Shah and Abdul Salam Deva, who were the staunch supporters for accession to Pakistan.

September, 1951, nomination for the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly^{xi} were in progress, Rugnath Vaishnavi filed his nomination papers for the Constituent Assembly in August 1951 but was abducted along with family members by NC hooligans and threatened for dire consequences¹⁴.

All 75 seats were won by the National Conference, Constituent Assembly formed. The Praja Parishad, a Jammu based political party demanding complete accession to India boycotted the elections, supported behind by Congress. It was at the behest of Congress the Praja Parishad did so.

In a public address at Hakura Badasgam, Anantnag [Bonea Bagh (Chinar Garden)], late October or the beginning of November 1951, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh second-in command of NC said that there are two bulls, strong and weak, choice is yours to bet upon one among the two but both are required to plough the fields. My wisdom says that stronger bull can serve our interest, referring towards India¹⁵.

“ We have not acceded to India as forced labourers that we have to act as puppets in their hands. Our relationship with India is on the basis of principles and India should respect those principles. We are prepared to accept application of India’s Constitution to Kashmir in its entirety once we are satisfied that grave of communalism has been dug in India.....[sic]!”^{xii}

“I say with all respects to our Constitution that it just does not matter what your Constitution says; if the people of Kashmir do not want it, it will not go there. Because what is the alternative? The alternative is compulsion and coercion...”

“We have fought good fight about Kashmir on the field of battle... (sic)...in many a chancellery of the world and in the United Nations, but, above all, we have fought this fight in the hearts and minds of men and women of that State of Jammu and Kashmir. Because, ultimately - I say this with all difference to this Parliament - the decision will be made in the hearts and minds of the men and women of Kashmir; neither in this Parliament, nor in the United Nations nor by anybody else”^{xiii}.

1952 is very important in the State’s Constitutional Evolution. It witnessed the conclusion of the Agreement between Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla which was announced at press conference in Delhi, July 24, 1952, Thursday [Delhi Agreement]. It culminated in the Indian President’s second order under Article 370 on November 15, 1952, Saturday but the first was made on the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir.

On the other hand Pakistan has always been the supporter of Kashmir resistance movement and continues to support morally, politically and diplomatically, since 1947 [after the partition of British India].





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19th June 1953, Friday, formation of pro-Pak Kashmir Political Conference took place, led by Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Karra, who resigned from the NC, probably on Ministerial **Portfolios**¹⁶

8th August 1953, Saturday Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla was arrested which angered common stock of people, mainly Muslims, hundreds of people killed in unprovoked police firing, who protested against the arrest, which led to convergence of the support for him.

During Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi [Khalid-i-Kashmir] regime, the state of Jammu and Kashmir drifted steadily into Indian orbit, encouraged corruption— a policy to change the anti-India attitude among common Kashmiris, turned Kashmiri youth into bad boys and society got transformed into a perverted outlook. Because Kashmiri society was led by those to whom common stock use to call persona non grata and everybody entered into a cult of reference culture.

In 1954 the Constituent Assembly formally ratified the accession of the state with India. On 13th April 1954, Tuesday the customs barrier between Kashmir and rest of India was lifted.

Plebiscite **Front**^{xiv} (Mahaz-i- Rai Shumari) took birth on 9th August 1955, Tuesday— led by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh as President, while as Sofi Mohammad Akber and Atta Ullah Suharwardy, as Vice Presidents and some key persons of the party including Munshi Ishaq, Dr. Abdul Majeed Sheikh, Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shawl and Ghulam Ahmad Baderwahi, who were the fire brand leaders and played a pivotal role in shaping up of aggressive anti-India stand among the people in general and youth in particular, percolated down to the teenagers of Kashmir, which had given a specific conditioning to them, who grew under the shadow of distress with subjugation as a widespread consciousness, supported for the accession to Pakistan by means of Right to Self-determination.

PF had a well-established Legal Committee headed by veteran advocates, which include, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, Mohammad Yaseen Sidiqi, Ghulam Mohammad Shah, Mubarik Shah, Hakeem Habib Ullah, Abdul Ahad Vakil and several others—with the legal office at court road Srinagar, where presently, a Masjid (Mosque) **stands**^{xvii}.

By October 1956 the Constituent Assembly had decided upon a constitution for the **state**^{xv}. It modeled on the Indian constitution, with the bicameral legislation.

“This house is not entitled to take any decision with regard to the accession of the state or to draft a constitution as it has lost the confidence of the people. In this connection, I place a statement in black and white before the president through the secretary of the house and I declare that we break our relations with the **house**.^{xviii}”

On June 18, 1957, Tuesday, Bagh Ali’s group made a strike by way of alleged bombing on a shop in Jammu’s main shopping centre Residency Road and by the time their arrest the group had executed four other strikes on the targets of potential military value—two bombings of bridges, one targeted at United Nations Military Observer Group’s camp office in Jammu and another directed at an Indian Airlines Corporation van, similarly Mohib Ullah Beigh’s group allegedly used similar tactics in the course of its work in the valley. While it allegedly carried out attacks on targets –notably the bombings on two small culverts across streams in Pulwama and Budgam—on September 8, 1957, Sunday, two booby—trapped explosive devices inside a Masjid of Maisuma were planted— one of the politically violent neighbourhoods of Srinagar, a local resident, Abdul Ahad Bakaya lost both of his sons when one of the mosque bombs went-off, and his daughter and wife were **injured**¹⁸





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but neutral experts in Kashmir say that if these groups had carried out attacks as a part of armed resistance struggle, then to attack on UNMOGIP, office and bombing on Maisuma Mosque have proven counterproductive, thus raise much suspicion over the strikes and treat them as anti-resistance act but some attribute the group as a band of annoyed young men.

In 1960 Aman Ullah Khan, Mir Abdul Aziz, Abdul Khaliq Ansari, G. M Lone, Mir Manan and Mir Qayoom formed a Committee to support Kashmir resistance movement meant for independence¹⁹. In 1962, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League was formed by K.H Khurshid as the President of the party^{xvii}.

On 12th May 1963, Sunday 'Kashmir Independence Committee' (KIC) was formed by middle class Kashmiri activists in Azad Kashmir, which include journalists, students, businessmen and lawyers to oppose the proposals by the Pakistani and Indian foreign ministers for dividing Kashmir on communal basis. This committee was headed by the Kashmir State Council member G M Lone.

27th December 1963, Friday, over the mysterious disappearance of Holy Relic (Sacred Hair of the Prophet Mohammad^{S.A.W}) preserved in Hazratbal Shrine, Srinagar triggered the mass agitation, on this grave religious issue Action Committee^{xviii} was formed to trace the Relic. B.N Mullik, the intelligence Bureau chief, has provided one of the few detailed accounts of the disappearance of the moe-e-muqaddas (Holy Relic) and its inexplicable reappearance; even the spymaster, however, shied away from spelling out the details²⁰.

One unpopular version of the event is that the disappearance was engineered by G.M Sadiq himself—G.M Bakshi had resigned from the office that October 1963 as a part of reorganization^{xix} of the party apparatus, replaced by virtually a lightweight, Khawaja Shamsuddin Kath [Khatib] as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. This was not liked by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and G.M Sadiq, as he was aspirant to the post of the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, which was tactfully refused by G.M Bakshi. In revenge thirty eight charges of corruption were eventually brought against Bakshi, of which fifteen were proven by judicial investigator²¹.

Most of the Kashmiris blame G.M Bakshi, responsible for the disappearance of Holy Relic but it is empirically unfounded. If so- then, was this act to pressurize him, why Mullick has introverted on the detailed disappearance of Holy Relic from the time set forth suggest that Mullik has retrieved the Holy Relic from a prominent Srinagar family [not yet known to common Kashmiris].

People demanded that deedar [a special exhibition] of the Holy Relic sanctioned by customs, be held to establish its authenticity but Union Ministry of Home Affairs opposed the holding of deedar [sighting]—Molvi Masoodi^{xx} declared the Relic to be genuine at the deedar defusing the crisis— Nehru personally interceded and over-rode senior officials in MHA government of India²².

April 8, 1964 [Wednesday] the "Kashmir Conspiracy Case" against Sheikh Abdulla and others withdrawn by the Sadiq government unconditionally and Sheikh Abdulla released consequently. On 22nd June, Monday 1964 Peoples Action Group emanated into a politico-religious party called Awami Action Committee, led by Molvi Mohammad Farooq as President and Waji Ahmad Andrabi as its General Secretary²³, which include Ghulam Hassan Inqilabi, Ghulam Nabi Shora, the name of the party was given by Ghulam Mustafa Alvi²⁴.





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As a part of imitation from PF and discontent seemingly demonstrated by the Hazratbal crisis Students and Youth League was formed in March 1964, Sheikh Ghulam **Mohammad^{xxi}** – Chief Patron, Abdul Rashid Kabli—Chief Organizer, Bashir Ahmad Wani—district president Anantnag, Abdul Rashid Shaheen—district president Baramullah, along with central council members, which include Anwar Ashai, Mohammad Asharaf Batkoo, Zafar-ul-Islam, Aftab Ahmad, Nazir Ahmad Wani, Nazir Plebiscite, Muzaffar Hussain Beigh, Bashir Ahmad Kitchloo, Prof. Javaid and some low profile members like Nazir Ahmad Shah [Kath], Ghulam Mohammad Khan and Bashir Ahmad Talak with its headquarter at Engineering College Srinagar and modus operandi of the organization was to involve students of Kashmir, it used to raise finances through **donations.²⁵** The only visible act of the party was that in Srinagar Lal Chowk, after the constitutional amendment in 1965, when the nomenclature of Prime Minister was changed to Chief Minister and Sadar-e-Riyasat to Governor, it dropped tent over the G.M Sadiq at a public rally, as a mark of protest and came to the limelight. At the same time another stumpy shaped youth organization of leftists led by Mohammad Yusuf Tarigami was established under the name and style, Revolutionary Youth Federation, which include Chaman Lal Kantroo, Shafi Shouq, Manzoor Ahmad Khaki, Gulshan Majeed and several others, supporting Right to Self-**Determination²⁶** and in the same year Muslim Youth Federation (MYF) was established to which Fazal Haq Qureshi was the active member rather at **forefront²⁷**. In May 1964 Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla visited **Pakistan^{xxii}** first reported Rawalpindi and addressed at various places in Azad Kashmir like Mirpur, Muzaffarbad etc. at Kohlala bridge he was received by Aman Ullah Khan and Mir Abdul Aziz— PF was established there, Maqbool Butt was made charge de'affairs' by Mirza Mohammad Afzal **Beigh²⁸**. In June 1964, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh said in a huge public gathering at Mattan Adda, Anantnag that the tour of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla to Pakistan had been successful—they had put a **hen^{xxiii}** on Basket of eggs for the purpose of hatching, reached almost to the maturation stage, baby chicks were about to come, unfortunately the hen **expired²⁹**. In the meantime intelligence agencies of India describe Rehmat Ullah Khan, main person responsible for the formation of Master cell, used to keep anti-India sentiment live in Kashmir before the start of Operation Gibraltar, however, several resistance cells were very much operational in Kashmir to challenge Indian rule, which were totally indigenous in character. Rehmat Ullah Khan had struggled since childhood with economic hardship and personal tragedy. Khan was born in the city of Jammu in 1925, the son of a contractor who died when the boy was just six months old. He was raised by his mother, in 1937 joined his brother's cement concern in Lahore. On the eve of partition, in 1945, he setup his own small business in Calcutta, where his business flourished. In 1948, in the wake of the violent Hindu- Muslim confrontation that tore apart the city, the young businessman was arrested allegedly for robbing a postman at gunpoint [Intelligence Report]. He was trialed, convicted and sentenced to eight years **imprisonment³⁰**. Khan was released in April 1954— the young man was able to rebuild his life in short period. He was able to join the business of one of his brothers, who worked as Public Works contractor in Srinagar, within a year had saved up enough to setup an independent concern operating from the old Pataudi House in Darya Ganj, a commercial centre in old Delhi. In less than a decade, the





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

enterprise had flourished. Khan employed over 100 people and was regarded as a prosperous and respectable citizen of his **locality**.³¹

Another Youngman, Mian Ghulam Sarwar, having the high qualities of romantic disposition was also allegedly responsible for stipulating anti-India cell in Kashmir to give flip to the resistance movement, although having little interest in politics, the son of a wealthy Srinagar family— his father Mian Ghulam Mohammad had served the Jammu and Kashmir Government in various senior capacities, and retired as Chairman of the State Public Service Commission—Sarwar had studied to be a veterinarian at Patna, In Bihar, but failed to complete his degree because of an illness. He began working in the Government Tourist Bureau in 1956, but the meagre salary failed to meet his somewhat extravagant **lifestyle**.³²

Rehamat Ullah first met Sarwar in the last week of June 1964, at what was eventually to become a safe house for resistance movement [covert cell's, Intelligence version 'Surendra Nath']³³. But they discussed all the possible means to support Kashmir resistance movement and later on arranged a meeting with Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla at Mujahid Manzil, headquarters for **PF**.^{xxiv} Meanwhile Khan and Mian brought several youth in their manifold with the purpose to give tough resistance to India and support Right to Self-determination. The social composition of the Master cell [Indian version] offers some insight into class character of the organization. One member, Abdul Hamid Khan, was a junior technician at Government Medical College in Srinagar, another was, Mohammad Yusuf Mujahid, an Assistant Engineer in the Electrical Department; while as Ali Mohammad Malik and Mehboob Hussain were both students of the Regional Engineering College in Srinagar. Broadly, this pattern is mirrored through the overall composition of the resistance cells. Of total 44 residents of Indian Administered Jammu and Kashmir identified as cell members, the largest single category, 20, were government employees or contractors. The second largest category were the students, of whom there were 19. Only five cell members had independent business profession. All but three were from Srinagar or its immediate vicinity ; none was a **peasant**.³⁴

Mian Sarwar and his three key colleagues— Mohammad Asharaf Batkoo, Bashir Ahmad Kitchloo and Zafar-ul- Islam –established a central organization [Master Cell of covert campaign, Indian version] to supervise the activities for challenging Indian rule.

They met on the first floor of Sarwar's old fashioned wood house, just off the Budshah Bridge in Srinagar—almost directly opposite to contemporary location of the police Headquarters in Srinagar. Arms and explosives were kept in a specially constructed shelter in the **basement**.³⁵

When Mohammad Yusuf Mir (Verinag) was studying in Delhi (Journalism), an assignment was given to him by University to seek comments from the train passengers at Old Delhi Railway Station probably October 1964, suddenly his foot stuck with one fair looking person in his upper teenage having slim figure[Ashraf Batkoo], some papers slipped off from his right hand covered in a newspaper, when Yusuf picked up one, it was a pamphlet written with red ink, “ Red Revolution in Kashmir”, he [Batkoo] said, Aez Phasay [Today we are caught], Yusuf replied, don't worry and then carried Ashraf and his two colleagues [Yaseen Sidiqi and Nazir Rashid Shah] to his hostel, where they discussed lot about Kashmir resistance struggle and propensity towards struggle developed in to him, then they use to visit various Embassies in New Delhi including Pakistan High **Commission**.³⁶





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21st December 1964, Monday, Article 356 applied to Jammu and Kashmir by New Delhi stating that the President's Rule can be imposed in the event of the failure of State constitution.

26th January 1965, Tuesday Jammu and Kashmir, Prime Minister, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq— a clean and calm but a farsighted opportunist— announced the formation of Congress Party in J&K^{xxv} and on 10th April 1965, Saturday, the nomenclature of Sadar-e-Riyasat and Wazir-e-Azam changed to Governor and Chief Minister in the State Constitution and Sadiq quite often used to say that Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla can be prosperous Bank Manager and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh a straightforward fund raiser, to ridicule them, although Beigh happened to be his classmate, it is why he told him so.

Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and Afzal Beigh toured Europe, West Asia and Makkah. Abdulla's meeting on 31st March 1965 with Chinese Prime Minister Chou-En Lai in Algeria was disliked by India^{xxvi}.

Before proceeding to full swing war of 1965, initially "Operation Gibraltar" was the name given to the master plan by Pakistan to infiltrate into Jammu and Kashmir and start a rebellion against Indian rule. Launched in August 1965, guerrillas, disguised as locals, entered Jammu Kashmir from Pakistan with the intention of fomenting an armed rebellion in Kashmir. However, the strategy went awry from the outset as it was not well-coordinated and the infiltrators were soon found. The debacle was followed by an Indian counterattack.....!

The operation was a significant one as it sparked a large scale military engagement between the two neighbours, the first since the Indo-Pakistani War of 1947. Its success, as envisaged by its Pakistani planners, could have given Pakistan control over a unified Kashmir; something that Pakistan desired to achieve at the earliest opportunity. However, the plan misfired and triggered a war (the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965) where Pakistan was put on the defensive and forced by the Indian army to retreat back to normal borders.

Following the First Kashmir War which saw India gaining the majority of the disputed area of Kashmir, Pakistan sought an opportunity to win back the areas lost. The opening came after the Sino-Indian War in 1962 as a result the Indian Military was undergoing massive changes both in personnel and equipment. During this period, despite being numerically smaller than the Indian Military, Pakistan's armed forces had a qualitative edge in air power and armour over India, which Pakistan sought to utilise before India completed its defence build-up³⁷.

Meanwhile Rehmat Ullah Khan contacted Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Kara, Founder of Political Conference having slogan '*Awam Ka Fitri Rujhan Pakistan*' [*Natural tendency of Kashmiris is Pakistan*] and was the cousin of Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq and asked him about the organization's future course of action [as a sympathizer of PF] he was also in contact with Mohammad Mubarak Shah, a member of PF's Legal Defence Committee³⁸ - at the time when world was attempting to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Jammu and Kashmir [Rehmat Ullah Khan had turned a spy, a version of Indian intelligence³⁹].

Pakistan had made full groundwork and intelligence gathering for execution of the plan was laid by launching "Operation Nusrat", the purpose of which was to locate gaps in the Cease Fire Line (CFL) that were to serve as entry points for the armed volunteers [Mujahideen], and to gauge the response of the Indian army and the local population.





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Over the time, Central resistance Cell, spawned several subsidiary cells, the existence of each of which was known only to its own small circle of members. Five of these seem to have been particularly active[Indian version]:—

The Students' Cell: Charged with organizing strikes in colleges and demonstrations .The Poster Cell: Divided into Sub-sections I and II, recruited staff at Government offices to print and issue posters on behalf of the Revolutionary Council using typewriters and reproduction equipment there. One poster cell was run from the Power Project Generation Division's offices ; the other from Cultural Academy.

The Narwara Cell: Named for neighbourhood in Srinagar, the Narwara Cell was led by Mohammad Hussian Wazir, an employee of the Public Works Department. The nine member cell included two other Department employees, a government architect and three teachers. Wazir was trained in using hand grenades, instructed other cadre in the use of weapons.

The Buchawara Cell: This six-member cell like the Narwara Cell, was specific to a neighbourhood in Srinagar, in this case a particularly sensitive one, since it was home of the Chief Minister. This cell guided Pakistani volunteers to the Government Factory Wuyan and army fuel dump at Khunmoh and ferried weapons intended for the master cell.

The Infiltrator Liaison Cell: Unlike other cells, the infiltrator Liaison Cell had no operational role. It was meant to facilitate the working of stay-back agents like Hayat Mir, all of them residents of Pakistan Administered Kashmir⁴⁰.

However, several political commentators and Kashmirconflict experts believe that these resistance cells were operating locally as a part of anti-India anguish and it is intelligence agencies which have given such names to them^{xxvii}, and most importantly cells were formulated by local youth with indigenous character in their deeds and actions.

Hayat Mir^{xxviii}, who had made contact with Mian Sarwar soon after his departure from Budgam, was claimed by Indian counter- intelligence to have been involved in several attacks in Kashmir. Some arms which include a Sten gun, three rifles, grenades and ammunition was dumped in the Harwan area on the onset of winter by an active volunteer Gulzamaan and two more armed volunteers of Pakistan Abdul Majid and Ahmad Yunus made a contact with master cell, were tasked to instruct new recruits in the use of hand grenades.

The key member of, one of the resistance Cells, Fazal-UI- Haq Qureshi, admitted that they [Fazal] worked as nodal agency for raising morale and generate social support for 'freedom fighters' who had come from Pakistan and portrayed himself as one among them but maintained that these cells were entirely home-grown not at the behest of others [Pakistan]⁴¹.

Despite initial reservations by the President of Pakistan Ayub Khan, the operation was set in motion. In the first week of August 1965, [some sources put it at 24 July, Saturday], armed volunteers began to cross the Cease Fire Line dividing and were — called "Gibraltar Force" — were given different code names, mostly after historically significant Muslim rulers.⁴² The operation's name, Gibraltar, itself was chosen for the Islamic connotations⁴³.

Similarly, Munshi Ishaq^{xxix}, in the first week of August 1965 dropped a message for Alvi that some guests are coming to him at that time he was in Token, Pulwama and reached back late evening then arranged a vehicle without number plate from Abdul Gani Kabadi[Scrape Dealer] and straight away drove the vehicle to downtown, later on a meeting took place between Ghulam Ahmad Baderwahi and Ghuman Mustafa Alvi at Bagwanpora in the house of





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

Mohammad Yusuf Hakeem, and then with Dr. Ab. Majeed Sheikh, Zaina Apa besides Munshi Ishaq and Ghulam Mustafa Alvi. After almost two days an Urdu poster with the dimensions of 20" x 30" with the headline "Awam Kay Liya Lamhi Fikriya" [A moment of concern for people] with a Persian couplet ' *Mara Soo Ast Ander Dil Agar Goyum Zaban So Zued— Va Gardum Dur Kushum Pinhan Na Goyum Mugzustkhawaan Soo Zued* ' [My heart burns, if I speak out my tongue may catch fire, if I conceal—marrow within my bones will burn up] thus openly supporting to the armed volunteers^{xxx}, this very Persian couplet led to the exposure of Ghulam Mustafa Alvi for his underground activities, as he was accustomed to recite during public gatherings and rallies of PF— Munshi Ishaq was already underground⁴⁴.

A women Zainab [a pass out student of Aligarh Muslim University], post graduate in Political Sciences and a lecturer of Women's College Srinagar played a key role in 1965, openly canvassing for armed volunteers and used to paste and prepare posters in their support—later married to Major General Jabbar Khan—sister of Mohammad Aslam Wani also participated actively to canvass for armed volunteers [Mujahideen] and both clubbed several other women mainly girls for their activities. The song [Nidar Delaar Bastiyein, Srinagar Ki Batiyein, Khadi Hein Lal Chowk Paey 'Highly alleviated streets and brave daughters of Srinagar, Stand on Lal Chowk'] was written for their valour, possibly by herself⁴⁵. On 7th August 1965, Saturday a letter was to be delivered to Munshi Ishaq of PF from Colonel Mansha [Pakistan] through Sattar Phohul^{xxxvi} [Chowpan] about the military operation but instead of him it went to Molvi Saeed Masoodi^{xxxvii} at Mujahid Manzil, he called D. P Dhar and Mubarik Shah

concerning the issue and then it was conveyed to intelligence agencies and with the result operation got exposed two days earlier from its schedule— India brought out army from the barracks in the city and red alert was signaled in various sensitive locations having security value and deployed them heavily in Srinagar⁴⁶, thus proved a failed venture^{xxxviii}, Sattar immediately guided Brigadier Qayoom and Colonel Mansha back to Pakistan via Gulmarg sector⁴⁷. Thus Molvi Saeed Masoodi acted like Maqbool Shirvani of 1947, who misguided tribesmen, otherwise situation would have been different in both the cases⁴⁸.

Despite the operational planning, armed volunteers [Mujahideens] were detected by Indian forces in Kashmir. With the exception of four districts which did revolt, the local Kashmiris cooperated with *Gibraltar Force* mostly in the districts of Baramullah, Budgam, Srinagar and Anantnag by serving food and in some areas with dynamic shelter also.

On 9th August 1965, Monday Indian forces torched Batamaloo Srinagar because local populace was giving vibrant shelter to armed volunteers [Mujahideens]⁴⁹. Gibraltar Force was soon facing attacks from the Indian Army who moved in immediately to secure the border. Some of the infiltrators

were captured by the Indian troops, mostly managed to escape. India accused the Pakistani government of sending and aiding the guerillas [Mujahideens] although Pakistan denied any complicity⁵⁰.

Mujahideen were of high character, simple people, on one occasion at Budgam in an apple orchard





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

one of the volunteer plucked off an apple from the tree, when their Ameer (boss), an officer in Pakistan army, came to know about this act, he virtually abused him and spat on him, saying that we are in Kashmir to help them and without the permission of the **owner**^{xxxiv}, it is a **sin**⁵¹.

It is worth to mention that, Sattar Chowpan, Sattar Khanday, Jalal-Ud-Din and Abdul Samad Wani played key role in the mobilization of Gibraltar **Volunteers**⁵².

National Liberation Front was formed, on 13th August 1965, Friday at the residence of Major Aman Ullah in Peshawar. The aim of this organization was written down in just one sentence, “including armed struggle using all forms of struggle to enable the people of Jammu Kashmir state to determine the future of the State as sole owners of their **motherland**”⁵³.

On August 15, 1965, Sunday Indian forces crossed the border and launched an attack on the territory of Kashmir administered by Pakistan. Pakistani reports cite this attack as unprovoked while assessments from India and neutral sources cite this as a response to Pakistan’s infiltration into Jammu Kashmir as part of Operation Gibraltar, which resulted in the full swing **war**⁵⁴, costing heavy men and material for both India and Pakistan and ended with no territorial changes but with **ceasefire**^{xxxv}.

“**Khabardaar !**” [Beware], begins an Urdu poster issued by the Inqilabi [Revolutionary] Council on 28th August 1965, Saturday. “The history of the world shows that only those who have paid the price of their freedom have attained **salvation**⁵⁵. “Thirty four years ago,” the Revolutionary Council

asserted, “Stay cautious of traitors,” the poster warned, “ for those, will soon be dispatched to hell”. It ended with a verse from Holy Qur`aan : “Have courage and you will have the

victory⁵⁶.” Similar like posters appeared in Anantnag, which were distributed by Abdul Rashid Bhat [Mattan Adda], Abdul Majeed Jild-Saaz [Sarnal], Gull Mohammad Din [Mattan Chowk], Ghulam Mohammad Darvv[Mattan Adda], Nissar Ahmad Jeelani [Mattan Chowk] and Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Babav[Sarnal]—active worker of PF. Except Nisar Ahmad Jeelani all others were arrested later by police in November 1965 on the charges of fomenting trouble in **Anantnag**⁵⁷.

And the posters which they pasted in various streets of Anantnag town were supplied by Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer and Sofi Abdul **Rehman**^{xxxvi}.

On August 29th 1965, Sunday, in the midst of war, students at several places in Srinagar colleges went on strike. The students planned to hold a protest in front of UNMOGIP offices in Srinagar and to deliver a memorandum stating that Kashmir supports armed resistance movement which is

completely indigenous, on the other hand police came to know about the programme well in advance and dispersed the demonstration well before it reached the UNMOGIP office, later on a hand grenade went off at the crowded Regal Chowk, Srinagar area on that afternoon, which created panic in the city and shops were set on fire along the Hotel road after dark by **forces**⁵⁸. But police said that they were unknown persons, who were on the budge to disrupt peace in the **city**^{xxxvii}.

In the same year, 1965, some youth of Kashmir established United Freedom Front and started its activities in Kashmir, which led to the arrest of Ehsan-Ul Haq, Ghulam Qadir Basmati, Waji Ahmad Andrabi, Fazal Haq and Aejaz –Ul Haq on the charges of being the key members of this underground **organization**⁵⁹, similarly Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer was arrested on 21st October 1965, Thursday for allegedly distributing seditious [Anti-India] posters in the name of Muttahida





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

Mahaz-e-Azadi⁶⁰ [United Movement for Freedom] (MMeA).

On September 6th 1965, Monday students of Government Medical College— where from various students were working for different resistance cells, went on to Strike at 2.00 PM, at the same time someone threw a grenade at police personnel posted for the purpose of preventing violence. Two officers and four spectators were injured [a move of sabotage, a claim] and less than a week later, on September 11th Saturday, another grenade was thrown into the middle of the crowd at Lal Chowk. And police claimed that on the same night, efforts were made to set the Fateh Kadal bridge in downtown Srinagar on fire, along with the Indian National Congress provincial office [near College of Education) same like event happened on September 12th , Sunday at Maisuma and on the night Syed Mansoor bridge was set on fire[police claim]. But on September 21st Tuesday, yet another hand grenade was thrown at the police guard on the Nowpora bridge. An identical attack took place at the Dalgate crossing on the morning of September 30th , Thursday, 1965, on the route traversed by Chief Minister at least twice a day⁶¹. On the route traversed by Chief Minister at least twice a day⁶¹. There were several incidents of arson, which include attack on Old Secretariat, Vasanta Girls High School and some retaliatory arson attacks on row of shops in Dalgate⁶². But intelligence agencies blamed resistance cells for this arson too. Although, whole incidents created horror in the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir.

It was probably October 1965, when some students of Degree college, Anantnag met Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh at water tank Sarnal, namely Abdul Rashid Dar, Qasim Sajad, Ghulam Mohi- Ud- Din Malik besides several others and discussed about Kashmir, Dar said to Beigh that they should start a struggle like Algeria but vehemently opposed by PF, President saying “ large scale armed struggle in Kashmir will invite class war, will serve the interests of others than Kashmiris”. Beigh reiterated that PF believes in the politics of principles not on violence or other means. Asked Abdul Rashid Dar to tell those who have sent you here that we [Beigh] will not support armed resistance in Kashmir⁶³.

In the ending days of December 1965, claimed by Mohammad Yusuf Mir^{xxxviii} (Verinag) that he along with Shamim Ahmad of Ganderbal and Mohammad Anwar of Dobjan Shopian went to Pakistan via Attari, Amritsar Punjab guided by a Sikh to cross international border. When they successfully managed to cross to Pakistan and went to Peshawar, where they met Maqbool Butt, Raja Mohammad Arshad, Raja Farooq and Ghulam Mohammad Lone [A Businessman of Karachi], thus Joined Jammu Kashmir National Liberation Front (NLF). Later on they received some kind of verbal tips about guerilla warfare and came back in ending February or beginning of March 1966 via Rajasthan by the support of Farhat not his actual name⁶⁴.

On the other hand during 1965 bloody war, which acted as a catalyst —large scale arrests, mainly from YL, by India in Kashmir infuriated the educated young men of Kashmir, and they started formulating various resistance cells, like Red Kashmir, Young Men’s League (Students Federation) and others, who started thinking in their own style as 1965 Indo- Pak war yielded no results on ground in terms of Kashmir, which was much focused for the de-freezing of Kashmir Imbroglia towards the solution. This made Kashmiris especially 2nd generation after 1947 to rethink in their approach towards tangled issue, giving flip for demanding Right to Self-determination at any cost, mentally prepared for extreme confrontation with India and Independence for Kashmir made a visible presence among Kashmiris thinking, PF also acted as





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

an attention getter. In this regard top rank of Youth League met Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla in 1966 at Mujahid Manzil and also attended the convention of PF at Sopore in the same year, because Indo-Pak war had a psychological impact upon Kashmiri people especially youth, who were of the opinion to continue the freedom struggle at any cost⁶⁵.

7th June 1966, Tuesday a secret meeting was held in Muzaffarbad at the residence of Ghulam Ud Din Ashai in evening which was attended by Maqbool Butt, Mir Hadayat Ullah, Raja Lal Hussian, Qazi Abdul Hai, Kale Khan, Habib Ullah Bhat, Major Aman Ullah and Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, the meeting was presided over by Maqbool Butt and Pakistan's failure to take Kashmir from India was taken into discussion and it was decided that an armed guerilla organization under the name and style 'Quami Azad-e- Mahaz' National Liberation Front already formed will commence its operation to fight for the complete Independence of Kashmir, led by Maqbool Butt and Ghulam Mustafa Alvi was taken as its liaison officer. On 8th June 1966, Wednesday Maqbool Butt^{xxxix} told Alvi that after two days, on 10th June 1966, Friday he along with Aurangzeb, a student from Gilgit, Amir Ahmed and Kale Khan, a retired Subedar (noncommissioned officer from AJK force) will enter Kashmir for armed struggle and develop armed resistance cells there, on this Alvi gave some contacts to Maqbool, afterwards, they successfully managed to cross over to Kashmir via Kail sector⁶⁶, while as Major Amanullah and subedar Habibullah remained near to the division line [CFL], Aurangzeb was killed in an encounter.

During Maqbool Butt's stay in Srinagar, he used the house of Waji Ahmad Andrabi as a hideout and in city he met, erstwhile Prime Minister, Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi, who assured full support to Butt. And the oath form of NLF was filled for him^x, and he signed it by the blood instead of ink⁶⁷.

Maqbool Butt along with some of his group members worked underground for several months to develop armed resistance cells in Kashmir.

Amar Chand an intelligence officer was killed [weak account] by Gull Mohammad⁶⁸ (Retired Military Militia) and another [an authentic description] that he was killed by Tahir[Aurangzeb], later, on 14th September 1966, Wednesday, Indian security forces laid a siege to a remote village in North Kashmir in which three of the high profile NLF members got besieged and encounter took place in which Tahir was killed, while as Major Aman Ullah managed to escape successfully but Maqbool Butt was arrested, he [Butt] was subjected to rigorous interrogation in notorious Red 16 etc., then shifted to Central Jail Srinagar, Ghulam Mohammad Dar (Guide) played a pivotal role in making the arrest possible and turned witness prosecution.

Youth League in Islamabad (Anantnag) took away a procession from Degree college Khanabal up to Malaknag Anantnag, in late 1966, even some pro-government elements instigating the process to turn the show into anti- Beigh pageant at Lal Chowk but at that point Abdul Rashid Dar managed to steer the procession up to Malaknag, where Nazir Ahmad Kath addressed the students, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh also addressed the procession at the same place but denouncing the election process [Third Assembly elections of State to be held on 5-6 March 1967] then procession went to Sarnal, already Abdul Rashid Kabli^{xi} had come under the influence of D. P Dhar and some infiltration was made in YL, on the other side Chief Minister G.M Sadiq was also of this opinion that students must carry out such demonstration to





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

mitigate the pressure of Kashmiri Pandits on Parmeshwari [turned Muslim after a marriage with a Muslim boy] upon his government but Abdul Rashid Dar^{xlii} had made clear to Beigh that they [Students] are against the election process⁶⁹.

And Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh spotted some active students of Degree College and persuaded them towards politics with the motive to get the support from student community and later on came under the deep influence of Beigh. Young Men's^{xliii} League (Students Federation)^{xliiv} was established on 1967 with Ashraf Javaid as its founder President while as Abdul Rashid Dar as Chief Organiser^{xliv}

but Sofi Abdul Rehman was the first Chief Organiser of YML, the sole aim for its creation was to strengthen PF⁷⁰. Others who were with YML included Sidiq Parray^{xlvi}, Qasim Sajad etc. The constitution of this resistance political party was to push youth for demanding the right of Right to Self-determination and look after the welfare of the student community and was totally indigenous in character⁷¹.

And in the same year Mohammad Altaf Khan@Azam Inqilabi formed Muslim Liberation Front, attempted to fabricate explosives, but never succeeded in putting together anything more than a fire cracker, but were involved in clandestine activities as a part of resistance movement.

Zehgeer had no intention of switching sides, he used the old influence of resistance cell, to which he was a part and jailed for, contacted and assembled students committed to challenge Indian rule and thus the new political circle entered around the Students' Revolutionary Council setup by Syed Sarwar in 1966, they were talking about revolution and Zehgeer was tasked for giving maps and action plans and soon was acknowledged as the leader of Students' Revolutionary Council [Indian intelligence claim].

In October 1966 Mohammad Yusuf Mir went to Pakistan again via Attari, Amritsar Punjab and were given some arms training with the code name Khalid Saleem, emphasis was laid on Azadi, Islam and Jihad, to the trainers view Azadi was accession to Pakistan but Maqbool used to say that it is complete independence, Mir came back along with two other colleagues in January 1967, here warrant was issued against Khalid Saleem because he had posted a letter to his close friend from Pakistan, master Ali Mohammad Sheikh of Gutligund^{xlvii} Verinag letter was brought for thorough investigation and Master Ali Mohammad was arrested, but he was not knowing anything about Khalid Saleem, later on police came to know that it was the code of Mohammad Yusuf. He went underground and again committed another big mistake, when he posted two letters one to his friend Mohammad Ashraf Batkoo, working in, Kolaba, Bombay[Mumbai] for Kashmiri arts— his family business, to send him his address an another to his friend master Ali Mohammad, but the letter to be posted to Ali, went to Batkoo while as the letter of Batkoo to master Ali Mohammad, police seized the letter as parcel of Ali Mohammad^{xlviii} was put to stringent surveillance⁷².

Notes

- i. Anjuman's official organ is Muslim, paper is aimed at the eradication of social evils of superstition and preaching of Islam in its original form.
- ii. At Central jail Srinagar who had gone there to see the court proceedings against Abdul Qadeer, a non-Kashmiri from Amroha [present Uttar Pradesh], probably an employee of a British resident. Qadeer voiced the grievances of Kashmiri Muslims at Khanqah-i-Moila, Srinagar. They were brutally dealt and ruthlessly fired at a pointblank range.
- iii. Jamaat-e Islami (JeI) of Jammu and Kashmir was established in 1946 by Sa'du -Din Tarbali, Headmaster of a government High School, an independent organization and having no political or organizational





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

- connection with Jel[Hind]. Inactive from 1947-1952 and in 1953, it assumed a more independent identity and enacted its own constitution, then it completely severed its links with Jel(Hind) and Jel(Pakistan), focused on the propagation of puritan Islam, started chain of schools in Jammu and Kashmir to impart education. From 1952-1971, it tried to build up its cadre strength up to then did not participate in any election and from 1971-1987, participated actively in elections both in Assembly and Parliamentary at selected places. Azaan was the party's official organ, Moomin(Urdu Weekly) is now its official organ.
- iv. Syed Mir Qasim said that Sardar Patil was also behind the scene and approached Sheikh Abdulla through G.M Bakshi. Source: Advocate Abdul Samad Tak of Verinag.
 - v. However, as Punjabi notes that Sheikh Abdulla declared in a public meeting in September. 1947 that "Our first demand is complete transfer of power to the people in Kashmir. Representatives of the people in a democratic Kashmir will then decide whether the state should join India or Pakistan." Source: Riyaz Punjab 'Kashmir imbroglio: the socio-political roots', Contemporary South Asia, 4:1, pp.46,49, 1995.
 - vi. In Kashmiri lexicon, person who was in British Army as recruit, used to be called as Rangrut.
 - vii. Later married in Kashmir and then deported by Sheikh Abdulla government to Pakistan but Akram's wife and few months old female baby was not allowed to accompany him.
 - viii. Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla Signed the Register in Hindi.
 - ix. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru (The first Prime Minister of Free India)(Speech in All India Congress Committee on July 9, 1951, Monday.
 - x. He was arrested but managed to get released in the 1st stage.
 - xi. By the orders of NC's high command, there was no election activity anywhere in the State. All the members were nominated by Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla.
 - xii. Excerpt of public speech by Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, 10th April, 1952, Thursday at Rambir Singh Pora, Jammu.
 - xiii. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, told in the Lok Sabha (Parliament) on June 26, 1952 and August 7, 1952.
 - xiv. The unconditional support given to Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh by Dr. Abdul Majeed Sheikh and other top brass of Mujahid Home Front which gave a sort of confidence to Beigh but later on cheated by him. Source: Advocate. Abdul Samad Tak.
 - xv. Formally into operation on 26th January 1957, Saturday.
 - xvi. Address – President PF in Constituent Assembly on 24th October 1956, Wednesday, which appeared in official organ of P.F.- Mahaz.
 - xvii. K.H Khurshid was the Personal Secretary of Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, from June 1944 to August 1947. Then he became the Personal Secretary of the Quaid-e-Azam in his official capacity as the Governor-General of Pakistan from 14th August 1947 till his death on the 11th September 1948. He took over as President of Azad Kashmir on the May 1, 1959, Friday and resigned on the 5th August 1964. He died on 11th March 1988 in a road accident while traveling in a public van from Gujrat (Pakistan) to Lahore. When he died he was living in a rented house.
 - xviii. This was conceived by Molvi Mohammad Saeed Masoodi, who mysteriously made Molvi Mohammad Farooq (then a student) the President of Awami Action Committee and thereby revived the Sher-Bakra history. Qari Saif-Ud Din was also the member of the committee. First the name Action Committee was coined by Mustafa Alvi. Source: Prof. G.M Shad.
 - xix. In May 1963 the Congress in New Delhi lost three important Parliamentary by-elections, in which a Union Minister was defeated. All India Congress Committee under Kamraj Plan, decided that some Congress Union Ministers and State Chief Ministers should resign and give all their time to a party work. The final selection was left to Jawahar Lal Nehru. After eleven years of continuous Prime Minister-ship of Jammu and Kashmir, Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi was entrapped skillfully and asked to tender a token resignation to strengthen Pt. J.L Nehru's hand.
 - xx. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru deputed Lal Bahadur Shastri, who formed 16-member committee led by Molvi Saeed Masoodi, which also include Molvi Farooq, Syed Meruk Shah Kashani Advocate G.N Hagroo. Source: Prof. G.M Shad.
 - xxi. Afterwards became lecturer in Physics.
 - xxii. India received a terrible defeat in Sino-Indo War of 1962, now Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was of the opinion that a sort of confederation must be established with Pakistan, which can help in solving Kashmir issue with a new dimension other than UN and task for initiation was given to Sheikh Abdulla. It was Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla's fifth Day of Pak visit [27th May 1964, Wednesday, when Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru Prime Minister of India died], immediately Gulzarelal Nanda was taken as caretaker P.M of India for





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

- few days and then Lal Bahadur Shastri took the charge of Indian Prime Minister, while as Nanda was given the portfolio of Indian Home Minister – who derailed the process started by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.
- xxiii. Referring to death of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru.
- xxiv. It is also an admitted fact that Mian Sarwar was the staunch supporter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto – hanged on 3rd April 1979 in Pakistan – later mated Bhutto Memorial Trust in Srinagar as a mark of tribute to him.
- xxv. Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq did with an interior motive – to burry the N.C and a jolt to Ghulam Mohammad Bakshi, so that he may not be able to arrange a ‘comeback’ on the wings of N.C.
- xxvi. While Sheikh Abdulla’s was returning from Hajj, Indian authorities arrested him on 8th May 1965.
- xxvii. Indian intelligence agencies in order to magnify their scanty work, did so, to deceive their higher authorities. Otherwise, there were no such cells, established by Pakistan, of course cells were operating but locally with the people involved from Kashmir on either side of CFL, as a part of anguish. Source: Mohammad Yusuf Mir[Verinag].
- xxviii. Even the top source for Indian intelligence in Mujahid Manzil [Molvi Saeed Masoodi] utterly failed to make arrest of Hayat Mir possible but on November 17, 1965, Wednesday, Hayat was arrested by police at Srinagar’s famous Ahdos Hotel, at that time he was unarmed. As Shaban Khanday, Samad Wani, Ghulam Nabi were arrested before, while as Sattar Khanday and Razak Wani were arrested on February 2, 1966, Wednesday by intelligence wing of police, who had come from PAK five days earlier. All of them use to support Hayat Mir for his clandestine operations in Kashmir, especially Budgam. Source: Mohammad Yusuf Gilkar.
- xxix. Probably already in touch with armed volunteers, later on he went to Azad Kashmir on 25th October 1965 via Bandipora with Farooq Chesti to escape the arrest being wanted by police. Narrated by Ghulam Mustafa Alvi.
- xxx. Ghulam Mustafa Alvi even met Molvi Mohammad Farooq in this regard but told him to declare the source.
- xxxi. Guide to armed Volunteers.
- xxxii. Opposing Armed Rebellion. Narrated by Ghulam Mustafa Alvi.
- xxxiii. Narrated by Gulzaman Khan, Kalay Khan and Abdul Majeed (all from Kotli, Azad Kashmir), Gibraltar volunteers, in Srinagar Central Jail, 1965 to one of the key member of YL.
- xxxiv. Story narrated by Jumus Khan, a volunteer of Pakistan hailing from Kotli Azad Kashmir under trail in Central Jail Srinagar, 1972 to one of the Alfateh detainee.
- xxxv. On 10th January 1966, Monday the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, who had met in Tashkent at the invitation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, announced their agreement that the withdrawal of all armed personnel of both sides to the positions they had held prior to 5 August 1965 should be completed by 25 February 1966 and that both sides should observe the terms of the ceasefire on the ceasefire line.
- xxxvi. Narrated by Abdul Majeed Jild-Saaz and Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Baba.
- xxxvii. It was the handiwork of those element who wanted to crush all possible uprising.
- xxxviii. Mohammad Yusuf Mir is Editor, Weekly Urdu Sabzaar, Published from Ang.
- xxxix. Maqbool Butt born on 18th February 1938 from a peasant family in Trehgam village Tehsil Handwara, district Kupwara. After completing his secondary school certificate, Maqbool Butt moved on to St. Joseph College in Baramulla. This was a private missionary college. Here he gained his first degree (BA) in history and political science. For a short period of time Maqbool Butt severed as a teacher (HM) in Darsgahi Islami (Jamaat-e- Islami; High School Arwanii (Bijbehara) in 1965-59. Then went to other side of LOC[Azad Kashmir]. First and foremost problem before Maqbool Butt in Pakistan was to continue his education and at the same time find a job to meet the expenses; without that “it was hard to live in Pakistan”. Therefore, joined a weekly Urdu magazine, as sub-editor and started working as a journalist - did his MA (from Peshawar university) in Urdu literature and worked with ‘Anjam’ till to the start of full time politics. He was a friend of renowned Urdu poet Ahmad Faraaz.
- xl. D.P Dhar tried his level best to frame Bakshi in NLF case.
- xli. Ab. Rashid Kabli contested 1967 Assembly Elections for Safakakdal Constituency and managed to get only about three dozen votes. While as Ali Mohammad Naik revolted from PF and contested the elections for Tral Constituency, and got elected. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh used to call him Kanz-e-Khar.
- xlii. Abdul Rashid Dar maintained that the procession took place in 1967, after Assembly Elections but was not sure about the event.
- xliii. YML was a part of parallelism to counter YL and minimise its control on student community, supported by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh. Source: Advocate Bashir Ahmad Wani.





Institute of Public Policy Research and Development

- xliv. Students Federation was responsible for looking after the welfare of student community, while as Young Men's League was to engage and recruit other youth.
- xlv. First worked as District President for YML but came to limelight in 1968, when he read an appreciation note, before Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, who at that time had come to Sheirbagh Anantnag to address a huge gathering along with Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh and thus Dar was elevated by the organization.
- xlvi. Later shifted his loyalty and actively worked for India.
- xlvii. A tributary of Vitasta as per Hindu mythology.
- xlviii. Made the arrest of Mohammad Yousuf Mir and Mohammad Asharaf Batkoo possible in late October 1967 at New Delhi and Bombay, both Batkoo and Mir were brought to Taliya Manzil or Red 16 for 6 months, then shifted to Bagh-e Mehtab for more six months and finally to Srinagar Central jail, where Maqbool Butt was already lodged, Mir was released in late 1968 or beginning of 1970.

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