

**“RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN KASHMIR (1931-1948): AN
APPRAISAL”**

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CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

I Aroosa Arshad Khan, Daughter of Arshad Hussain under Registration # NUML-S22-51719 Discipline **Social Sciences** Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis (Title) **Resistance Movement in Kashmir (1931-1948): An Appraisal** submitted by me in partial Fulfilment Of MPhil degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. Aj&K Azad Jammu and Kashmir
2. NC National Conference
3. MC Muslim Conference
4. INC Indian National Congress
5. AIML All India Muslim league
6. UNSC United Nation Security Council
7. UNCIP United Nation Commission for India and Pakistan
8. KMSU Kashmir Muslim Student Union

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“RESISTANCE MOVEMENT IN KASHMIR (1931-1948): AN APPRAISAL”**Abstract**

This study explores the Resistance Movement in Kashmir between 1931 and 1948, a critical period marked by widespread political awakening and opposition to the Dogra rule. While Kashmir's resistance history has often been narrated in fragmented forms, this research specifically focuses on the Poonch Uprising in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), which remains underexplored in existing scholarship. The research identifies a gap in historiography where local resistance dynamics, particularly in AJK, have not been sufficiently analyzed in the broader context of anti-colonial and regional movements. Employing an analytical research methodology, the study critically examines a wide range of primary sources including official reports, archival documents, and contemporary newspapers, alongside secondary sources such as scholarly works and historical commentaries. The analysis reveals that the resistance was a result of accumulated socio-political grievances, economic exploitation, and the influence of religious and ethnic identities, framed within the Primordialism theory. The findings suggest that security council should be aware the nature of international conflict in term of how it could be solved. Further, security council should foster trust on the state of Jammu and Kashmir as autonomous body and actively create the third option of separation with two other options of accession.

Key words: Resistance Movement, Struggle, Political, Jammu and Kashmir, Revolts, Poonch, Muslim Conference, National Conference, Human rights.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Kashmir region is predominantly mountainous, with deep, narrow valleys and high, barren plateaus. The relatively low-lying Jammu and Poonch plains in the southwest are separated by the thickly forested Himalayan foothills and the Pir Panjal Range of the Lesser Himalayas from the larger, more fertile, and more heavily populated Vale of Kashmir to the north. The vale, situated at an elevation of about 5,300 feet (1,600 meters), constitutes the basin of the upper Jhelum River and contains the city of Srinagar. Jammu and the vale lie in Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir, while the Poonch lowlands are largely in Pakistan-administered Kashmir¹.

The northern and western portions are administered by Pakistan and comprise three areas: Azad Kashmir, Gilgit, and Baltistan, the last two being part of a single administrative unit called Gilgit-Baltistan called northern areas. Administered by India are the southern and southeastern portions, Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh, which were reorganized as union territories in 2019. The Indian- and Pakistani-administered portions are divided by a “line of control” agreed to in 1972 (neither country recognizes it as an international boundary). In addition, China became active in the eastern area of Kashmir in the 1950s and has controlled the northeastern part of Ladakh since 1962².

The population of the Kashmir was very heterogeneous, according to the 1941 census, the total population of the State was 4,021,616³. In term of religion this divided into following

¹ “Kashmir,” Britannica, Google, last modified December 05, 2024, available at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kashmir-region-Indian-subcontinent> (Accessed on December 09, 2024).

² Britannica, “Kashmir”.

³ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), 22.

Communities, among them Muslims are 3,073,450%, Hindus 807,549%, Sikhs 50,662%, Buddhists 38,074%, Christians 3,079%, Tribals 29,374%.

Two main population groups can be divided traditionally: Kashmiri Muslims and Pandits (Kashmiri Brahmans). These Muslims and Pandits no longer live in the same regions, they have different aspirations, separate political Organizations, etc. Several writers claim that only in this century Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir developed distinct communal identities, originally they were united by a common 'Kashmiri' identity, referred to as Kashmiriyat, and formed a single Kashmiri community⁴.

To an outsider then, all Kashmiris would appear to share a common culture, or at least have large elements in common. There were and are still, undoubtedly many similarities between Pandit and Muslim cultures in the Kashmir valley. In dress, for example, both wore the loose, baggy-sleeved pheran. Similarly, both communities used an earthenware bowl filled with charcoal, called a kanghri, to keep warm in the harsh Kashmiri winter. Kashmiri tea could be found brewing throughout the day in every Kashmiri household. The dietary habits of Hindus and Muslims were less differentiated in Kashmir than in other parts of India. Muslims generally avoided eating beef, while mutton was a regular part of the Pandits' diet. And of course, followers of both religions spoke Kashmiri⁵.

How big a factor was religion in the Kashmiri regional identity? It was a significant factor: 'the concept of Kashmiriyat does not excluded religion, its emphasis on syncretism and tolerance for other religions has led to the development of indigenous philosophies, practices and traditions

⁴ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 1.

⁵ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 3.

of Hinduism and Islam in the valley. Religion played a stronger Role in differentiating Pandits from other Hindus, than Kashmiri Muslims from other Muslims. But it could not be described as a unifying factor between Pandits and Kashmiri Muslims⁶.

The main focus of this thesis is the resistance movement in Kashmir during 1931-1948. Kashmir is a nation with a difficult history likewise struggles for political and constitutional knowledge, to understand the Kashmiri people's struggle, we must understand their region and culture along history.

For decades, freedom movements have been important topics of discussion. Various nations create history in this regard. The state of Jammu and Kashmir made its own history in opposition to Dogra rule, that maintaining fundamental rights is crucial, and Kashmiri people began to speak up for these rights after 1930. On 13 July 1931 an incident took place in Srinagar central jail, which gradually gained momentum and made people aware of their rights. Many historians attempt to write about the Kashmiri people's freedom struggle, but they seldom go beyond the movement's narrative. Checking the entity based on necessity, quality, and success is therefore necessary, in order for the reader to understand the agitation's strengths and shortcomings.

Significance of the Study

It is important to understand the culture of the region along with their values like bravery, passion, and courage. This study added the new chapter of the regional history regarding the conflicts and Resistance movements to help those who are interested in this type of historical

⁶ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 6.

studies. In this study, the researcher gather data on several factors responsible for the Resistance movement and raise the concept of nationalism in the mind of locals. With the passage of time this nonviolent Resistance movement change into local fights and grumbles between communities and rulers in 1947-48.

Research also expose these factors and circumstances change the environment from nonviolence to war. The researcher concentrate services of those who struggled during this era. For this purpose, researcher took the Poonch Division as a sample of the study to consider the Resistance movement as a whole. This is first comprehensive study of the Poonch Region. This narrative aid future researcher in discovering more avenues for historical inquiry. Also, it helps anyone with a strong interest in local history.

This stud is an excellent step towards encoding the specific information in the existing pool of local history and this significant chapter in history has been severely disregarded by historians and researchers. Every year, locals attempt to disseminate a small amount of information in newspapers. Although it was in the form of a brief column, the requirement to store an adequate amount of history was not met.

This research holds great significance as it explores the under-researched resistance movements of Kashmiri Muslims, particularly in the Poonch region, during the mid-twentieth century. It aims to bring forward the voices of the local population, often overlooked in dominant political narratives, and highlight their bravery, resilience, and passion in the face of oppression.

By investigating the socio-political conditions and nationalist sentiments that led to the transformation of peaceful resistance into armed conflict, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the Kashmir issue beyond the Indo-Pak political lens. It provides a grassroots

perspective on a historically complex and emotionally charged conflict that continues to affect millions today.

The study fills a critical gap in South Asian historiography by documenting events and narratives that have largely been ignored by mainstream historians. While a few brief newspaper columns or oral accounts have attempted to preserve parts of this history, there has been no comprehensive academic effort to record and analyze the resistance movement in Poonch. This thesis addresses that void.

Moreover, this research contributes to peace and conflict studies by analyzing how identity, culture, and political grievances can shape collective movements. It also explores the role of nationalism in resistance movements, helping readers understand how historical experiences influence contemporary issues. By doing so, it offers a framework to think critically about political decisions, evaluate past mistakes, and suggest pathways for peaceful resolution.

The study may also serve as a valuable educational resource for scholars and students in the disciplines of history, political science, and South Asian studies. It aims to preserve oral histories, document regional perspectives, and contribute to the broader effort of safeguarding cultural heritage in conflict zones.

Furthermore, this work acts as an ethical reminder to policymakers and international institutions of the human cost associated with denying autonomy and suppressing cultural identities. By shedding light on the injustices faced by the people of Poonch, the study reinforces the need for justice, recognition, and historical accountability.

Ultimately, this research not only preserves a forgotten chapter of resistance but also stimulates critical thinking and encourages future research on indigenous struggles, identity politics, and regional autonomy in South Asia.

If reader have keen interest in historical studies specially related to the Kashmir, found that even after 75 years no improvement have been seen in this regard. This study helps the reader to find out the past problems and contemporary issues whom lead to the present situation and root for the current issues to solve out. It will help readers to think Critically in this regard to find out some suggestions or path to solve this international conflict.

The readers interest with different discipline like education, economy and specially in political context help to evaluate the reasons or mistakes made in past by the leaders. By critical thinking or evaluation people may find out the better ways to avoid the past mistakes to step forwarded for the better future. It will also make leaders to be aware to avoid from the past shits.

Nationalism is the main reason behind every freedom movement. In this regard the historical studies make the reader to understand the cross culture. It helps people to respect the other's tradition and specially to bear the stressful conditions during the time of any conflict. It helps to preserve the cultural heritage and specially enhance people to make a collective movement against the problem to got the more fastest and considerable results against the government for their Rights.

This historical Study may also help the readers to know about the historical injustice. In this regard it helps to remind the struggle of the people insuring that important events and struggle experiences are not forgotten. It also helps the nations to participate in the fastest moving world.

It helps to checkout the human behavior in context of the regional conflicts or as an international conflict.

This study specially focuses on the conflicts within the specific time period. In that time the need for the Resistance movement and the strength of the movement run by the locals against Dogra rule clearly analyzed. How the sense of this awearness generate among the locals, all factors presented to the readers to check the success of the Resistance movement.

Statement of the Problem

The Kashmir region has been embroiled in a longstanding conflict, rooted in historical, social, and political differences between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus. Despite numerous studies on the region, there remains a need for in-depth examination of the factors that created initial differences between these groups and their political manifestations. Furthermore, the resistance movement, driven by nationalist sentiments, has been a pivotal aspect of Kashmir's political landscape, yet its need, quality, and success remain understudied.

Research Gap

This study aims to address the gap in understanding the historical roots of differences between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus and the efficacy of the resistance movement in Kashmir under two decades. By exploring these aspects, this research seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of Kashmir's complex history of resistance movement and politics.

Research Objectives

1. What historical, social, and political factors led to the emergence of tensions between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus?
2. What were the key circumstances that caused the shift from peaceful protests to armed resistance in the region?
3. How can the necessity, effectiveness, and overall success of the resistance movement be assessed within the framework of nationalist ideology?

Research Questions

1. How did various historical, social, and political factors contribute to the development of tensions between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus in the context of emerging nationalist sentiments?
2. How did the resistance movement in the Poonch region evolve from peaceful expressions of dissent to an organized armed struggle during the 1947–48 period?
3. How can the effectiveness and overall impact of the resistance movement in the Poonch region be assessed in terms of its quality, objectives, and contribution to the broader nationalist cause?

Rationale of the Study

The Kashmir conflict, with its complex historical, social, and political dimensions, has defied simplistic explanations and solutions. Despite extensive research, the nuances of the initial differences between Kashmiri Muslims and Hindus, and the role of nationalist ideologies in shaping the resistance movement, remain underexplored. This study seeks to fill this knowledge

gap by investigating the historical roots of these differences and evaluating the efficacy of the resistance movement.

By exploring the intricacies of Kashmir's history and politics, this research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the region's complexities. The findings of this study will provide valuable insights for policymakers, scholars, and stakeholders seeking to address the Kashmir conflict's multifaceted challenges. Moreover, this research will enrich the existing literature on nationalist movements and conflict resolution, offering a nuanced perspective on the Kashmir issue.

This study's focus on the intersection of historical differences and nationalist ideologies in the Kashmir resistance movement offers a unique perspective on the region's conflict dynamics. By examining the complex interplay between historical, social, and political factors, this research will provide a comprehensive understanding of the Kashmir issue, distinguishing it from existing studies.

Literature Review

Iffat Malik in her book *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute* introduce Kashmir as a trouble zone that frequently dominate news headlines. Often it does so in the context of Indo-Pak antagonism: the two chronically hostile neighbours poised to go to war over the Disputed region yet again. she also said that actually Kashmir is an international problem as well as an internal(between two countries) and domestic one(ethnic groups)⁷.

One of the chapter of the book Iffat Malik clearly explain the ethnic identification in Kashmir. She said that "Two main population groups can be identified as traditionally inhabiting

⁷ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), xiv.

the Kashmir valley: Kashmiri Muslims and Pandits (Kashmiri Barahmans). She also claim that in this century Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir developed distinct communal identities but originally they were united by common ‘ Kashmiri’ identity, referred to as Kashmiriyat⁸.

Kashmir have a distinct identity since decayed. During the 19th Century the Kashmiri people face difficulties in their own state. During 1846 British government sell the state of Jammu and Kashmir to Gulab Singh through an agreement known as “Amritsar Treaty”. During the Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmir the conditions become more pitiable for both Hindu and Muslims.

Saifuddin Soz discussed in his book, A small area of land called Kashmir was subject to numerous regimes, including Afghan and Sikh rule, and Kashmiris felt scared in their own country. Kashmiri encountered numerous issues with administration, political freedom, and social freedom during their rules. Kashmiri also battle against the Dogra rulers when they try to levy the high amount of taxes. The treaty of Amritsar, which was signed in 1846 by Maharaja Gulab Singh and the British, served as the last blow to the subjection of the Kashmiris. It resulted in the 1931 rebellion under the leadership of sheikh Mohammad Abdullah⁹.

Ibrahim Wani mentioned in his research article, British India was brimming with the freedom of thought and expression connected to social reform, modernization, matters of governance and civil administration, and nationalism, there was hardly any freedom of expression and public opinion in most of the Princely States. An appropriate example is the situation in Jammu

⁸ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 1-15.

⁹ Saifuddin Soz, *Kashmir Glimpses of History and Story of Struggle*, 10-20.

and Kashmir, where political association and press freedom were prohibited until 1932”¹⁰.it clearly show the pitiable condition of the Kashmiri Muslims in their own land.

Freedom of thought and expression was allowed with the recommendations of the Glancy Commission (1931-32). In October 1932, it made it easier for the All–Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (AJKMC) to be founded. It was a crucial development for political mobilization in the State and led towards the crystallization of the independence movement against the dictatorial regime.

Further in this paper Wani explain about the methods use by the leaders also shows the formation of different wings of all Jammu Kashmir Muslim conference till 1947. In this struggle, various methods of mass mobilization were adopted by the nationalist leaders. These methods included the deployment of religious idiom, pro people demand, progressive discourses in local press, nationalist poetry, and annual sessions of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (1932-1938), Azad Muslim Conference (1933-1941), and National Conference (1939-1947)¹¹.

Jammu and Poonch, two parts of Kashmir, play an important role in this freedom movement. Most of the historians and researchers wrote about the freedom struggle of Jammu but very little work is done on the services of the locals of Poonch. This little information is mentioned in the form of books and encyclopedias.

¹⁰ Ibrahim Wani, “Freedom struggle and the Methods of mass mobilization in Kashmir”, 159, available at: <https://iks.uok.edu.in/Files/3a963738-5d67-4444-aeba-edda77283c15/Journal/f1e2edf0-a63b-4d3d-b9e1-894363a57606.pdf> (Accessed on February 15, 2024).

¹¹ Ibrahim Wani, “Freedom Movement and the Methods of Mass Mobilisation in Kashmir”, available at: <https://iks.uok.edu.in/Files/3a963738-5d67-4444-aeba-edda77283c15/Journal/f1e2edf0-a63b-4d3d-b9e1-894363a57606.pdf> (Accessed on July 23,2024).

The book by Mirza Shafique Hussain contains all the significant and official papers and reports published by the All-Jammu Kashmir Muslim conference. Additionally, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah's detailed speech from the AJKMC's Poonch division's 5th annual session is included in this book. This session recorded with the data such address and date in the "Kashmir" a weekly newspaper published in Muzaffarabad (14-20 April 1981). Because the third part of the addressee is unviable, the book's inclusion of this crucial historical information is incomplete¹².

The above-mentioned book also encodes the famous incident of the Poonch happened during khilafat movement period. This incident of disrespecting their religious sentiments created a sense of freedom in the locals of the Poonch. The agitation of the Poonch Muslims and the result clearly shows them a way 'how to get their rights'. So, this political awareness helped them latter in 1932 to standup with the formation of the independent political party.

Another book also encodes a small chapter on the services of the locals of the Poonch. Its clearly mentioned that above 60,000 men from Poonch was in British army and they fight in different sectors against the Dogra army during 1947-48 when armed struggle starts throughout the Kashmir¹³.

This book also includes the problems during the time of the accession with the reference of Kashmiri people. On page 87 its stated that, on 22 June 1947 a secret meeting organized by the president of Muslim conference in Rawalakot. In this conference an armed struggle against Dogra army was suggested by the leaders. After that armed struggle was started in the different areas of the Poonch. This book also highlights the important personalities of the Poonch like col. Khan

¹² Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri muslimano ke syasi jadojihad*, [Urdu: Political Struggle of Kashmiri Muslims] (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985), 425-435.

¹³ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmir: Ek Sayasi Jaiza* [Urdu: Azad Kashmir: A Political Survey] (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1990), 88-93.

Muhammad khan(Palandri), Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan (Rawalakot), Sardar Abdul Qayum khan (Dhirkot/Bagh), Cap Hussain khan & Lt. Rahmat Ullah khan (Rawalakot) with small amount of information¹⁴.

In his article former president of Azad Kashmir Sardar Masood khan also mention that the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri Muslims not started from 1947 as most of the world considered but it was started 200 years ago from 1832 at the region of Poonch (Mang) when the skin of Sabaz Ali khan and Malli khan pilled off from their bodies when they were alived. This shows the importance of this historical place Mong from where the freedom struggle movement of Kashmir start from 1832¹⁵.

Iffat Malik mentioned in her book “In education also, the Muslims lagged far behind the Hindu community. There were few opportunities for them to acquire an education, and even where these existed the Muslims were at least initially very slow to make use of them. As a consequence very few were employed in the state administration”¹⁶.

Lamb writes in his book that by August 1947 “The communal situation in Jammu, the one part of the state where there was a large non- Muslim population, had deteriorated rapidly with Banda of armed Hindus and Sikhs attacking Muslim villages and setting in train a mass exodus. It has been estimated that in August, September and October 1947 at least 500,000 Muslims were displaced from Jammu: perhaps as many as 200,000 of them just disappeared”¹⁷.

¹⁴ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmir: Ek Sayasi Jaiza*, 87.

¹⁵ Sardar Masood Khan, Available at: <https://images.app.goo.gl/MaifKAsAVz56ZQjH6> (Accessed on February 20, 2024).

¹⁶ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2002), 26.

¹⁷ Alastair Lamb, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy (1846-1990)* (UK: Oxford University Press, 1991), 123.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Pakistan published in a paper about the Jinnah visit to Kashmir. They claimed that Jinnah made four visit to Kashmir in which Two visit was the low profile (1926 and 1929) and Two was the high profile (1936 and 1944)¹⁸.

Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, founder of Azad Jammu and Kashmir narrated in his book about the conditions of the Kashmiri Muslims with different aspects like education, economy, politics and in context of basic rights. Ibrahim Khan commented on the pitiable condition of the people and discuss their relations with the Dogra rulers to create the better sense of understanding for the readers. He talks about the historical importance of the Poonch Region. He said that Dogra army and rulers always got difficulty to established their government in Poonch Region. People of Poonch always deny the power of the Dogra rulers. So the Dogra Raj established in Poonch with the help of Dogra army. They catch their leaders and peel off their skin in front of the public. There are some places where these horrible crimes toil place¹⁹.

Al Jazeera published one of his article “Noting this growing spirit of revolt among the Muslim community, in 1931, the Dogras approved the formation of three political parties in the valley Kashmiri Pundits Conference, Hindu Sabha in Jammu, and Sikhs’ Shiromani Khalsa Darbar. This meant only non-Muslim groups were allowed political representation in the valley, leaving the majority of the population without an official political party. While the suffering of the Muslim working class was immense under the Dogra rule, their situation did not get any better following

¹⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Jammu and Kashmir Dispute”, Available at: <https://mofa.gov.pk/jammu-and-kashmir-dispute> (Accessed on February 26, 2024).

¹⁹ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga* [Urdu: Kashmir Saga] (Rawalpindi: Martial printing Press), 9.

Britain's departure from the Indian subcontinent and partition of colonial India into two nation-states"²⁰.

Balraj Puri wrote in his Article about the role of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and his political struggle during the 1931-47 in detail. At that time the formation of the political party for the Muslims and then talk about the unity among the communities explain in details²¹.

Om Prakash wrote in his article "The politics of Kashmir in the early years of 1930's was divided into two major factions – the progressive and forward looking group of Sheikh Abdullah and conservative and orthodox group of Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yusuf Shah. Both the group were involved in fierce Diatribe against each other which affected the freedom movement to Gain political; social and economic rights. Such factional groups Among the Muslim, the discouraging and ill attitude of non-Muslims Towards the Muslims and the non-progressive element in the Muslim Conference i.e. Ahmadiyya, Mirwaiz Hamadan, had made it difficult to the movement to succeed²².

There are several texts that show the importance of the freedom struggle movement of Kashmir. In this study primary focus will be on the uprising of the freedom movement in kashmir along with study of the historical facts of that time. Previous studies focus on encoding the details of the start of the freedom movement in the Kashmir. This study may be helpful to provide the

²⁰ Tamoghna Halder, "Kashmir's Struggle did not start in 1947 and will not end today", Aljazeera, August 15, 2019, available at: <https://aje.io/mq8hl> (Accessed on March 03, 2024).

²¹ Balraj Puri, "The Era of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah", Economic and political weekly 18, Issue No. 06 (Feb.5, 2024), Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4371826> (Accessed on March 07, 2024).

²² Om Prakash, "Freedom Movement and Emergence of Secular Politics in Kashmir(1932-40)"Indian History Congress, volume.62 (2001), 494, Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44155793> (Accessed on March15, 2024).

information related to the services of the liberators and success of this struggle. Kashmir's struggle didn't start in 1947 or not end that day.

Theoretical Framework

The ambition of the study is to complement the analyses, and use theocratic avenues which may show how political variables have caused the conflicts. Obviously there are several possible analytical approaches to the conflicts in Jammu and Kashmir, as also to the subject of violent political conflicts and separatism in more general terms. And though the primary concern of this study to explain a particular case (resistance movement) of violent separatism.

Theories of the conflict, violence, and separatism that use culturally specific traits as explanatory components usually emphasize the role of ethnicity or ethnic factors. This field of enquiry produced a variety of suggestions and suppositions. It is widely argued that conflicts such as the one in Jammu and Kashmir are ethnic in nature, and rooted in cultural differences. As the literature on ethnicity has expanded, so has the usage of the concept. Different authors have discussed a range of phenomena under the labels "ethnic" and "ethnic conflicts".

It may be less problematical when ethnic conflicts are used only to identify patterns of mobilization in politics. In such cases the concept is used quite broadly, usually referring to languages, religion or race. But ethnic conflicts have also come to be used as a general label of movements/agitations with diverse political goals. What we see here is a usage moving from the descriptive to the explanatory, so I do my best to elucidate these underlying assumptions on the casual role of ethnicity.

‘Primordialism’ has often been used to denote the view of ethnic identity as ‘attachments derived from the place of birth, kinship, relationships, religion, languages and social practices’ or something that is primarily based on descent. These ‘core features’ are said to be acquired at birth, they persist through time and are sometimes claimed to provide the basis for understanding the rise and development of nations.

More crucial differences appear when we look at how some theorists have tried to explain violence and separatism. It is useful, I would argue, to imagine a spectrum of views within a category of theorists who agree that ethnicity is, to a large extent, the prime mover in a causal chain that leads to violence. At the moderate end we find a position that shows some traits of historical determinism. In other words, it is said that an area that has been conflict-ridden in the past is likely to stay so.

Primordialism is the idea that nations or ethnic identities are fixed, natural, and ancient. Primordialists argue that each individual has a single inborn ethnic identity independent of historical processes.

Theory is applied to understand some types of the practical phenomena. The main theory which is used in this study is primordialism which is edited / contributed by the Harold Isaacs in his book “idols of the tribe” (1975). He mentions the existence of a basic group identity which, for everyone, is the result of being born into a group at a certain historical time. There are several elements which contribute to the basic identity of each person: The physical body (which includes skin color, size, type of hair and facial traits), The person’s name (an individual name, a family name, and a group name), The language one learns first to speak, and with which one discovers the world, The religion one is indoctrinated into, The history and origins of the group one is born

into, One's nationality, or ethnic affiliation, The geography of the place of birth, The culture that one inherits. The phenomenon of Nationalism is clearly understood with the help of ethnic, religious, cultural, family, language, and environmental affiliations.

Methodology

This research is based on an analytical study that critically examines both primary and secondary sources to understand the resistance movement in Kashmir from 1931 to 1948. The primary sources include official reports, government documents, archival materials, contemporary newspapers, letters, and speeches of the key political leaders of the time. These sources provide first-hand information and original perspectives on the events. In addition, a wide range of secondary sources such as scholarly books, journal articles, and research theses have been consulted to frame the historical context, interpret primary data, and engage with existing academic debates. By systematically analyzing these diverse sources, the study identifies patterns, underlying causes, and the political dynamics of the movement, employing a critical lens rather than merely describing the events. Thus, this analytical methodology allows for a deeper evaluation of historical narratives and interpretations relevant to the Kashmir resistance movement.

Delimitations of the Study

To examine the struggle of the individuals involved in the independence movement, a small area of Poonch Division has been selected for this study as a sample. To gather information on the freedom history and struggle, a select group of residents will be interviewed. The researcher also chooses a particular time frame to better define the subject for readers and to ensure accuracy. With

the aid of solid primary data, knowledge will be completely enhanced in the constrained space within the objective's diameters.

Organization of the Study

To make it easy for the reader's research study will be divided into five chapters.

The first chapter deals with the introduction of the study. In this chapter the design of study will be drawn, chapter will include the research objectives along with the basic structure of the research. A short and brief literature review also added in this chapter to gain the interest of the readers in respective field of the study. On the other hand, Theatrical approach also elaborated to clear the domain of the research.

The second includes the historical background of the study before 1931 as it lays the ground for the further study. This chapter includes detailed information of different time periods from the very start of Hindu rule on Kashmir. This chapter also highlights the social conditions and basic rights given to the locals before the 1931. This chapter highlights a journey of their political and social struggle whom lead to the formation of political organizations in the future.

The third chapter describes the small level agitations whom lead to the big revolt and light up the situation make stronger the political awareness of local people for their rights. Specially the formation of political parties as a political platform and role of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference and other political organizations studied in detail. Hindu Muslim Unity effected by the concept of nationalism is also discussed in details.

The Fourth chapter also covers the historical conflicts and political developments till 1947, it includes political struggle of the political parties, this chapter is important because at that time

the concept of nationalism got stronger. Emerging conflicts (campaigns' lead by the political parties) during forties discussed in details.

The fifth chapter deals with the armed struggle of the locals against Dogra rule during 1947-48. how the peace full protest of the peaceful Kashmiri people went in to armed struggle nitrates beautifully.

At the end of study, conclusion will be drawn along with the research gap for the upcoming researchers. In this summary, findings of the research, conclusions and recommendations will be drawn clearly.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In the early era during Hindu rulers it is difficult to talk about the situation of the social and economical conditions of the people of Kashmir. At that time, it's all upon leader's personality. And the leadership totally depend upon the personality of the rulers. During 715- 752 AD a famous ruler of Kashmir named Lalitaditya was in power. It is discussed in history, when he became ruler the condition of Kashmir was pitiable. So he tries to enforce peace and quality and maintain a good government. He went up to the Central Asia and came back through Tibet in Kashmir²³.

It is clear the life of Hindu rulers was very simple and they were connected to their public. They were fully aware that their life is connected to their public. During 1310- 1553 AD there were two local rulers who ruled over Kashmir. During 1515- 1718 AD Mughals were the rulers of Kashmir. Later from 1718-1819 AD Afghans (This Afghan Tribe later start the resistance against Dogras in 1832 and 1940 and also fought the war of 1947) become the rulers of Kashmir. It is clear that at least 500 years in Kashmir rulers were Independent. In the start of fourteenth century political changes happened in Kashmir when the Prince of Tibet got shelter from Kashmiri ruler. Later when the ruler was out of the town prince become the ruler through cheating. Later the prince accepted Islam as a religion. And the government of kashmir went under non Kashmiri rulers²⁴.

These rulers remain in power till one and half Century. The most famous ruler of that Century was king Zain-ul-Abdien. During his time period a lots of Kashmiri Pandits migrated to words the Punjab and other Hindustani areas. In his time period most of the factories were started

²³ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga* [Urdu: Kashmir Saga] (Rawalpindi: Martial printing Press),5.

²⁴ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 5-6.

for example paper factory, Resham manufacturing and Kashmiri shawls. Due to equal policies for all cast and religions he become popular in his public²⁵.

During 1750 Ahmad shah Durani attack on Kashmir and become the ruler. His rule on the Kashmir was very arrogant. Religious violence and disorder was in whole Kashmir. Kashmiri Muslims specially Hindus were very effected from his miss ruling. In the year of 1819 Sikh come to the Kashmir and take the rule from Afghans. They defeated Afghan governor and become the new rulers of Kashmir (Sikhs ruler belong to Punjab). From 1819 to 1846 Sikh were the rulers of Kashmir²⁶.

Sikh were not interested to rule properly in Kashmir. They always send a governor from Punjab. In 1819 Kashmir came under the Sikh ruler and sheikh Imam-ud-deen was the First Governor of the Kashmir. During 1846 Maharaja Gulab Singh become the rulers with the help and support of British government. During the Early Five years of Muslim rulers most of the Kashmiri people accepted Islam as their religion. So the most of the public of Kashmir were Muslims.

History of Dogra rule will be incomplete if we will not discuss the Treaty of Amritsar held in 1846 between. Maharaja Gulab Singh and the British government. According to this treaty the state of Jammu and Kashmir sell to Gulab Singh by British government. According to this treaty, agreement finalized in just 75 lakh rupees for the area of Kashmir valley. (Other areas of the state

²⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 6-7.

²⁶ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 7.

of Jammu and Kashmir like Poonch, Jammu, and Ladakh were not included). These areas won by the Maharaja after a strong resistance and war²⁷.

The Honble the East India Company
 having received from H. H. Maharaja Gulab
 Singh the sum of ~~Rs~~ 5,00,000, seven
 five lakhs, in payment of the amount
 guaranteed by the 11th article of the treaty
 between the Honble Company and His Highness
 dated 15th March 1846, this
 single receipt is hereby given by the
 Board of Administration for the Affairs of
 the Punjab, at the request of His Highness
 Jowla Sahib, in addition to the receipts
 already given to His Highness Agents, by the
 Agency Officers, for the instalments
 taken from time to time between the date
 of the treaty, and the 11th March 1846, the
 day on which the last instalment was
 paid into the Lahore Treasury -

C. Hardinge
 15th March 1846

Figure #. Original receipt of the transfer of Kashmir by Lord Hardinge to Gulab Singh, 1846. Described the Treaty among Maharaja Gulab Singh and British Government, published by the Wikipedia, 2024. [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Amritsar_\(1846\)](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Amritsar_(1846)).

²⁷ "Treaty of Amritsar (1846)", Wikipedia, available at: [https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Amritsar_\(1846\)](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Amritsar_(1846)). (Accessed on May 26, 2024).

At that time Britishers were not aware about the geographical importance of the Kashmir and they think Amritsar Treaty is very important. On the other hand, they take Gulab Singh as the best ally in the south. In the agreement there was no discussion about the British resident in Kashmir so Maharaja Gulab Singh start resistance for it. but later in 1851 maharaja agreed for the appointment of a British officer in Kashmir²⁸.

Gulab Singh died in 1847, and was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh, who after his death in 1885 was in turn succeeded by his son Pratap Singh. Pratap Singh had no sons so he appoints one of his nephew Deyan Singh a Poonch descendants as his heir. The British, however, preferred his nephew, Hari Singh. Their support ensured that when Pratap Singh died in 1925, it was indeed Hari Singh who become Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. In 1935-36 Poonch, which had almost been a state in its own right, become an integral part of Jammu and Kashmir. The acquisition of Poonch marked the last stage in the formation of the pre-partition State of Jammu and Kashmir²⁹.

Educational Facilities

In Jammu, Dogras benefited from their kinship with the ruling family. They held the best positions in both the military and civil services While traditionally renowned for their fighting abilities. They were also the major landowners of the state. In contrast the Pandits were renowned for their intelligence. When a bureaucracy was introduced by the Ranbir Singh, officials had to be drawn from the Punjab because so few locals possessed the necessary qualifications³⁰.

²⁸ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 11.

²⁹ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 9.

³⁰ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 15.

The Pandits were quick to cover their weaknesses. Therefore, in 1906 at Sirinagar a college was formed later named as the Sri Pratap college, then campaigned successfully for the state employment to be restricted to the state subjects only. Although the Pandits do not considered Hari Singh as one of their own. But they feel that the Dogras rule is better then Muslims rule, and the Dogras are their own against the danger of Muslim aggression.

By throwing mid twenties this situation had improved somewhat in that the Muslims had become aware of the importance of education, initially Muslims demand for more educational opportunities and facilities were rejected but in 1916 an educational officer with the government of India, was asked by the State to examine the Muslim conditions. Although the recommendations of sharp's report were accepted by the Maharaja, but not implemented practically because his minister refused to do so³¹.

Economical Conditions

The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir were backward in almost every sense. Economically, high taxes paid by the Muslims and the ban on Kashmiri landownership, the corruption by the officials, ensured that Kashmiri never become the advance. These high taxes by the Hari Singh set to recover the 75 lacs he had paid the British for Kashmir. In education also, the Muslim lagged far behind the Hindu communities. There were few opportunities for them to get education. As a consequence very few were employed in the state administration³². In the form of official discrimination Muslims faced a ban on crown slaughter, and a ban on the khutba and property disqualification. It is impossible to quote the verse, and difficult even to produce the evidence.

³¹ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic conflict international dispute*, 26.

³² Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 25-26.

Early Political Activity

Hindus

Considering Jammu first, under the influence of various social and religious reforms notably the Arya Samaj, the Dogra Sabha formed there in 1903. The only demand it made was for the government to employ natives of the state rather than outsiders. Turning to Kashmir, the Pandits' success in acquiring education, and their campaign for state subject only employment. The employment campaign was principally conducted by a group formed in 1915 called the Yuvak Sabha. The Yuvak Sabha, though it did engage in politics, did not advocate radical reform³³.

The Bishen Sabha, reflected his liberal views on some religious practices, on the other hand the one that persisted in to the twentieth century was the Dharma Sabha. In contrast to the Bishen Sabha it was strictly orthodox in its approach to religion, it was strongly in favour of Hindus. After Kaul's death Dharma Sabha became more conservative, in 1930s it aimed to reform Hindu society, not only by allowing widows to remarry but also by encouraging women's education. Later the name of the organization changed in to the Sanatan Dharma Young Men's Association³⁴.

Muslims

The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir divided in to two groups, on the basis of two traditional religious leaders. These were the Mirwaiz of the Jama masjid in Srinagar and the Mirwaiz of the Khanqah-i-Moalla, the shrine of Syed Ali Hamdani. The preaching of first group became a movement by 1901, the Mirwaiz-i-Kashmir rapidly became the most influential Muslim leader in

³³ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 27.

³⁴ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 28.

the state. The second Mirwaiz emerged when Rasul shah's puritanical was resisted by those who wanted to maintain the old traditions. A certain amount of rivalry always marked relations between the holders of these positions but this become very strange during the time of Mirwaiz Hamdani after he permitted an Ahmadia leader to preach for the Khanqah-i-Moalla. Mirza kamalul-Din was the head of the Ahmadiyya community, he visited Jammu and Kashmir in 1924³⁵. Kamalul-Din stress was on the Unity of the Muslims. It'd indirect relevance was to close, movements or reforms made by these leaders gave Muslims a greater sense of self- consciousness as a religious community. Secondly, for the first time in Jammu and Kashmir's history, the States Muslims were united behind a single leader(Rasul shah)³⁶.

The other activities were educational, Anjuman-i-Nusratul- Islam was formed in 1905 to promote both religions and modern education among Muslims. Anjuman was organised into communities and council's setup new schools and also take charge of running the institutions. In 1920s, the Anjuman turned its efforts towards social reforms, but achieved little success. It was succeeded by many others Associations active with in the Muslim community in Jammu and Kashmir. Mirwaiz-i-Kashmir and Khanqah-i-Moalla were directly involved in Kashmiri politics. The Mirwaiz involvement in the politics was to increase overtime and the rivalry between their followers carried out into the political arena³⁷.

There was not an official organization, rather it consisted of growing numbers of leading Muslims who periodically put forward lists of demands for the betterment of the Muslim community. The

³⁵ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 29.

³⁶ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 30.

³⁷ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 31.

First memorandum concerned the educational backwardness of Muslims. Their demand was that a Muslim officer be appointed head of the educational Department³⁸.

The following year they passed the second memorandum. Besides better education, it pressed for greater Muslim employment in the state services, and for the appointment of two Muslim minister. The Third Memorandum in 1924 was presented to the viceroy himself, during his visit to Jammu and Kashmir. Apart from changing in silk factory, and complain about education and employment, it demands land reforms, abolition of beggar system³⁹. Hand over all the government Masque to the community, and a representative Legislative Assembly. The response was to punish three of the Representatives by confiscating their property. (Signatories to the memorandum were hounded by the police. Khawaja Saduddin shawl was arrested and banished from the state. Khawaja Noor shah Naqshbandi, son of Khawaja Hassan, was forced to resign from the post of tehsildar. Agha Syed Hussain Jallali was removed from the post of Territory officer. The rest of the Signatories, who submitted apologies, were mildly reprimanded.

The various efforts to promote education among Muslims bore fruit in the 1920s when the first Kashmiri degree-holders began returning to the state, graduated from institutions in British India such as the Aligarh Muslim university. During the course of their education many of them experience new liberal views as well as various political movements across the India. Returning to Jammu and Kashmir they found them selves back under a feudal regime. Group of these students start meetings at the house of Fateh kadal sirinagar, and organised a Fatah kadal Reading room Party⁴⁰.

³⁸ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 31.

³⁹ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 31.

⁴⁰ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 32.

Articles were written by members, highlighting Muslim grievances, were published in British Indian Muslim newspapers such as *Siyasat* and *Muslim Outlook*. When government banned these from the state, they used another paper, *Inqilab* and after that was also banned they started printing pamphlets⁴¹.

In 1930 the reading room issued a memorandum to the Regency council running Jammu and Kashmir. The council invited them to represent their case. For this process Muhammad Abdullah was chosen by the Organization. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah a well educated Muslim Kashmiri was also effected by the government discrimination against Muslims. His political activism started in Lahore with the publication of the letter listing Muslim grievances in *Muslim Outlook*. He also got involved in *fateh kadal* Reading Room meetings. While the 1930 meeting with the Regency Council produced no results, Sheikh Abdullah, went on to play a very prominent role in Kashmiri politics⁴².

A similar organization to the *fateh kadal* Reading Room party was formed in Jammu in 1922. The party named as Young Men's Muslim Association, it's aims were identical to those of the reading room, to improve the conditions of the Muslim community. One of its leading man was Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas was the future prominent leader in Jammu and Kashmir.

Before 1930, there was the absence of communalism in Kashmir. The differences and disputes between the Hindus and Muslims over some Shrines did not result into communal riots. The absence of religious discard in Kashmir is also attested by the foreign administrators and

⁴¹ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 32.

⁴² Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 33.

travellers. They Wrote about the absence of communal strife and the presence of toleration Among the communities in the region.

Role of Press in Resistance Movement of Jammu and Kashmir

Since there was no press freedom in the State at the time of the popular uprising in 1931, no newspapers of any kind could be published. In June 1924, a public-spirited Dogra youth by the name of L. Mulk Raj Saraf received a special permit to establish a weekly (the Ranbir) from Jammu. After receiving repeated rejections in the beginning for a number of years. Despite significant difficulty, Mr. Saraf's business acumen allowed the publication to be published for roughly six years. it was obvious that fighting was necessary to protect the birth right of press freedom. Nobody ever received it willingly from an autocratic government. If we look at the history of press in Jammu and Kashmir; it has got a chequered history. In the year of 1867 Bidya Bilas weekly pro- government was started in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In the first half of the 20th century, no publication was permitted. We have discussed above that in 1924 first public newspaper Ranbir was started. However, some magazines were issued but these could not continue possibly due to the discouragement by the state authorities. The newspapers of the Punjab Muslim press, which highlighted and exposed the government's anti-Muslim practices, amplified the voice of Kashmir at this time.

In order to facilitate the publication of newspapers within his own domain, Maharaja Hari Singh created the Press and Publication Act in April 1932. During the year 1932 to 1947; there were unprecedented growth of local newspapers. This played important role in the dissemination of modern concepts of democracy, secularism, and socialism among the state subjects.

There was the religious and cultural harmony in Kashmir which Led to the Kashmiriyat. There is no concrete definition of the word Kashmiriyat rather it is the uniqueness of the region and Particular qualities and principles of the people it describes. It represents Centuries old religious and cultural harmony in the religiously diverse region of Kashmir. Kashmir had established itself as the living laboratory of mutual Understanding, tolerance, amity and peaceful co-existence. Yet Kashmiriyat as a distinct and unique element of the region includes some other cultural Traits of Kashmir such as general commitment with natural beauty and home, Hospitality, sympathy and philanthropy of its people and its culture of utter Tolerance and co-existence.

In the present century when political awareness spread in Jammu and Kashmir, first of all they understand they were not given proper designation in governmental institutions because of the lack of education in the state. At that time very few Kashmiri Pandits who were educated start protest against the illegal occupation of Foreigners on their sources. A petition file in front of the Hindustani government in which a latter was sent to the Kashmir Darbar “Kashmiri residents should be on priority to allot a job in the Kashmir rather then the foreigners. The protest continues till 1912, in this time period the people of Kashmir be awaked that due to their negligence in educational field they could not got any designation in the jobs, so they start demanding the educational facilities from the government. This demand continues till 1916, until Mr. Ship commission come in to the state to take review about the problems and demands of the people. He presents some suggestions in front of government but no one noticed about it⁴³.

In 1924 Lord Reading (viceroy of India) come to the Kashmir, Kashmiri Muslims present a demand to him, in which they demand for the proper representation in governmental institutions

⁴³ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga* [Urdu: Kashmir Saga] (Rawalpindi: Martial printing Press),17.

and to abolish begar system. some of the landlords and Two Mirwaiz signatures on it but the committee take it as a foolish demand and the Signatories departed. This situation continues until 1929. At that time Serailban who was the governor of the assembly of Maharaja resigned from their post and before leaving the state he gave a speech to press,⁴⁴

“The state or Jammu and Kashmir is in pitiable conditions due to the notorious issues, in which the important issues are most of the locals in the state are uneducated and face poverty, the economical conditions of these locals are pitiable and they treat like the animals. There is no link between public and the government and no proper system introduced to present their demands to government and Maharaja. In the present time there is hardly need to improve the institutional system in the state as the whole”.

About the public advice he said,

“there is no public advice in the state. There is no press system in the state. The people of the Jammu area were better then others because they were aware about political freedom, they organised a party named as Dogra Sabha consisted of retired government servants who were in favour of the government”⁴⁵.

At the end of 1930s Young generation who were aware of the political freedom and awareness linked together with the help of Punjab press. So they worked to make an organization at the All Jammu and Kashmir level. Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz talk about same political struggle, “we feel that educated Muslim people were dissatisfied and they prepare a platform to minimize their problems. They struggle to organised themselves at the state level and these people were from

⁴⁴ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 18.

⁴⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 19.

main areas of the state. They want to protest collectively. They prepared a ground for this protest and a strong change is going to be happened in Kashmir. It becomes necessary that in sirinagar and Jammu both parties collectively formed a big political party to produce a sense of oneness in the state. Due to these struggle for the First time in 1932 Muslim Conference established by the people of the Jammu and Kashmir. The biggest purpose of that organization was to demand of the division of land equally. This agitation suppresses with the help of British Army by the Maharaja. It is clear that this agitation failed to introduce changes but play an important role to strengthen the struggle movement of Kashmir. After that a parliamentary government and a state assembly introduced in the state of Jammu and Kashmir⁴⁶.

Background is very important in each study as its clear the concepts of the readers. It is necessary to be aware about the base of the agitation. So in this chapter Background of the study is drawn, to clear the understanding about the past facts, lead to the Resistance against Dogras in 1931. That resistance movement have a history on the back. From the time of ignorance to political awareness a time period is described in very clear and logical manners. Step by step, social, political and economic factors are discussed for the readers to make the study clear and interesting. How these factors affect the situation at that time and makes the people for resistance against the Dogra rulers is also elaborated.

⁴⁶ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 24.

CHAPTER THREE

GENESIS OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE (1931-39)

Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir

The Princely State of Kashmir and Jammu (as it was then called) was constituted between 1820 and 1858 and was “somewhat artificial in composition and it did not develop a fully coherent identity, partly as a result of its disparate origins and partly as a result of the autocratic rule which it experienced on the fringes of Empire”. Figure 1⁴⁷



Figure #. Jammu and Kashmir map, uploaded by Arsalan Nisar Shah and Carlos Rodrigues Monroy, illustrating the major areas of Jammu and Kashmir specially Poonch, 2011.

https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Jammu-and-Kashmir_fig2_227415446.

⁴⁷ Carlos Rodrigues Monroy, “Jammu and Kashmir map”, Research gate, available at: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Jammu-and-Kashmir_fig2_227415446 .(Accessed on July 11, 2024).

In different times different communities ruled over Kashmir from 237 BC. In 1339, Shah Miri seized the power and crowned himself as Sultan Shams Uddin. The Shah Miri dynasty formed the first major period of Muslim rule, lasting until 1586. After this period Mongols remained the rulers of Kashmir until 1752. In 1846 Gulab Singh helped Britishers and was rewarded with the administration of the Kashmir under the Treaty of Amritsar. Britishers awarded Kashmir to Gulab Singh under this treaty and in return received from him 7,500,000 Rupees.

In education also, the Muslims lagged far behind the Hindu community. By the mid-twenties this situation had improved somewhat in that Muslims had become aware of the importance of education, and were clamoring for greater opportunities to acquire this, and for a bigger proportion of the State jobs. Initially Muslim demands for more educational facilities were rejected, but in 1916 an Educational officer with the Government of India, Sharp, was asked by the state to examine Muslim grievances. Although the recommendations of the Sharp's report were accepted by the Maharaja, this was of little practical effect because his minister refused to implement them⁴⁸.

Arya Samaj and Dogra Sabha (Hindu political communities) formed there in 1903. Turning to the Kashmir, the pundits' success in acquiring education, and their clamoring for state subject (employment). The employment campaign was principally conducted by a group formed in 1915 called the Yuvak Sabha. The Yuvak Sabha, though it did engage in politics, did not advocate radical reform. In addition, also largely influenced by the Arya Samaj, a number of reform movements emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century. Dharma Sabha, was also an organization not only to allow widows to remarry but also to encourage women's education.

⁴⁸ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga* [Urdu: Kashmir Saga]. (Rawalpindi: Martial printing Press), 18.

There was not an official organization to represent the Kashmiri Muslims. Mirwaiz-i-kashmir and Khanqah-i-Moalla were two religious organizations but slowly got involved in to the Kashmiri politics. These consisted of growing numbers of leading Muslims who periodically put forward lists of demands for the betterment of the Muslim community. The First memorandum issued by the representatives concerned the educational backwardness of Muslims. The second memorandum was about to greater Muslim employment in the state services, and for the appointment of two Muslim ministers. The third memorandum was about to land reforms, abolition of the beggar system, and setting up of a legislative Assembly. The government response was to punish three of the Representatives, by either exiling them or by confiscating their properties.

A similar organization was formed Jammu in 1922 called the young Men's Muslim association, it's aim was to improve the condition of the Muslim community. One of the leading figure was Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas who was to see prominently in later developments⁴⁹.

Despite being in a majority the Muslims were made to suffer severe oppression under Hindu rule in the form of high taxes, unpaid forced labor and discriminatory laws. Many Kashmiri Muslims migrated from the Valley to Punjab due to famine and policies of Dogra rulers. The Muslim peasantry was vast, impoverished and ruled by a Hindu elite. The Muslim peasants lacked education, awareness of rights and were chronically in debt to landlords and moneylenders, and did not organize politically until the 1930s.⁵⁰

After the 1920s, there are occasional records of local agitations in various parts of Jammu & Kashmir. After it, the political and administrative landscape underwent a significant change with the aid of several leaders. Due to the Dogra rulers' inhumane treatment to the Muslims, there are

⁴⁹ Iffat Malik, Kashmir: *Ethnic Conflict International Dispute* (UK: Oxford University Press,2002),33.

⁵⁰ Talbot and Singh "The partition of India" (UK: Cambridge university press ,2009), 54.

numerous agitations and uprisings against them in 1931 in various parts of Kashmir. It was the period when the Dogra rulers were under pressure to grant the political and social rights of the numerous Kashmiri Muslims who had been slaughtered. With the establishment of the Muslim Conference in Kashmir, Poonch residents' sense of nationalism towards their political and social rights is growing.

The politics of Kashmir in the early years of 1930's were divided into two major factions – the progressive and forward looking group of Sheikh Abdullah and conservative and orthodox group of Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yusuf Shah. Both the group were involved in fierce Diatribe against each other which affected the freedom movement to Gain political; social and economic rights. Such factional groupism Among the Muslim, the discouraging and ill attitude of the non-Muslims Towards the Muslims and the non-progressive element in the Muslim Conference i.e. Ahmadiyas, Mirwaiz Hamadani, had made it difficult to the movement to succeed.

After the Glancy commission 1931, which the Dogra kings had dispatched to Kashmir to investigate local rebellions, arrived there in 1931. Several socialist leaders also assisted the Kashmiri Muslims from the Punjab side at that time. These individuals illegally send newspapers and periodicals into Kashmir (due to the non-availability of the freedom of press). Owing to this kind of support, Kashmiri Muslims fought for their rights and established the first independent political party in Kashmir (Srinagar), the “Muslim Conference/National Conference”, under the direction of Ghulam Abbas and Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah.

Protest in 1931 (Kashmir martyr's day)

A widespread agitation throughout the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir in British Raj occurred in 1931 against the Maharaja's government. The Maharaja was forced to appoint the Glancy Commission to investigate the people's concerns. Various political reforms were adopted

including the introduction of the Jammu and Kashmir Praja Sabha (legislative assembly). The movement also saw the rise of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah as the leader of Kashmiris⁵¹.

The event of the day (13 July) were the culmination of the both recent incidents mainly involving Muslims. The incident in Jammu included the illegal demolition of the Masjid by the government, and another side banning Muslims from the praying and banning the khutba in Jammu Masjid by the police on 29 April 1931. One another incident on 4 July between a Muslim constable and Hindu supervisor in which a copy of Quran tore up taken together and create impression with in the Kashmir that Islam was being attacked by the state (Islam in danger). The results was wide spread Muslim protests by the young Men's Muslim association.⁵²

On 13 July 1931, thousands of Kashmiris flocked to the central jail in Srinagar to see the trial of Abdul Qadeer. As the time for obligatory Zohar prayer approached, a Kashmiri stood up to deliver the Adan(Azan). The Dogra governor, Raizada Tartilok Chand, ordered his soldiers to open fire on them, total 22 Kashmiris died in the firing. The violence spread to Kashmir province and Jammu; three British companies, numbering about 500 soldiers, were sent to support Maharaja Hari Singh and restore law and order. The Government was not permitting any procession or funeral. The 22 Muslims were buried in Mazar-e-Shohada, Srinagar. A widespread agitation triggered by a militant speech at the Khanqah-e-Moulain Srinagar by a Pashtun cook of a European officer occurred in the state. It resulted in the introduction of political reforms by the Maharaja.

⁵¹ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi jaddojahad*, [Urdu: Political Struggle of Kashmiri Muslims]. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985), 12-14.

⁵² Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga* [Urdu: Kashmir Saga]. (Rawalpindi: Martial printing Press), 23-24.

A Committee of Enquiry was appointed with Sir Barjor Dalal, Chief Justice as chairman, two High Court Judges one from both religions and 4 Committee Members including two Hindu and two Muslims as nominated by respective communities.⁵³ But for some reason, the Committee failed to submit any report. Hence, the Government decided to publish unilateral views on disturbance. The incident led to the rise of young Sheikh Abdullah, and his rivalry with the maharaja continued until 1947.

Muslim representatives addressed the maharajah on 15 August. They made a number of accusations against Hindus in general and the state administration and prime minister in particular, alleging that evidence given to the Riots Enquiry Committee was fabricated or suppressed. The maharaja refused to dismiss the prime minister, and rejected the Muslim leaders' allegations as "unfounded.

The Muslim leaders were dissatisfied, but they met with the prime minister on 26 August and signed an agreement to end the agitation. The meetings adopted resolutions calling for freedom of religion, the restoration of mosques and Muslim shrines, compensation for dependents of those killed or injured, and an investigation of the conduct of civil and military officers during the agitation.⁵⁴

Following the July 13 incident, two additional high court justices and a commission headed by Sir Barjor Dalal were appointed by the administration. The study submitted by the Dalal panel was rejected by the people, and Muslims refute its findings. This report was burnt by the protestors

⁵³ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi jadojahad*, [Urdu: Political Struggle of Kashmiri Muslims]. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985), 14-15.

⁵⁴ Ravinderjit Kaur, *Political Awakening in Kashmir* (APH publishing, 1996), 153.

during a public demonstration organized by the Young Men's Muslim Association on October 31, 1931.⁵⁵ In the hilly regions of Poonch, a rebellion erupts which will continue for years⁵⁶. On the demand of the public of Azad Kashmir a commission made by the British government under the supervision of B. J Glancy. This commission was established due to the struggle of All India Muslim conference and the Allama Muhammad Iqbal⁵⁷.

Glancy commission 1931-32

On the demand of the public of Kashmir a commission made by the British government under the supervision of B. J Glancy. This commission was established due to the struggle of All India Muslim conference and the Allama Muhammad Iqbal⁵⁸.

Use of the force and repressive measure by the State would not sufficient to control the population, the government began on 14 July by announcing the setting up of the commission of enquiry in to the previous day's incidents. The Dalal commission, named after the chairman Barjor Dalal, was to examine the appropriateness of the action taken by the government to deal with the disturbance. The enquiry was boycotted by the Muslims.

After the massacre of July 13, 1931, Maharaja Hari Singh appointed a Commission under an Englishman, Glancy an officer of the "foreign Affairs Ministry of the British Indian. Glancy Commission submitted its report the Maharaja on March 1932. The Hindus felt that its

⁵⁵ Mirza, Shafique Hussain. *Kashmiri muslimano ke Sayasi jadojahad*, [Urdu: political struggle of Kashmiri Muslims]. (Islamabad: National institute of historical and cultural research, 1985), 15.

⁵⁶ Mohammad Junaid, "Kashmir: A Historical Time line", ADI Magazine, 2020, Available at: <https://adimagazine.com/articles/kashmir-a-historical-timeline/> (Accessed on April 26,2024).

⁵⁷ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 15.

⁵⁸ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi jadojahad*, 16.

recommendations were not in favour to the interests their community, and ousted from the president ship of the Santana.

The prominent members of the Glancy commission were⁵⁹: Mr. B. J Glancy (political department of India) as Saddar of the commission, Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Ashai as Muslim representatives (Kashmir), Pundit Preim Nath Bajaj as Hindu representatives (Kashmir), Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas Khan as Muslim representatives (Jammu), Mr. Lock Nath Sharma as Hindu representatives (Jammu).

The commission dismissed some Muslim complaints, for example concerning the apostasy law, but generally upheld those concerning taxes (especially land revenue), the beggar system, corruption among officials and the lack of state employment. On the subject of education, it looks Muslims to take greater opportunities and advantages provided by thy government. The most important recommendation was that the government make efforts to ensure all communities were fairly represented in the state services. The Maharaja accepted all the recommendations of the commission.

Glancy Commission recommends the establishment of a legislative assembly, called the Praja Sabha. It would have 75 members, with 15 official representatives, 33 elected representatives and the remaining seats held by the Maharaja's nominees. Of the 33 elected seats, 21 are reserved for Muslims, 10 for Hindus and 2 for Sikhs.

Commission start working in November and submit report on April 1932. The Maharaja accepted these recommendations but delayed implementation, leading to protests in 1934. The

⁵⁹ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 16.

Maharaja granted a constitution providing a legislative assembly for the people, but it was powerless⁶⁰.

Muslims of Kashmiri origin living in the Punjab had been taking a keen interest in development in their native state for some time. After 1931 they organized themselves into a formal group called the All-India Muslim Kashmir committee. The president of the new organization was Mirza Bashir Ahmad (Ahmadiyya community). Its other leading member was Muhammad Iqbal, the Muslim poet and philosopher. The main aim of the Kashmir committee was to seek attention of the British Indian government towards the Kashmiri Muslims. The main significance of the Kashmir committee was its encouragement of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to mobilize politically. It was one of the main force behind the formation of the Muslim Conference⁶¹.

A separate organization The All-India States People's was set up in 1927, the aim of the organization was to achieve responsible government in the States through representative's institution and retain the ruling prince as nominal heads of the state. During the Early 1930s, those involved in the nationalist movement in British India began taking an interest in political developments in Jammu and Kashmir. The event of 13 July, helped to draw their attention to the state.

All Jammu Kashmir Muslim Conference

All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference founded by Sheikh Abdullah in collaboration with Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas to fight for the rights of State's Muslims. Before the formation of Muslim Conference, a very significant development had taken place. It was the appointment of an Enquiry Commission under B. J. Glancy on November 12, 1931. The purpose of the Commission

⁶⁰ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 28.

⁶¹ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 17.

was to enquire into the grievances of the different communities of the State. In response to the report submitted by the Commission, the Maharaja by and large accepted all the Glancy recommendations of the Commission. So according to the speech of Zahoor Ahmad in July 1932 when sheikh Mohammed Abdullah come to the Lahore, they prepared scheme along with the help of Bashir-ud-Deen Mahmood, “All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference held in Sirinagr in which each and every part of the state and class give equal representation and later make it a proper political platform for the People of Kashmir”.⁶²

However, many of these either remained simply paper-edicts or were not properly implemented. Thus for a long time the focus of the demands of the Muslim Conference was to press for the proper implementation of what was recommended by the Commission. History is witness to the fact that every freedom struggle had reached to its culmination only after proper guidance by its leaders and movement. The movement could achieve its logical goal only if the movement and its leaders are pro-people. The Muslim conference was a pro-people and secular organization because its programme and goals were the reflection of the former⁶³.

The 1st session of Muslim conference continue for the five days in Srinagar Masjid. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah appreciate the Glancy commission report and also nitrate that government didn't make proper implementations according to the commission report. They ask for the freedom of press and plate form they also talk for the rights of Poonch locals and suggestions to make a committee comprised of fifty Members⁶⁴.

⁶² Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, [Urdu: Political Struggle of Kashmiri Muslims]. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985), 19.

⁶³ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 20.

⁶⁴ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 21.

Formation of independent Muslim Conference

Molana Muhammad Yousef shah formed a political organization against sheik Muhammad Abdullah. Party supported by the traders and landlords of the Kashmir. The First and last session of Azad Muslim conference held in Srinagar on 1st December 1933⁶⁵.

The Second session of Muslim conference under the supervision of sheikh Mohammed Abdullah held in Mirpur on 15/16 and 17th December 1933. Allama Muhammad Iqbal was also invited to the session but they couldn't attend and apologize with a letter. Sheik Muhammad Abdullah appeal to the Muslims to unite and ask for the Muslim representation according to the weightage⁶⁶.

Mir vaiz Muhammad Yousef shah pronounce 6 members from Azad Muslim Conference for the upcoming elections. In these elections Muslim conference win the 16 seats out of 21 seats against Azad Muslim conference and defeated Mir Vaiz party⁶⁷.

After the formation of state assembly 3rd session of Muslim conference held in soopore on 11, 12 and 13 November 1934. Main Ahmad Yar Khan supervise the session. Almost 2lack people attend this session. In this session ask for the rights and demands of the Muslim in Kashmir⁶⁸.

Political awearness

Kashmir is a land of liberators, martyrs, and veterans. This small piece of land is not only beautiful, but it also has a rich history. There were 562 princely states, including Kashmir, in

⁶⁵ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi jadojahad*, 23.

⁶⁶ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi jadojahad*, [Urdu: Political Struggle of Kashmiri Muslims]. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1985), 291-307.

⁶⁷ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 30.

⁶⁸ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi jadojahad*, 31.

colonial India during the time of British dominion over the continent. Even by the end of the 1920s, there were no political organizations in these princely realms, which made them politically, administratively, and socially underdeveloped. Jammu & Kashmir's situation serves as an illustration because there were no political organizations there until 1932.

After the 1920s, there are occasional records of local agitations in various parts of Jammu & Kashmir. After it, the political and administrative landscape underwent a significant change with the aid of several leaders.

Due to the Dogra rulers' inhumane treatment to the Muslims, there are numerous agitations and uprisings against them in 1931 in various parts of Kashmir. It was the period when the Dogra rulers were under pressure to grant the political and social rights of the numerous Kashmiri Muslims who had been slaughtered. With the establishment of the Muslim Conference in Kashmir, Poonch residents' sense of nationalism towards their political and social rights is growing.

After the Glancy commission 1931, which the Dogra kings had dispatched to Kashmir to investigate local rebellions, arrived there in 1931. Several socialist leaders also assisted the Kashmiri Muslims from the Punjab side at that time. These individuals illegally send newspapers and periodicals into Kashmir (due to the non-availability of the freedom of press). Owing to this kind of support, Kashmiri Muslims fought for their rights and established the first independent political party in Kashmir (Srinagar), the "Muslim Conference/National Conference", under the direction of Ghulam Abbas and Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah.

Sheik Muhammad Abdullah start the visit of Punjab to know about the Hindu politics. They impressed with the vision of congress. During the Lahore press conference, he said there should

be no Hindu Muslim fights. In 1933 Muslim conference organized a committee to unite the Hindu and Muslims at one platform. Bajaj help in this regard⁶⁹.

In the same time 4th session is organized by the leaders. This session is held in Srinagar masjid on 25/26 and 27th of October 1935 under the supervision of Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas⁷⁰. At that time a small conflict among the leadership of Muslim conference began to flourish. Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas recently released from the prison and dissatisfied with the decision of Sheik Muhammad Abdullah to participate in elections. Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas wrote in his biography:

When I come out from the prison in 1935, the situation had changed. People were mean spirited; the party organization didn't even have a name or sign. Dissatisfaction against the sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was quickly created among the general Muslims, especially the youth, Due to the indifference to his movement and later his participation in the elections⁷¹.

Re-organization of Muslim Conference and Hindu-Muslim unity

After the fourth session of the Muslim conference reconstruction of the organization take place. There was need to unite Muslims along with the Hindi community at one platform (Muslim conference). So at that time massive political visits organized from Jammu to Srinagar. During that time 20 session were done and at least 1lack Muslims got talked. On the other hand, Hindi community also try to overcome the tension. So at July 1936 Kashmiri Muslims Hindu and Sikhs

⁶⁹ Mirza Shafique Hussain. *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*,32-35.

⁷⁰ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 35.

⁷¹ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 37.

organize a new party “youth league” to unite the Hindu and Muslims. They also made” Kashmir student union” without any difference between Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs⁷².

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Kashmir (1936)

In 1936 there was no annual session of Muslim league but Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah went to Kashmir for visiting purpose. In the same visit Jinnah meet Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas for the first time. On the third June Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah invited to panther Masjid Srinagar and Mr. Jinnah address to the people. In his address Jinnah said

I am not aware from the problem of the people of Kashmir so I didn't make any suggestion but I said you should always respect the other communities and make them believe on yourself for the protection of their rights and equality and it is the duty of majority⁷³.

Jinnah's visit to Kashmir in May 1936 and his advocacy for the Hindu-Muslim unity helped the radical forces in the state. He said: “I Am sure that after Hindus and Muslims are united it will take a long Time for the people in British India to rule over Hindustan.”²⁵ Such Views strengthened the hands of nationalist and seculars.

Fifth session of all Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference held at Poonch on the demand of the political leaders of the Poonch⁷⁴. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was the president of the session. Session continue till 3 days and in this session Muhammad Abdullah cover all the sensitive

⁷² Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 39- 40.

⁷³ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 40.

⁷⁴ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*,41.

problems of the public. he emphasis to get education and also demand for the College and Hospital for the area. University were also in demand along with the Archeological Institute⁷⁵.

Yolk Saba and Poonch incident

At that time all political leaders including Muslims and Hindu try to overcome the tention among their communities. But at next month there were conflicts among both communities. From the Hindu Community Pundit Shiv Narain were responsible for the situation. At the same time an incident related to blasfamy rise, sheikh Muhammad Abdullah try to relax the Muslims and Hindus but some Muslims burnt the Hindu temple at Poonch⁷⁶.

At that time Sheik Muhammad Abdullah was aware of the situation. He understands that Kashmir didn't get freedom until the unity among Hindu and Muslims restore. If the Hindu and Muslims try collectively then they stand against the Dogra raj. On the other hand, the opponents of the nationalism didn't understand the Sheik Muhammad Abdullah. They think Muhammad Abdullah pay to much attention to the Hindu community. The opponents were not against the Hindu community but they think Hindu and Muslims are two separate nations. They were feared that Muslims lose their identity⁷⁷.

In this alarming situation sixth session of Muslim conference held in Jammu under the supervision of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. In this session Sheik Muhammad Abdullah talk about the future problems and difficulties⁷⁸. In his address he asked for the responsible government in the Kashmir. Sheik Muhammad Abdullah suggest that Hindu community should also be members of the Muslim

⁷⁵ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 41-42.

⁷⁶ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 42-43.

⁷⁷ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 45-46.

⁷⁸ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 46.

conference. He said that most of the Muslims think that Hindu community are in good position but they are wrong. They also face problems like us. If the Muslim conference make any good relations with them it will be good for the Future. 1937 All Kashmir Students Federation was formed with Pandit Kashi Nath Banzai as the president and Md. Sultan as the secretary. Its main objective²⁰ was to train the students in good citizenship and Create among them a feeling for their political, social and economic Conditions.

On October 4, 1937 the Mazdoor Sabha organized a grand Procession of the laborers and peasants. The red banners and flags contained slogans viz., ‘*Slavery IS A Curse*’, ‘*Slavery Doesn’t Profess Any Religion*’, ‘*Give Bread to The Hungry, Clothes to the Naked*’ etc. Sheikh Abdullah spoke on the occasion,

The laborers both Hindus and Muslims, become equally the prey of capitalists. The peasants and laborers fill the state treasury with blood and sweat and the money is spent on others. Now the time is fast approaching when a united Front of all laborers and peasants will be organized.

Thus the Contribution of Mazdoor Sabha in teaching the people to fight on the Economic issues by separating religion from politics.

Formation of National Conference

In January 1938 Sheikh Abdullah -Nehru Meeting discussed about The prospect of changing the character of Kashmir Freedom Movement. Pandit Nehru suggested to open the door of Muslim Conference for The non-Muslims. Impressed by Nehru’s opinion, Sheikh Abdullah Convinced his party that there was no alternative to recognizing the Movement on national lines and to replacing

the Muslim Conference by a national organization. The Nehru-Abdullah meet was criticized as a “political bargaining” and “a conspiracy injurious to the interests Of the Muslim population in the state”⁷⁹.

In August 1938 the manifesto of National Demand was issued in Order to awaken the people to their fundamental rights. It asked for a Responsible legislature based on joint electorate with seats reserved for minorities and protection of their legitimate linguistic, religious, Cultural, political and economic rights⁸⁰.

In May 1938 Pandit Raggo Nath and Khawaja Muhammad Umer butt established a political organization named as “National conference”. This organization did not have any affiliations with Indian National Conference. Pandit was the president and butt oppinted as the general secretary. Later Muslim Conference change in to the National Conference and this National Conference also got mixed.

Muslim Conference changed into the National Conference

In annual session of the Muslim conference on 28 June 1938 in Srinagar suggestion is made to change the name of the party from Muslim conference to National Conference. purpose of this idea is to make Hindu community to feel relaxed and also take participate in party freely. The word Muslim remove from the party name to show that the national conference is the equal for the Hindi community to. This suggestion is not new but the sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was trying to awear

⁷⁹ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*,49.

⁸⁰ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 50.

Kashmiri people for the unity. Later government opposed the agitation made on the bases of unity and start arresting party officers⁸¹.

Sheik Muhammad Abdullah was also arrested by the government and got released after six months. But at that time all leaders were become aware of the unity. So they all try to gather on one platforms. On 10 and 11 June in special session of the Muslim conference final decision made to change the part name⁸².

After the formation of National Conference, Abdullah try to negotiate with the Nehru and the All-India States People's Conference. In his presidential address to the states conference at Ludhiana in 1939, Nehru called for the release of popular leader imprisoned in Indian states, he specially demands for the sheikh Abdullah. The national conference joined the All- India States People's conference in 1941. Later Abdullah become the voice president and become president in 1946. In transforming the Muslim conference in to the national conference, he was successful in achieving his objective; moving from the small stage of the local Kashmir politics to the much grander national Indian stage.

Turning to the consequences of the demonstration and protests, 1931 could be described as marking a turning point in the history of Jammu and Kashmir in respect to relations between the Maharaja and his people and Hindu Muslim relations. The date was also to prove highly important to external interest in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir finally the incident of 1931 effect the course of the Jammu Muslim politics. The Muslims of the Jammu and Kashmir politically aware for their Rights.

⁸¹ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 49.

⁸² Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 51.

From the formation of the political party for the people of Jammu and Kashmir, party struggle and finally broke up into the wings on the basis of the ethnicity and secularism also described the tension among the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. During the same time Subcontinent also face a difficult time regarding the decision of the separation. This movement of Subcontinent also effect the Kashmir in neighbour.

World War II also played an important role in the strengthen the struggle movement of Kashmiri Muslims. Most of the Kashmiri youngsters join the British army and go for the world war II. After the return they were dissatisfied from their live styles so they were easily available for fight against the Dogras. This thing also affects the strength of Dogras in the Kashmir.

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS (1940-1947)

Struggle of the National Conference

Despite the uprising in 1931, Kashmir political movement was not arranged in to an organized structure. It was only in June 1932, when the political leaders was released after six months imprisonment, the need for the formation of a state wide political organization was being keenly felt but in the absence of the freedom of association, no steps could be taken⁸³. radicalization of agitation had a widespread and deep impact On the non-Muslims and Muslim Conference. Sheikh Abdullah was hesitant to toe away the Young Men's line, but popularity, Revolutionary role and progressive outlook soon convinced Abdullah to adopt their programme to shape the movement. The young man expressed their faith in the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah and the Muslim Conference. Thus like Congress Socialist Party of Indian Congress they formed a strong left-wing force within the Muslim Conference.

In the start of the 1940 problems for the Kashmiri Muslims increase day by day. Party politics and nationalism based politics is also impact the agenda of the freedom. At that time some leaders objected to the national conference secularism agenda. Some political leaders from the district kotli, Poonch, and Mirpur created their own local wings of All India Muslim league. At that time National conference continue the struggle with two factions one is secular and other is Muslim Nationalist.

⁸³ Dr. Rais ul Gulzar, "Historical Moments from Muslim Conference to National Conference", International journal of Research in Economics and Social Sciences, vol. 12 issue 12 (December 2022): 54, available at: <https://euroasiapub.org/wp-content/uploads/IJRESS7Dec22-DrRais.pdf> (Accessed on Sep 09, 2024).

Despite the religious and secular factions of the National Conference having formally split earlier, the remaining National Conference was still left in turmoil between its Muslim and Hindu members. The Dogra government used divide and rule policies; banning all subjects except members of the Dogra Rajput community from holding firearms, and this brought to the fore tensions between Hindu and Muslim members of the National Conference.

Interestingly, Abbas had earlier thrown his weight behind Sheikh Abdullah's move of changing Muslim conference into National Conference with conditions laid down by both the leaders. Then the outside impact was more on Jammu region than Kashmir valley. With time, however, Abbas grew disillusioned with National Conference activities and understood how Sheikh Abdullah associated National conference with the ideology of Indian National Congress, which was against his basic principles. He resigned and returned to his parent organization, Muslim conference⁸⁴.

To make MC strong, Abbas and other party members worked for the Pakistan cause in Jammu and Kashmir at a time when Muslims of Hindu Dogra-rules region thought that their better future lay with Pakistan. Even Abbas as a Muslim conference president made it clear in the party's fifth session in 1942 that the aim of their organization is to support the Pakistan movement and that they'll make endeavors to fight for it's cause.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Yaris Bashir, "Revisiting 1940s: The legacy of Pakistan movement in Kashmir" (Kashmir: Free Press Kashmir, 2018) available at: "<https://freepresskashmir.news/2018/02/07/revisiting-1940s-the-legacy-of-pakistan-movement-in-kashmir/amp>" (Accessed on July 24, 2024).

⁸⁵ Yasir Bashir, "Revisiting 1940s: the legacy of Pakistan movement in Kashmir."

Lahore Resolution and Kashmir 1940

Relations between the two parties were difficult from the outset. As well as personal rivalries and diverse approaches to politics in Jammu and Kashmir, conflict arose from a different in attitude to events in British India. While the national Conference actively supported Congress' 'Quit India' movement, the Muslim conference backed Jinnah's call for a separate homeland. This final source of rivalry further demonstrated the strong influence of British Indian politics on development in Jammu and Kashmir.

The Pakistan Resolution was passed at Iqbal Park, Lahore. The resolution demanded the establishment of an independent state comprising all regions with Muslim majorities. To make Muslim conference strong, Abbas and other party members worked for the Pakistan cause in Jammu and Kashmir at a time when Muslims of the Hindu Dogra-ruled region thought that their better future lay with Pakistan. Even Abbas as Muslim Conference President made it clear in the party's first session in 1942 that the aim of their organization is to support the Pakistan movement and that they'll make endeavors to fight for its cause⁸⁶.

MC's fall had led to the emergence of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim League (AJKML). After Sheikh opposed the party, Kashmir Muslim Students Union passed a resolution in Aligarh Muslim University in 1939, criticizing Sheikh's hostility towards Muslim League. There were a lot of supporters of Muslim cause among teachers and civil society which led to the entry of many students in Muslim League⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ Yasir Bashir, "Revisiting 1940s: The legacy of Pakistan Movement in Kashmir."

⁸⁷ Yasir Bashir, "Revisiting 1940s: The legacy of Pakistan movement in Kashmir."

Later some AJKML members would participate in the historic Lahore Resolution. In that session, Prof M.A. Hafeez was chosen All India States Muslim League's (AISML's) J&K representative to carry forward the Pakistan Movement in J&K Muslims. Both AJKML and AISML worked together to strengthen the idea of Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir⁸⁸

Amid rising Pakistan movement, J&K students propagated its ideology — despite the ruthless Dogra regime and NC rank and file mounting their Pakistan hate-offensive on civilian backers. The state backlash became blatant on 6 June, 1944, when Justice Ganga Nath, President of the Royal Commission, angrily told Agha Sher Ali in public sitting that “to talk of Pakistan in Kashmir is sedition”. In the times of great revolutions, however, no coercion could damp the spirit for the Muslim homeland. We're poor people,” Ghulam Nabi, then KMSU's secretary wrote in a letter to Quaid-i-Azam.

We could not send more money towards a just cause. Hopefully we'll try our best to send more money for Pakistan Fund.” Sensing the emotions of Kashmiris attached with the creation of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam took a hiatus from his busy schedule in wake of Quit India Movement to reply: “Why do you say that your poor people? Keep your spirits and moral high. I appreciate your contribution towards Pakistan Fund and I pray for your success.”⁸⁹

This political posturing came at a time when the political rivalry between Muslim League and Indian National Congress had become an un-ending fact in British India. The resultant political

⁸⁸ Yasir Bashir, “Revisiting 1940s: The legacy of Pakistan movement in Kashmir.”

⁸⁹ Yasir Bashir, “Revisiting 1940s: The legacy of Pakistan movement in Kashmir.”

atmosphere naturally impacted 560 odd princely states in the sub-continent. The leaders of Congress thought better to engage the people of princely states and enlist their support in the freedom struggle of India.

World War II

After the First World War when these people return from Iran and France they feel difficulty to live in their country. At that time large number of people participate in British Army. These people got chance to visit almost the state of Great Britain. These people organize them selves and adopted new cultures and customs. That's why during 1914 and 1939-45 Kashmiri people pay a lots of sacrifices for the Great Britain. After return from Britain these people were dissatisfied from their conditions and easily available for the violation against maharaja's army.

During their service in Great Britain they realize the basic rights for the person should be given by the government/state. So after the Second World War these people are not obedient to the government like earlier. When they feel that because of their agitation for rights Dogra rule could harm their families so they start rebellion against the Dogra rule. So after the 2nd world War the people of Kashmir were fully aware of their rights and also united for their rights against the Dogra and British Government.⁹⁰

Naya Kashmir Program (Constitutional Monarchy)1944

The tensions between the Hindu and Muslim members of the National Conference increased when in October 1943, Sheikh Abdullah entered into secret talks with Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim Conference without taking Sardar Budh Singh, the party's president, into confidence.

⁹⁰ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga*, 15- 16.

Jinnah's speech in Kashmir in which he encouraged Muslim unity caused deep fissures in the National Conference's memberships.

In August 1938 Sheikh Abdullah as the leader of the Muslim Conference presented National Demands demanding greater democratic rights for the people of the State. Subsequently, Sheikh Abdullah successfully persuaded the members of the Muslim Conference to change its name to National Conference to reflect its role as a secular democratic party representing the aspirations of all the citizens of the State irrespective of their caste, creed or religion

Maharaja Hari Singh was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet and went to Britain to participate in its deliberations in April 1944. When he returned from his European tour the citizens of Kashmir lined the roads to welcome him. As his cavalcade (consisting of a flotilla of boats on the river Jhelum) approached Mujahid Manzil the headquarters of the National Conference Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah along with his party members garlanded him with flowers and bouquets were given to him.

Then Sheikh Abdullah gave him a memorandum demanding far ranging democratic reforms establishing the Jammu and Kashmir State as a constitutional, democratic welfare State with the Maharaja as the nominal constitutional head. This memorandum has since become famous as the Naya Kashmir document. Attached with this document was an economic plan projecting a humanistic view of development far in advance of the times. Naya Kashmir (New Kashmir) is the name given to the memorandum that Sheikh Abdullah submitted to Maharaja Hari Singh the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State. It was the outline of a plan to convert the Jammu and Kashmir state from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional democracy with the Maharajah remaining as the Head of the State as the Monarch is in Britain. A detailed economic plan for the development of

Jammu and Kashmir State was a part of this memorandum. It was subsequently adopted by the National Conference as its manifesto. The “Naya Kashmir” plan proved to be immensely popular in Kashmir as it was the blueprint for a welfare state far in advance.

Jinnah 2nd Visit to Kashmir 1944

In late 1943- early 1944, it seemed possible the two conference would unite into a single party. The Muslim conference was urged to do so by its mentor, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. On the national conference side, moves towards reconciliation appears to have been motivated by a decline in sheik Abdullah’s popularity. Jinnah paid a long visit to Jammu and Kashmir in 1944, and was given a friendly welcome by both parties.

leaders of the Muslim Conference and the National Conference received Jinnah at Qazigund. There were thousands of people in the welcome procession, the then weekly newspaper Khalid has reported. Those who received Jinnah at Qazigund included Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Moulana Amin Uddin Qureshi and others⁹¹

It is said that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah repeatedly used the phrase “popular leader of Indian Muslims” for the Quaid-e-Azam during his inaugural speech. The newspaper quoted Jinnah saying:⁹²

“I thank you for the rousing reception. This was not for Jinnah. It was for the Muslim League. You have not honored me. You have honored the Muslims of India.”

⁹¹ KL news network, “May 10, 1944: When Jinnah visited Kashmir for the last time”, Kashmir life, 2017, available at: <https://kashmirlife.net/may-10-1944-jinnah-visited-kashmir-last-time-140025/> (accessed on September 19, 2024).

⁹² KL news network, “May 10, 1944: When Jinnah visited Kashmir for the last time.”

In its report titled Partap Park Mai Shahaana Istaqbal, Khalid, reported, “Today on May 10, Mr. Jinnah reached Partap Park Srinagar. The Park was jam packed by an audience of almost 60,000 people which included Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. To welcome the guest (Jinnah) people raised slogans like Allah-u-Akbar, Inqilab Zindabad, Mr. Jinnah Zindabad, Sher-e-Kashmir-Zindabad.”



Fig #. Snapshot of Khalid newspaper. Uploaded by the KL news network, illustrated the visited of the Jinnah in Kashmir, 2017, <https://kashmirlife.net/may-10-1944-jinnah-visited-kashmir-last-time-140025/>.⁹³

⁹³ KL news network, “May 10, 1944: When Jinnah visited Kashmir for the last time.”

“We wanted to have a huge welcome but the time constraints prevented it,” Khalid quoted Sheikh saying in his brief inaugural speech. *You are no stranger in Kashmir and Kashmir is known to you as you have earlier visited...I do not want to rake up issues worth debate at this time.* During his stay Jinnah met leaders of different political parties including the Yuvak Sabha of Kashmiri Pundits, addressed public meetings, interacted with groups of people and visited tourist resorts of Gulmarg and Pahalgam.

Jinnah was also invited by Maharaja Hari Singh to his palace. Initially, it is said, the Quaid had reservations, but after consulting his colleagues, he decided to accept the invitation. Jinnah also addressed the annual session of Muslim Conference in Jamie Masjid Srinagar⁹⁴.

During his sojourn, Jinnah had a series of interactions with the intellectual class of Kashmir in various clubs as well. Jinnah had entered Kashmir through Banihal Cart Road and after spending two and half months in Srinagar, he left through Jhelum Valley Road on July 25. The 1944 visit was Jinnah’s last visit to Kashmir⁹⁵.

Quit Kashmir Movement 1946

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah returned to the Valley on May 3, 1946, after attending the States People Conference meeting in Delhi. He found citizens in a state of dismay, strongly opposing the Maharaja and Prime Minister-Pandit Ram Chandra Kak. Before starting the movement, on May 6, 1946, Abdullah addressed a public gathering in Srinagar, condemned the state government for its hypocrisy and attempt to undermine the state's quest for self-governance, and urged citizens to

⁹⁴ KI news network, “May 10,1944: When Jinnah visited Kashmir for the last time.”

⁹⁵ KI news network, “May 10,1944: When Jinnah visited Kashmir for the last time.”

prepare for a larger struggle. On May 10, Abdullah publicly demanded the repudiation of the Treaty of Amritsar, asserted that Maharaja had no moral or legal claim to Kashmir, and declared that the time had come for Dogra to Quit Kashmir⁹⁶.

Sheikh Abdullah challenged the legality of Maharajas rule in Kashmir and declared in unequivocal terms that they had no right to rule the region. He outlined the objectives of the Quit Kashmir Movement, encouraged the masses to unite against autocracy and feudalism, and organized them for the final battle with the Dogra's. He added, "Our war is open, and you must join it." Supporting freedom's fighting forces is your duty. The Movement's central theme was "absolute freedom from Dogra autocratic House" and "restore sovereignty to its real owners – the people", with slogans demanding Dogra Maharaja to quit the Valley and allow Kashmiris to shape their own future⁹⁷.

^a S.M Abdullah delivered a speech in Srinagar before his arrest, declared:

l *The tyranny of the Dogra's has lacerated our souls. The Kashmiris are the most*
v *handsome people, yet the most wretched looking. It is time for action. To end our*
a *poverty, you must fight slavery and enter the field of Jihad a soldiers. ... The demand*
n *that the Princely Order should quit is a logical extension of the policy of 'Quit*
i *India'. When the Indian freedom movement demands the complete withdrawal of*
z *British power, logically enough the stooges of British Imperialism also should go*
e *and restore sovereignty to its real owner-the people. When we raise the slogan of*
d *'Quit Kashmir', we naturally visualize that the Princes and Nawabs should quit all*
,

⁹⁶ Mansoor Bashir Lone, "The quit Kashmir movement 1946", Research journal of Humanities and Social sciences, volume.15 (2024), issue no 2, available at: <https://rjhssonline.com/HTMLPaper.aspx?Journal=Research%20Journal%20of%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences;PID=2024-15-2-9> (accessed on September 26, 2024).

⁹⁷ Mansoor Bashir Lone, "The Quit Kashmir Movement 1946."

the States...Handcuffs jingle. They do not make us afraid. God will give us faith in victory. The voice of truth will prevail. Prophets have spoken for the truth, which has always triumphed finally. Sovereignty is not the birth right of a ruler. Every man, woman and child will shout Quit Kashmir⁹⁸.

It was "total war" against Sheikh Abdullah's declaration of an "open revolt." However, the man who hoisted the rebel banner and his close associates were arrested few hours after the blitz began. It was the poor people who had been victimized to the "total war. G. M. Bakshi wrote about the scenario of the Quit Kashmir agitation, "I have sufficed by quoting only what has appeared in the press. The actual happenings are even more horrible. What is happening today is still worse, arrests, mass meetings, punitive police, lathi charges, mass searches, complete terrorization are in full swing."

On September 10, 1946, the court pronounced its decision, and Sheikh Abdullah was found guilty under Section 124(A) R.P.C. for using three speeches, notably May 10 and 13, as evidence against him. He was sentenced to three years of simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 on each score.

Abdullah statement to the court before leaving:

It is a small matter whether I am arrested, tried, or convicted. But the masses of the state suffer poverty, humiliation, and degradation, which is a matter of concern. It has been no small matter what they have endured during the violent repression and horror of the past two months and more, and what they are enduring now. These very events have demonstrated the justice of our demand and our cry Quit Kashmir⁹⁹.

⁹⁸ Mansoor Bashir Lone, "The Quit Kashmir Movement 1946."

⁹⁹ Mansoor Bashir Lone, "The Quit Kashmir Movement 1946."

Campaign of Action 1946

The Muslim League Council proclaimed 16th August 1946 as 'Direct Action Day' in order to accentuate their demand for a separate Muslim homeland after the British left the Indian subcontinent. Their main aim was to attain a different country with a Muslim majority. When the Cabinet Mission plan of 1946 failed to find middle ground between INC and Muslim League for a united India as the league wanted a separate homeland for Muslims, Muslim League called for the Direct Action Day.

National conference launches "Quit Kashmir" movement and MC starts a "campaign of action" both are against the monarchy. Sheikh Abdullah and Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas are arrested. Over the years, Abdullah has grown closer to Indian Congress leaders and is opposed to Jinnah's Muslim League. Yet, he agrees Kashmir should remain its own entity. The Muslim Conference leans toward Jinnah¹⁰⁰.

In this chapter political scenario in the subcontinent takes a new dimension. The resolutions for making Pakistan was passed in 1940s. The Kashmiri Muslims also felt that their customs, traditions and religion is one so they were happy for them Pakistan and they also support the idea of Pakistan on to the Kashmir. Due to large Muslim population Kashmiri Muslims have their affiliations with the Pakistan emotionally and religiously in both manners.

The Quit Kashmir Movement proved to be a significant event in Jammu and Kashmir's struggle for freedom that eventually culminated the fifteen years of long organized struggle. The Movement generated uproar against the Maharaja, which quickly spread throughout the entire

¹⁰⁰ Mohamad Junaid, "Kashmir: A historical Time line" ADI Magazine, summer 2020, available at: <https://adimagazine.com/articles/kashmir-a-historical-timeline/> (accessed on September 29, 2024).

state. The Quit Kashmir movement was launched to pressure the oppressive Dogra government to grant sovereignty to the people of Kashmir. But these movements left the situation critical and political parties along with their supporters divided into two separate groups with different ideologies.

CHAPTER FIVE

ARMED STRUGGLE AND POONCH APPRAISING (1947-1948)

This was the political situation in the vale of Kashmir on the eve of transfer of power in 1947. There was a profound divide between the revived Muslim conference and sheikh Abdullah's National Conference which was in significant measure rooted in the quarrel between sheikh Abdullah and Mirwaiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah. In 1947 many of the leaders of both parties were in prison and the national conference, having boycotted the 1946 elections, occupied no seats in the state legislative Assembly where the Muslim conference had a strong presence. Sheikh Abdullah's secular approach was supported by a number of representatives of the Kashmiri pundit community and others, but it was seeming that majority supported the authority of the Maharaja rather than the ideals of sheikh Abdullah.

Before looking into the events of 1947, it would be useful to review the position of three main political groups¹⁰¹. The Hindu community supported continued rule by the Maharaja. Second the Muslims was divided into those supporting the Muslim Conference and those supporting the National Conference. The Muslim conference leaders was in favour of joining Pakistan but some of leaders from Jammu supporting Jinnah and other Muslims of Kashmir demand for separate homeland. While on the other hand sheikh Abdullah's national conference opposed the Pakistan idea, and claims that Jammu and Kashmir should be the part of India.

Partition

In 1947, the Indian subcontinent was partitioned in two: Pakistan and India. Obviously this was an event of immense significance, the predictable consequences were another communal

¹⁰¹ Iffat Malik, Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute (UK: Oxford University Press, 2002),59-60.

backlash, this time by Muslims against Hindus and Sikhs¹⁰². In Poonch rebellion against Dogra rule based essentially on economic grievances, was encourage to take on a “Muslim vs Hindu” character by killing in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Further encouragement came from the direction of north west frontier province; Pathans encourage by reports of Muslim deaths, went to Poonch seeking revenge against Hindus and Sikhs¹⁰³.

Some of the Panjabi refugees found their way to Jammu and Kashmir, carrying with them harrowing tales of killings, rape, etc. and the presence of these refugees in Kashmir served to incite and intensify communal violence there. Lamb writes that by August 1947:

“The communal situation in Jammu, the one part of the state where there was a large non-Muslim population, had deteriorated rapidly with Banda of armed Hindus and Sikhs attacking Muslim villages and setting in train a mass exodus. It has been estimated that in August, September and October 1947 at least 500,000 Muslims were displaced from Jammu: perhaps as many as 200,000 of them just disappeared”¹⁰⁴.

On the other side only sheikh Abdullah still strongly condemned Pakistan and called for communal tolerance, addressing a public meeting soon after partition, Abdullah said, *we are facing the question of accession to India or Pakistan, or keeping our separate identity. It is a fact that the Indian National Congress has extended full support to our movement. But the question of accession will be decided in to the best interests of the Kashmiri people.*¹⁰⁵

Punjab division between two had a great impact on the internal and external situation of the Jammu and Kashmir, positioning of the boundary line separating the Pakistani and Indian

¹⁰² Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 60-61.

¹⁰³ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 61.

¹⁰⁴ Alastair Lambs, *Kashmir a Disputed Legacy (1846-1990)* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), 123.

¹⁰⁵ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 62.

section of the province. The Gurdaspur district of northern Punjab adjoined Jammu. Two of the roads from the Jammu and Kashmir state to British India (Srinagar-Rawalpindi and Jammu-Sialkot) were definitely to fall into the Pakistan territory after independence. A third road from the Jammu passed through a Pathankot tehsil of Gurdaspur¹⁰⁶. If this district also sent to the Pakistan, the only access from India to the state would be via very difficult mountains in the Himalayas. In such circumstances, the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan would almost be investable.

Gurdaspur has four tehsils, Muslims were in majority in three. Only Pathankot had a small Hindu majority. So Redcliffe boundary commission have been expected to award the district to Pakistan. In fact, it divided the district between India and Pakistan such that the former received the three eastern tehsils- Pathankot, Batla and Gurdaspur¹⁰⁷.

Accession

Jammu and Kashmir presented accession problem, geographically it could join either India or Pakistan, and its strategic position made it very important to both. There was no consensus within Jammu and Kashmir's population about their state's future. Muslim population divided into those who favored joining Pakistan, those preferring India, and an increasing number who wished to be completely independent. But the fact that Hari Singh had no desire to hand over his state to either India or Pakistan¹⁰⁸.

This was made clear in a press statement issued by his Deputy minister as late as 12 October 1947: 'Despite constant rumors, we have no intention of joining either India or Pakistan, The

¹⁰⁶ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*,62.

¹⁰⁷ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*,62.

¹⁰⁸ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*,63.

Maharaja has told me that his ambition is to make Kashmir the Switzerland of the East, a state that is completely neutral'¹⁰⁹.

It is not clear exactly when the Pathan tribal involvement begin. Khurshid Anwar, one of the Resistance commander in Poonch, had been in touch with various tribal leaders in the North - west frontier since at least the Middle of the September. The main tribal force, however probably began to arrive during the First week October when their presence was noted by the state forces in the Poonch and adjacent Mirpur. Probably no more than 3,000, perhaps less, through an Indian observant have suggested a large number 70,000 or so¹¹⁰.

Lamb wrote 'The most serious charge against the last viceroy's handling of the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the final weeks of the British Raj, if there is any in the speculations outlined above, is the degree to which Mountbatten seems to have accepted Jawaharlal Nehru's view about Kashmiri politics and to have failed to explore the Muslim dimension'.

Maharaja had failed to gain effective control over the Gilgit, and in Poonch his rule had been formally replaced on 24 October by that of a new state which had seceded from him, named as Azad Kashmir. Only in Jammu and Ladakh Maharaja was a ruler.

It's was apparently feel that, the process of the accession between 24-27 October was manipulated by the Nehru and Patel along with sheik Muhammad Abdullah. The Pakistani leadership were well aware of the presence of sheikh Abdullah in Nehru's household. Finally, the 1st Indian troops were landing at Srinagar airfield before the process of accession had been completed. When these troops make landing on Sirinagar they found a group named as 'Patiala men' already established there.

¹⁰⁹ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*,64.

¹¹⁰ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*,64.

These Patiala forces had arrived on about 17 October 1947 before the tribal crossing the bridge at Domel on 22 October. On 24 October 1947 the Azad Kashmir declared as an independent state, consisting on the Poonch jagir where the Maharaja lose his control completely. On 26 and 27 October 1947 the Maharaja also formally acceded to India¹¹¹.

Foundation of Conflict (Indo-Pak War)

Muslim Conference passes a resolution to join Pakistan. The Socialist Party also wants to join Pakistan. But NC is opposed to the idea. The British withdrawal and the partition of British India into India and Pakistan leads to violence. Kashmiris have been fighting against the monarchy and don't see their struggle as part of South Asian secular, Hindu, or Muslim nationalisms, but the British ask "Princely Rulers" to accede either to India or to Pakistan based on geographical contiguity and religious demography. According to this Partition logic, Kashmir should have gone to Pakistan, as the state has a close to 77 percent Muslim population.

In September and October 1947, Hindu militias and Dogra troops attack Jammu's Muslims, killing tens of thousands. In Poonch, along the border with newly-created Pakistan, rebels create an independent state called "Azad (Free) Jammu Kashmir (AJK)." As ethnic cleansing of Jammu Muslims continues, many flee to AJK and to Pakistan. Much of Muslim Conference leadership and members are displaced. According to census reports from the time and later research, upwards of 200,000 Muslims are dead and an equal number become refugees. After what will come to be known as the "Jammu Massacre," Jammu becomes a Hindu-majority city.

Meanwhile, the Dogras lose control of Gilgit Baltistan province in the north. With their leader, Sheikh Abdullah, in prison, NC remains dormant. In September, troops from the neighboring state

¹¹¹ Iffat Malik, *Kashmir: Ethnic Conflict International Dispute*, 66.

of Patiala and Hindu nationalist paramilitaries of the RSS arrive to bolster the Dogras. Pakistan blocks supplies into Kashmir. Indian Congress leaders put pressure on the Dogras to accede to India and release Abdullah. The Dogra maharaja wants to remain independent and has signed a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan, but India has refused to sign.

As rebellion continues along the borders, on October 22, 1947, members of Afridi and other Pashtun groups begin to converge along the border and enter Baramulla to aid Kashmiris but falter without any clear leadership. The Maharaja flees the Kashmir valley and asks India for help. Indians demand he sign the Treaty of Accession and give power over Kashmir's defense, foreign affairs, and communication to India. Abdullah is made Emergency Administrator and he sees Pashtuns as a threat. On October 26, Indian troops arrive in Srinagar and the next day Maharaja signs the treaty. Indian invasion pulls Pakistani troops in too battle. The first India-Pakistan war over Kashmir breaks out.

On November 21, Nehru says:

“I have repeatedly stated that as soon as peace and order have been established; Kashmir should decide about accession by plebiscite or referendum under international auspices such as those of United Nations.”

The assassination of Kashmir later becomes the main issue at the turn of the decay of forty when Pakistan and India separate. Dogra regulations pit the Indian government against Pakistani meddling in the area. Based on their religious nationalism, the people want Pakistan assassinated. Hence, the horrific Kashmir Jihad episode of 1947–1948 was cursed. The majority of local Kashmiri serving in the Army were active in various locations within the administrative divisions.

They offered their services to defend their motherland. Their assistance is valued by these divisions at that troubling time.

Historical Importance of Poonch

The dominant group in Poonch were the Sudhans of the Sudhnoti tehsil who were to play a major part in Poonch rising of 1947. The Sudhans were, members of the Sadozai clan of the Durrani Afghans who, perhaps, settled in this region during the Afghan occupation of Kashmir in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They were, in other words, Pathans and it is not surprising that they should have close relations with other Pathan regions of North- West India and eastern Afghanistan. This particular Pathan factor should be kept in mind when considering the nature of the Pathan involvement in the Kashmir crisis of 1947¹¹².

From the end of 1700 till 1837 Poonch jagir was under the rule of Hawali Tehsil. Later it was handed over to the Raja Faiz Talab Khan from District Rajwari. In 1846 Poonch became the part of mountains area, before that Poonch was the District of Lahore. Maharaja Gulab Singh handed over the area of Poonch to his brother and their sons, but later Maharaja Hari Singh took the Poonch under his rule¹¹³.

On 15th of May 1937 5th session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was held in Poonch which remained from 13th to 15th of May. In that session Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah delivered a speech to the locals of Poonch. In that speech Sheikh Abdullah talked about the Education

¹¹² Interview with Abdul Rasheed, October 5, 2024.

¹¹³ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir saga* (Rawalpindi, Martial printing press, 1965) 9.

for the locals specially for the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah highlights the struggle of the Kashmiri people for the seek of Educational facilities¹¹⁴.

On the other hand, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah talk about the struggle of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference for the sake of the facilities for the Muslims of the Kashmir. He invited the youngsters of the Poonch to join the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference for the liberation movement. He also talks about the basic facilities like municipality, town areas and District boards and also demand for the new law for these institutions. (This historically important address was published in weekly magazine named as “Himmat” in three episodes.)

Dogra Maharaja face difficulties to take established their government in Poonch. Poonch locals were against the Maharaja Rule so Dogra Maharaja established his rule by force. They captured most of the Poonch leaders and peel off their skin in front of public at the historical place of Mang. After Hundreds of years, in 1947 locals of same village (Mang) start the rebellion against Dogras for the second time¹¹⁵.

During 1914 world war I most of the locals from the state of Jammu and Kashmir participate in the war. When these shoulders went to the foreign countries and observed their lifestyle and facilities, on there return to home land Jammu and Kashmir they have problems in their own society. At that time most of the public in British army were from Poonch. On their return they become unite and adopt a new culture and civilization. Due to this change they were available against the Dogra army in 1947. On their return them was a clear change in behaviour of these

¹¹⁴ Mirza Shafique Hussain, *Kashmiri Muslimano ke Sayasi Jadojahad*, 425-435.

¹¹⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 9.

locals and they were well known that Dogra Maharaja captured their families in this regard so they unite and announced a united resistance against the Dogra's in 1947¹¹⁶.

With the passage of time the reality of Pakistan become more and more clear. On the other side the hostile behaviour of Maharaja increased day by day. With the changing in Government policy of the state RSS (organized organization of Hindu community) established their headquarters in different areas of Jammu. RSS start the training of weapons and these weapons come from the across of Muzaffarabad and khtoa. Such types of news put the Muslims in horrible conditions specially in minority areas like Jammu, khtoa, and Udampore. Dogra forces also appoints across the Jhelum river. Dogra Maharaja appointed their family men in police departments who were well known for their weak capability¹¹⁷.

In those conditions a special convention of Muslim Conference held on the house of Ibrahim Khan at Rawalakot Poonch¹¹⁸. In this convention three suggestions were made with three different ideas. One group is under leadership of Chaudhary Hameed Ulla (Saddar AJkMC) suggest the independent Kashmir state. Another group was in favour of accession with the Pakistan and the Third group under the leadership of sheikh Mohammed Abdullah agreed for the referendum. Leadership of the National Conference organised a session to make decisions in this regard. Due to the large Muslim community Decision was made to accession with the Pakistan and this decision sent to the Maharaja Government and to the authority of All India Muslim league. This convention organized on 19th July 1947.

¹¹⁶ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 15.

¹¹⁷ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 32.

¹¹⁸ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 33.

At that time Pandit Ram Chand Cock was the prime minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State. He was on visit to meet Delhi minister and leadership of Congress. On his return from Delhi Prime Minister meet to Maharaja and suggest him to decide according to the wish of the public of Jammu and Kashmir. Maharaja was not agreeing with the Prime Minister.

and ask him to resign. Maharaja appointed General Jang Singh as the Prime Minister. Maharaja made closed relations with the Congress leaders and it was cleared the something is unethical.

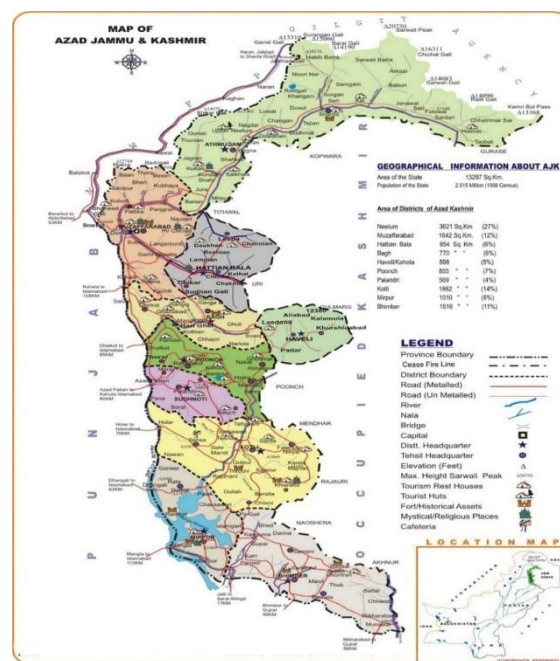


FIGURE Above mentioned Figure shows the area of Poonch¹¹⁹, uploaded by Azad Government of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, 2024, available at the link: <https://ajk.gov.pk/ajk-map/>.

Muslims were afraid with such conditions, at Poonch Dogra army start the bloody game, political arrests start from the poonch. Arrest Warrant issued against the Sardar Ibrahim Khan and make

¹¹⁹ Azad Government of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Map of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, 2024 available at: <https://ajk.gov.pk/ajk-map/> (Accessed on October 24, 2024).

sure he will not have entered in Poonch. At that time Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan reached at the Lahore railway station and visited different camps of immigrants. At that time Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was completely disappointed that there was no hope of help from these people who were in highly pitiable conditions. But he has least hope for help from Pakistan.

Poonch Appraising

To understand the overall situation of the Jammu and Kashmir Dispute researcher took a small area as a study sample known as three “Poonch”. Poonch is the historical place divided into two separate parts with a LOC (line of control). After the Dispute of 1947 some part of the Poonch remain in Jammu and Kashmir and the other small area become the part of Azad Kashmir territory. At that time most of the locals of Poonch worked as a troops in Britishers Army and took part into the world war II were highly trained and appointed in different areas of sub-continent. All those militants took part in war from their active places and perform a brilliant performance to get freedom.

Resistance movement in Jammu and Kashmir not start from the 1947 but it was start from the Mang (A small village in Poonch) in 1832 when two persons of Sadar Sabaz Ali khan and Sardar Malli khan belong to Dhaman Pakar Narh (A village near Palandri) hanged by the Dogra Maharaja at Mang Yadgar¹²⁰. With the passage and modernization of the time this resistance become the War against the Dogras.

The historical war of the Poonch resident’s play great role. At that time most of the Poonch locals were the part of British army were appointed in different areas of British India. When tribal leaders

¹²⁰ Interview with Saleem Jan Khatoon, September 26, 2024.

announced a war against the Dogra Maharaja and his army, most of the people come back to their villages to fight a war against Dogras. Most of the people were appointed in nearest areas (now the part of the Azad Kashmir) also become active on their sectors and fight against Dogra.¹²¹

M Ilyas khan published a time line of Poonch rebellion in BBC news network as follows:¹²²

3 June 1947: The June Plan, also called the Mountbatten Plan, is approved in a meeting. It culminates in the Independence of India Act 1947 which partitions British India into independent states of India and Pakistan. The Act receives royal assent in July.

15 June: Agitation in the form of a No-Tax campaign starts in Poonch, an internal principality of Kashmir state.

15 August: Killings are reported from Bagh in Poonch principality when pro-Pakistan groups try to hoist a Pakistani flag to mark independence and clash with the state police.

12 September: Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan holds a meeting with military and civilian officials where a go-ahead is reportedly given to two plans: raise a tribal force to attack Kashmir from the north and arm the rebels in Poonch.

4 October: Rebels clash with state forces at a place called Thorar, and go on to besiege state forces in Poonch. 24 October: Sardar Ibrahim, a pro-Pakistan landlord from Poonch principality, announces the founding of the government of Azad (free) Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) at a place called Palandri, and appoints himself as its head.

¹²¹ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 44-45.

¹²² M Ilyas khan, "Partition 70 years on: When tribal warriors invaded Kashmir" BBC News, October 22, 2017, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41662588> (Accessed on October 4, 2024).

26 October: The Maharaja of Kashmir, earlier inclined to stay independent due to the demographic composition of his state, accedes to India, presumably under duress. But later on the arrival of the Pakistani tribal Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah called India for the help.

27 October: Indian air and ground troops start landing at Srinagar, tilting the balance against tribal invaders and leading to the partition of Kashmir along the line that more or less exists today.

With the passage of time the reality of Pakistan become more and more clear. On the other side the hostile behaviour of Maharaja increased day by day. With the changing in Government policy of the state RSS (organized organization of Hindu community) established their headquarters in different areas of Jammu. RSS start the training of weapons and these weapons come from the across of Muzaffarabad and khtoa. Such types of news put the Muslims in horrible conditions specially in minority areas like Jammu, khtoa, and Udampore. Dogra forces also appoints across the Jhelum river. Dogra Maharaja appointed their family men in police departments who were well known for their weak capability¹²³.

In those conditions a special convention of Muslim Conference held on the house of Ibrahim Khan at Rawalakot Poonch. In this convention three suggestions were made with three different ideas. One group is under leadership of Chaudhary Hameed Ulla (Saddar AJkMC) suggest the independent Kashmir state¹²⁴. another group was in favour of accession with the Pakistan and the Third group under the leadership of sheikh Mohammed Abdullah agreed for the referendum¹²⁵. Leadership of the National Conference organised a session to make decisions in this regard. Due to the large Muslim community Decision was made to accession with the Pakistan and this decision

¹²³ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 40.

¹²⁴ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 33.

¹²⁵ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 33.

sent to the Maharaja Government and to the authority of All India Muslim league. This convention organised on 19th July 1947.

At that time Pandit Ram Chand Cock was the prime minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State. He was on visit to meet Delhi minister and leadership of Congress. On his return from Delhi Prime Minister meet to Maharaja and suggest him to decide according to the wish of the public of Jammu and Kashmir. Maharaja was not agreeing with the prime minister and ask him to resign¹²⁶. Maharaja appointed General Jang Singh as the Prime Minister. Maharaja made closed relations with the Congress leaders and it was cleared the something is unethical.

Muslims were affaired with such conditions, at Poonch Dogra army start the bloody game, political arrests start from the poonch. Arrest Warrant issued against the Sardar Ibrahim Khan and make sure he will not have entered in Poonch. At that time Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan reached at the Lahore railway station and visited different camps of immigrants. At that time Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan was completely disappointed that there was no hope of help from these people who were in highly pitiable conditions. But he has least hope for help from Pakistan¹²⁷.

In August 1947 In the history of subcontinent a different and supper natural incident come on the surface. This incident will surely effect the future of the Asia. This incident was the division of the India and Pakistan. On the other side of border, a biggest Muslim state give a new hope to the people of Kashmir. 32 lacks people of the sate of Jammu and Kashmir spend their life's in Slavery. They were very effected from the hostile policies of the Maharaja. With the border the whole

¹²⁶ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 36.

¹²⁷ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim khan, *Kashmir saga*, 37-39.

subcontinent was running from the political and social Revolutionary time period. The people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir were not left unaffected from these changes.

With the passage of time the reality of Pakistan become more and more clear. On the other hand, the hostile behavior of Maharaja increased day by day. In the results the areas of Poonch Mirpur Muzaffarabad (now the part of Azad Kashmir) started torture to the people. RSS made them headquarter in Jammu and spread their branches on the whole Kashmir. In Jammu city training was start to use the weapons, and the state government was known that the weapons come from across the boarders (khtoa and Muzaffarabad). There were schools in which the training starts for the RSS members made by the Hindu Mahasaba. Maharaja spread the Dogra army along with the side of River Jhelum in Muzaffarabad, Mirpur and Poonch. This will effected Muslims and they goy affaired from the surrounding¹²⁸.

The people who were awarded from the state problems they know the struggle against Maharaja definitely should start from the poonch. The people of the Kashmir knows that if the people of the poonch got suppressed there would be difficulties to run a strong resistance against the Maharaja. After that a martial law was imposed on Poonch and start torture the people. After that leaders try to unite Muslim Conference in sirinagar. Suddenly government remove the ban from the sheikh Abdullah that he will help the government of India.

On third June 1947 British government make decisions for the indo Pak future and left the States independent to accession with their own will. After that Gandhi come to the Kashmir to meet Maharaja. That was a long meeting. To makes us relax the Maharaja said it was a routine visit¹²⁹.

¹²⁸ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir Saga* [Urdu: Kashmir Saga]. (Rawalpindi, Martial printing Press) 40-48.

¹²⁹ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir saga*, 40.

The Hindu leaders make aware the Maharaja that the Muslim want to accession with the Pakistan, in this way the Dogra Raj will be finished. So the Maharaja start to finished Muslims to unite with the India.

In October 1947 a revolution starts from the west Kashmir (Gilgit and Ladakh) could not spread much faster as the Dogra Army starts torture people. In the other part of the state specially in Poonch and Jammu Muslim were in danger. They were affaired that Dogra army burnt them collectively. Because this incident was happened in undam pur and khtoia in October 1947.

With in the Poonch people were trained to fight against the Dogra rulers. In September 1947 Dogra army start battle to harass the public in Poonch. In the results a planed and continuous battle start against the Dogra in Poonch. In the results Dogra units destroy as the whole till 24 and 25 October¹³⁰.

On 26 August 1947 a crowd went in the gambling against Dogra army in the results Dogra army open fire upon them and hundreds of the people killed and injured. The reports were published in the newspaper in Pakistan. At that time a group of tribal warriors reached in Kashmir on 24 and 25 October from Muzaffarabad. Maharaja Hari Singh leave the Kashmir and got shelter in Hindustan. Maharaja asked India for the help as a result Indian army open fire on these tribes from Srinagar. These tribal came from the Pakistan have not clear image. According to locals these tribal people killed a lots of Kashmiri locals including women's because they allow Hindu and Sikh to take shelter in their houses. The allegations of raped the local Kashmiri women were also told by locals of Kashmir. On 27th of October when Indian troops opened fire from the other side of Srinagar these tribal runaway. These tribal reached on 24th of October in Kashmir through the

¹³⁰ Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, *Kashmir saga*

bridge of Domail (Muzaffarabad) and did not cross Muzaffarabad. Later on 27th of October on the firing of Indian troops they run away from the Muzaffarabad. As a result, a small piece of the state of Jammu and Kashmir got separated from the others named as the Azad Kashmir and the rest of state occupied by the Indian troops¹³¹.

Khan Mohammad Khan was a notable and influential political and tribal leader from the Poonch region of what is now Azad Jammu and Kashmir. He is especially remembered for his significant role during the Poonch Uprising (1947), which was a key resistance movement against the Dogra rule and later became a pivotal event in the formation of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK). Khan Mohammad Khan played a central role in the armed revolt in Poonch, which began in response to the heavy taxation and discrimination faced by Muslims under the Dogra regime. This uprising eventually escalated and contributed to the broader Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan. While his military and tribal leadership is well-remembered, Khan Mohammad Khan also influenced the early political developments in Azad Kashmir. He is regarded as a founding figure in the liberation movement of the region.

Subedar Muhammad Afsar Khan a retired army officer, belonging to the tribal belt near Rawalpindi is remembered for mobilizing ex-soldiers and tribal fighters from Punjab to support the Kashmir liberation movement. His military background helped in organizing guerrilla-style attacks against Dogra forces and Indian military positions.

¹³¹ Interview with Abdul Rasheed, October 5, 2024.

Sher Khan, also associated with Poonch tribal regions, was a prominent commander and fighter led several raids into Kashmir, especially in the Mirpur and Poonch sectors. He earned a reputation for his bravery and commitment to the cause of Kashmir's liberation.

Saddar Abdul Qayyum Khan also participated in the early phases of the liberation movement, liaising between tribal fighters and political entities.

Fateh Mirpur Khan of Mong played an important role during the 1947-48 Kashmir uprising, especially in and around the Mirpur area. He was known for mobilizing the local population against the Dogra regime, encouraging people to take up arms for their rights and to resist the oppressive Dogra rule. His leadership contributed to the efforts of liberating Mirpur and adjoining areas as part of the broader Azad Kashmir Movement. Khan of Mong is remembered as a military leader and resistance figure who, along with other tribal leaders, stood firm against both the Dogra and later Indian forces.

On 24th October 1947 announcement of a new balanced government for the Azad Kashmir declared at the Palandri (First Capital of Azad Kashmir). Sardar Ibrahim Khan was the First president of Azad Kashmir. This was a temporary government which purpose was to establish an independent government against Dogra Rule. Independent struggle which made a temporary government have a long history since 1929. The locals bared crucial circumstances to got these results. The people organised them selves within six months. In 1948 when Azad Kashmir government start their work regularly then with the help of these people Azad government established institutions like police departments, tax departments etc.

The biggest problems at that time were there is no way to Gain or provide weapons. Very few numbers of the weapons (smuggle through Jhelum river in Patten Sher khan) available¹³², but the most difficult was to got emanation from the Pakistan. With out weapons Azad Kashmir forces was unable to do some thing across the poonch.

The second biggest problem is the absence of the telecommunication system. people of Muzaffarabad got very important role to repair the roads damaged during firing. Due to the repair of roads the people of poonch and Mirpur rise again and communication established with the troops. At that time the younger people play a great role and show an example of bravery. They repair road for the jeeps and later they also take part to contract the roads on their own will power¹³³.

Due to the absence of the communication there is no Unity. Messenger were available between Muzaffarabad and Bagh. While them was no connection with Mirpur and Bimber. Our troops and Tribals who entered through Muzaffarabad fight at the Muzaffarabad and the Indian army went back for a while. During this time at least two days' troops and Tribal remains in Baramulla. After two days Indian Army reached in to the sirinagar. It all happened due to disbelief of the tribes. In Baramulla Tribals got defeated. They leave the ground and went back to Abbottabad. This behaviour of Tribals was shocking for the Muslims¹³⁴.

¹³² Interview with Abdul Rasheed, October 5, 2024.

¹³³ Interview with Abdul Rasheed, October 5, 2024.

¹³⁴ Interview with Abdul Rasheed, October 5, 2024.

Security Council (1948)

In January 1948 India presented the Kashmir issue in the Security Council. At that time the Indian army was in a critical position in Kashmir. The Azad Army of Kashmir put pressure on them. Already India had lost the area of Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan, so this issue made India present this issue to the United Nations Security Council (Pakistan had already invited India to do it but at that time the Indian government refused).

The basic points about the UN resolution are that¹³⁵:

1. The complaint relating to Kashmir was initiated by India in the Security Council;
2. The Council explicitly and by implications, rejected India's claim that Kashmir is legally Indian territory;
3. The resolutions established self-determination as the governing principle for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. This is the world body's commitment to the people of Kashmir;
4. The resolutions endorsed a binding agreement between India and Pakistan reached through the mediation of UNCIP, that a plebiscite would be held, under agreed and specified conditions.

In 1947, India and Pakistan went to war over Kashmir. During the war, it was India which first took the Kashmir dispute to the United Nations on 1 January 1948. The following year, on 1 January 1949, the UN helped enforce a ceasefire between the two countries. The ceasefire line is

¹³⁵ Jammu and Kashmir Liberation cell, "Kashmir conflict," Azad government of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Available at: <https://ajk.gov.pk/kashmir-conflict/> (Accessed on October 10, 2024).

called the Line of Control. It was an outcome of a mutual consent by India and Pakistan that the UN Security Council (UNSC) and UN Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) passed several resolutions in years following the 1947-48 war. The UNSC Resolution of 21 April 1948—one of the principal UN resolutions on Kashmir—stated that “both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite”¹³⁶

Security Council Resolution 47, adopted on 21 April 1948, concerns the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. After hearing arguments from both India and Pakistan, the Council increased the size of the UN Commission to five members, instructed the Commission go into the subcontinent and help the governments of India and Pakistan restore peace and order of region and prepare for a plebiscite according to the will of Kashmiri people.

The Resolution recommended a three step process. In the first step, Pakistan was asked to withdraw all its troops that entered Kashmir for the sake of fighting. In the second step, India was asked to remove its forces to the minimum level required for law and order. In the third step, India was asked to appoint an administrator nominated by the United Nations who would conduct a free and impartial plebiscite.

India presented this issue on the behalf of various issues: On 26 October maharaja Hari Singh and the National Conference leader sheikh Muhammad Abdullah called India for the help and ask for the accession with the India¹³⁷. There are threats for Kashmiri people related to their lives, lands, and Territory in the case of war. So it is necessary government should make immediate decisions.

¹³⁶ Jammu and Kashmir Liberation cell, “ Kashmir conflict,”.

¹³⁷ Sabir Smith, A telephonic call to the writer, October 16, 2024.

India also claim that Pakistan allow their troops to do operations in Azad Kashmir. The First session of the Kashmir issue failed due to the foolish behaviour of the leading members.

August 1948 a resulsion was presented in front of United Nation council in which it was cleared that Until the last decision the Territory leaved by the Pakistan Army will be remain under charge of local authorities under the supervision of commission. Commission understand that the public were Muslim and in favour of Azad Kashmir government. After that several time leaders of both countries try to make discussions on this issue but still the Kashmir issue remain unresolved¹³⁸.

This chapter includes the very critical time period of the Jammu and Kashmir history. This was the time when the conflict rise and spread like fire in the respective region. The two new born countries put a base of the conflict, change in to the international dispute. The study focuses on the role of Azad Kashmir people during the time of conflict. How they participated in the war against Dogras is mentioned. Years are passing, but the conflict still stuck and the billions of the people waiting for the decision having dreams in their eyes. It is unfair to say that today the Kashmiri people have rights. They are on the same position in which they were in 19th century. They are not safe in their own country. The women are not safe. In the so-called respected developed world, the Kashmiri people are still waiting for their Independence.

¹³⁸ Sabir Smith, A telephonic Interview to the writer, October 16, 2024.

FINDINGS

As in the earlier study it is clear the situation of that time is critical for the Hindus and Muslims both. At that time with the Educational revolution a sense of political awareness was emerged among these communities. It was the beginning of the political time period un the state. Educational revolution was the main factor that gave the people sense.

In the middle of the 19th century when political struggle took place it enhanced people to resist against the Dogra Rulers. They start struggle for their rights collectively but later they divided into the two groups. Even within the Muslims there were two groups with different ideologies. It was the start of the nationalism in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Ethnicity is the prime factor that creates the sense of separate identity, for example during the 1931-39 this time period clearly explains how the sense of Ethnicity in religions and also in self-determination perspective affect the minds of Hindu and Muslims. A nation with different identities and the hundreds of years together put themselves in difficult situation. These different identities are the beauty of the society, and they can achieve the respective goals together with patience.

The study reveals that the ethnic differences between the Poonch region's population and the ruling elite in Jammu and Kashmir contributed to the emergence and sustenance of the resistance movement. The perceived disparities in power, resources, and representation along ethnic lines exacerbated tensions and created an environment conducive to conflict.

The unique geography and cultural traditions of the Poonch region played an important part in the development of the resistance movement. The area's hilly landscape and strong local customs

helped create a powerful sense of identity and independence, which encouraged people to resist outside control.

At first, the resistance in Poonch began with peaceful protests. However, over time, the people's growing anger and disappointment with the government's actions led them to take up arms. This change also brought new leaders, strategies, and goals to the movement.

Even today, the effects of the Poonch resistance can be seen in the region. It continues to influence local politics, the sense of identity, and the region's dealings with outside forces. The movement left behind a lasting desire for autonomy, self-rule, and the protection of regional identity.

CONCLUSION

The research explains the struggle movement of the people of Kashmir in the past century. Although the struggle is still continuing but I have used the word past century because the time period of the study is limited to the few decades. This research covers the time from 1932 to 1948. This time period is most important and has great turns of the history. Almost the biggest revolutions and the biggest problems generate within this time period. But it is necessary to clear the readers this time was not the beginning or not the end of the struggle.

Some of the factors like culture, geography, geopolitical importance is very important to understand the case of the respective countries. When you know about these factors it will be easy to understand the importance of the region as well as problems and difficulties. For the better understanding of the Kashmir problem (geographical importance for the neighbor's countries) an introductory chapter is included in the research. This chapter elaborates the importance of the region and why it is important for the neighbor's countries.

The resistance movement in Kashmir from 1931 to 1948 represents a critical chapter in the political and historical evolution of the region. The trajectory of the Kashmiri struggle—from the early protests against Dogra autocracy to the armed uprisings in places like Poonch—was not merely a reaction to oppression but an assertion of identity, dignity, and the political will of the Kashmiri people. This movement was marked by a profound transformation: from peaceful mobilizations and civil disobedience to a full-fledged uprising rooted in both national and local grievances. The seeds of political consciousness sown in 1931 matured into a robust and determined resistance by the late 1940s.

A close analysis of the Poonch uprising reveals the complex interplay of regional discontent, economic exploitation, and political neglect under the Dogra regime. The revolt was not an isolated event but rather the culmination of years of systemic injustice. The imposition of heavy taxation, socio-economic marginalization of Muslims, and lack of political representation ignited a powerful response from the local population. The role of ex-servicemen, who had returned from World War II with new political awareness and military skills, added a decisive edge to this resistance, giving it a more organized and strategic character.

The role of religious, social, and political leadership in shaping the resistance also emerged as a key factor. The influence of the Muslim Conference and later the evolving role of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference showed how divided political visions impacted the direction of the movement. While one faction sought greater autonomy within the Indian framework, the other emphasized a stronger affiliation with Pakistan, especially after 1947. This ideological divergence reflected broader tensions between primordial loyalties, political pragmatism, and the competing nationalisms of India and Pakistan.

International dynamics further complicated the resistance. The partition of British India and the hurried decolonization process left unresolved questions about princely states, especially Kashmir. The failure to implement a fair and timely plebiscite, as promised by the United Nations, added to the sense of betrayal among Kashmiris. The entry of Indian and Pakistani forces into the region militarized the conflict and turned what was essentially a people's movement into a proxy battleground. This shift diverted the focus from the Kashmiri people's aspirations to geopolitical rivalry.

Importantly, the Poonch resistance must be seen not only as a response to external domination but as an indigenous movement for self-determination. The involvement of ordinary villagers, tribal groups, and local leaders illustrates the bottom-up nature of the uprising. Their courage and sacrifices laid the foundation for what would become Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Despite limited resources, the people of Poonch displayed extraordinary resilience and a deep commitment to liberation, which remains a source of inspiration in the region's collective memory.

When ever in the history revolution come into being, it was not sudden but it takes time to be aware for the rights. Before the 19th century the state of Kashmir remains under different rules. Invaders from the out side came here and make their governments. Despite facing the different Rulers from different countries Kashmir never loss it's own culture. A beautiful culture of Kashmir always remains solid.

During the time of invasions different rules adopt different strategies for the government but they failed to maintain a good governance in Kashmir. These outsiders never think about the welfare of the people rather than torture people. Most of the rules like Sikh rulers from Punjab were not interested to stay in Kashmir, they appoint their governor here and rule from the Punjab. In that time the condition of the people was very pitiable as described in the research. Lack of facilities and absence of human rights in the society makes the people angry towards rulers.

The biggest turn in to the history of awearness happened during the world war I. In this war most of the Kashmiri people fight for the British government. When these people went to the Germany they observed their culture and civilization. They also realized how these countries treat their people. From the return of the war they were unhappy and have a new hope in their hearts and minds. At that time Hindus were also part of the government institutions, only Muslims were

backward in both education and employment. So the Muslims realize the importance of education and representation.

Most of the people went to the foreign for the Education. In their return these were the persons whom felt the conditions of the Muslims and also observe the unfairness of the Hindus to words Muslims. So they worked for the Muslims representation as a result Muslim Conference was formed in the 1932. This was the first success of the Kashmiri Muslims. Lots of minor incidents took place in previous years who helped the Muslims to make their own party is also discussed in previous chapters.

During this decay from 1932-1940 it is unfair to deny the struggle of the Muslim conference. At that time sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was the president of the party. They work hard for the Muslims of Kashmir at that time. During this time period neighbor's county like Pakistan and India (subcontinent) face a biggest revolution, so it also effects the Muslim community in the Kashmir. On the other hand, Jinnah Visit to Kashmir was also very important.

During 1940s when the Pakistan resulsion was presented Kashmiri Muslims also show interest in this regard. A huge crowd from the Kashmir was in favour of Pakistan. In the future several events accused same as in the subcontinent like sheikh Abdullah demand for the constitutional Monarchy for the people. He also talks about the democratic rights for the people. This time period for the Kashmir is very important in the history. Because the biggest Kashmir issue generate in this Decay.

The future of the princely states was one of the mission's most major concerns. As soon the members arrived in Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah the president of the National Conference submitted a memorandum to its members that demanded not just a responsible

government under the aegis of the Maharaja but also the Kashmiri people's right to absolute freedom from the autocratic rule of the Dogra House. The Quit Kashmir movement was launched to pressure the oppressive Dogra government to grant sovereignty to the people of Kashmir.

The conclusion of this movement in 1948 with the establishment of the ceasefire line did not mark the end of the Kashmiri struggle; rather, it redefined it. The conflict was frozen geographically but not ideologically. The legacy of the 1931–1948 resistance continues to shape Kashmiri political consciousness and remains central to any future resolution. The story of this resistance is one of interrupted aspirations—where a people's right to decide their own future was put on hold by international politics and competing sovereignties.

In sum, the resistance movement in Kashmir between 1931 and 1948 was a profound expression of Kashmiri identity, shaped by historical grievances, political mobilization, and a longing for justice. This period laid the groundwork for future movements and remains a crucial reference point in understanding the unresolved nature of the Kashmir conflict today. It is essential for scholars, policymakers, and peace advocates to revisit this history—not merely to assign blame, but to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Kashmiri people and to chart a path toward a just and lasting peace.

The present study has examined the Resistance Movement in Kashmir from 1931 to 1948 through the Primordialism theoretical lens, which emphasizes the deep-seated and inherent ethnic, religious, and cultural identities that shape political behavior and collective movements. The Kashmir resistance, as explored in this thesis, was not a spontaneous or isolated event but rather a culmination of long-standing socio-political, religious, and economic grievances deeply rooted in primordial identities, particularly along religious and ethnic lines.

Primordialism holds that identities such as religion, ethnicity, and kinship are fixed, deeply ingrained, and emotionally significant for individuals and communities. In the case of Kashmir, the Muslim identity served as a primary unifying force that mobilized the population against the Hindu Dogra rule, whose policies systematically marginalized the Muslim majority economically, politically, and socially. The resistance that began in 1931 can be viewed not merely as a reaction to immediate political triggers but as a manifestation of centuries of perceived discrimination, exclusion, and subjugation, which had accumulated within the collective consciousness of the Kashmiri Muslims.

The events of 1931 marked a critical awakening of the Muslim community in Kashmir, who, under the yoke of the Dogra regime, felt that their religious and ethnic identity was under existential threat. This collective anxiety and shared historical memory reinforced primordial bonds, giving rise to a coherent movement that demanded not just political rights but also the restoration of dignity and religious respect. Political organizations like the Muslim Conference emerged as vehicles that articulated these primordial grievances into structured political demands.

As the study progressed to the 1940s, these primordial identities became even more pronounced, particularly with the broader Hindu-Muslim polarization across the Indian subcontinent. The All-India Muslim League's advocacy for a separate Muslim homeland (Pakistan) resonated with Kashmiri Muslims, who identified more strongly with the Pan-Islamic cause than with the secular-nationalist narrative of the Indian National Congress. The communal politics of the 1940s further entrenched the primordial identities, influencing political allegiances and shaping the trajectory of the resistance in Kashmir.

The Poonch uprising of 1947-48, as analyzed in this study, stands as a quintessential example of Primordialism in action. The uprising was driven by the entrenched religious solidarity among the Muslims of the region, who viewed the Dogra administration's oppressive taxation and exploitative policies as not just economic injustices but as part of a broader Hindu hegemony over Muslim subjects. This perception, fueled by shared ethnic-religious identities, galvanized the masses into an armed rebellion that sought liberation not only from economic deprivation but also from religious and ethnic subjugation.

Similarly, the tribal invasion from Pakistan in October 1947 was underpinned by primordial solidarities, as the tribal Pashtuns from Pakistan's frontier regions felt a religious kinship with Kashmiri Muslims. Their incursion, while politically motivated, was justified on the grounds of protecting fellow Muslims from Hindu repression, reflecting a clear primordial attachment that transcended national borders.

The formation of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) also cannot be divorced from primordial dynamics. The very nomenclature of "Azad" (Free) Jammu and Kashmir reflects the desire to create a socio-political space where the Muslim identity could thrive free from Hindu domination. The alignment of the local population with Pakistan, rather than India, was thus a natural extension of these deep-seated primordial loyalties.

In conclusion, the Primordialism theory provides a comprehensive framework to understand the Kashmiri resistance from 1931 to 1948. The persistence of religious, ethnic, and cultural identities shaped the motivations, strategies, and outcomes of the resistance movement. While political, economic, and strategic factors certainly influenced events, it was the primordial bonds of religion and ethnicity that primarily drove the consciousness of resistance. The legacies

of this period continue to shape the contemporary political landscape of Kashmir, where primordial identities remain central to both the conflict and the aspirations of its people.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy Recommendations

The ongoing conflict has led to the loss of many lives on both sides of the border. Thousands of Kashmiris have been martyred. International human rights organizations must take serious notice of this situation.

As discussed earlier in this study, the United Nations Security Council should have conducted a referendum to allow the Kashmiri people to decide whether they want to join Pakistan or India. The delay in taking meaningful action has gone on too long—now is the time to take real steps toward a peaceful solution.

Currently, the people of Kashmir are offered only two choices: to join either Pakistan or India. However, a third option—an independent Kashmir—should also be considered. Kashmir has a unique history and once had its own government. The people should be given the right to choose between three options in a fair and free referendum.

Moreover, the government should acknowledge and respect the distinct cultural identity and regional demands of the Poonch area. There must be inclusive governance, with proper representation of the local population in all decision-making processes.

Research Recommendations

More in-depth studies are needed to understand how regional identity influences conflicts and political demands. Comparing the Kashmir resistance with similar movements in other parts of the world could help better explain the complex relationship between conflict and identity.

Practical Recommendations

Steps should be taken to protect and promote the rich cultural heritage and traditional values of the region. The government and organizations should involve local communities in planning and development activities, ensuring their voices are heard and respected in shaping their future.

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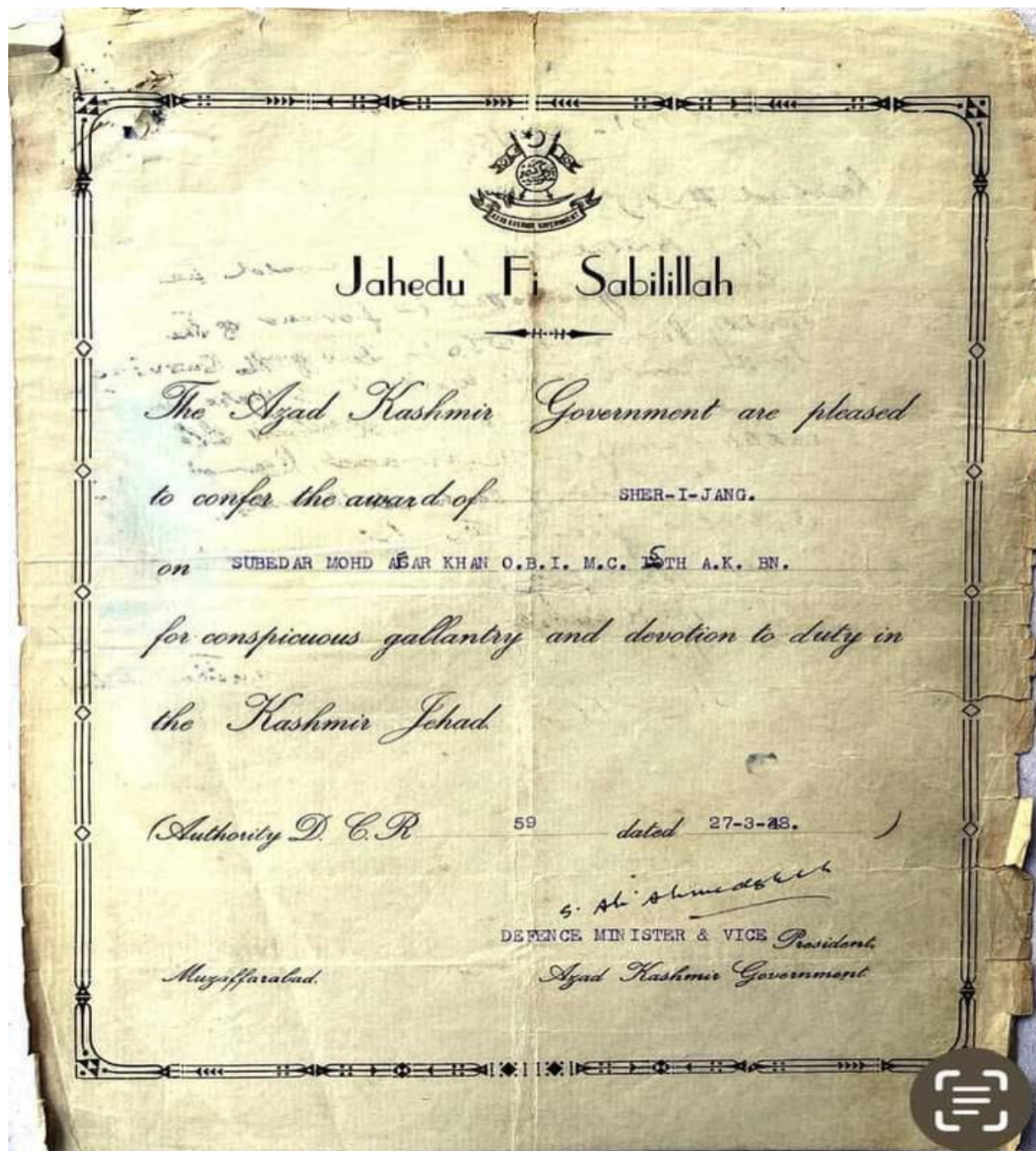
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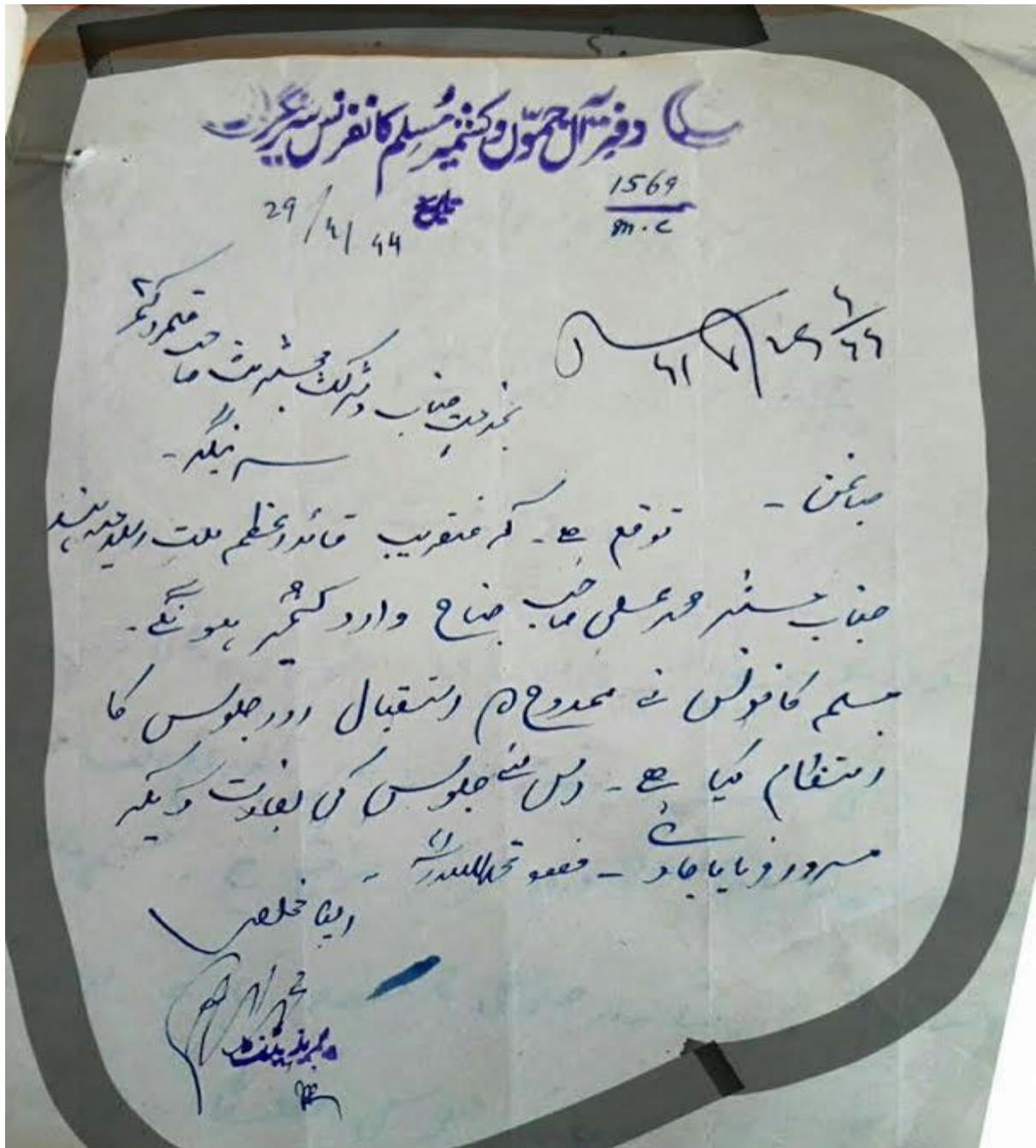
Appendices

Government official papers

An award for the bravery in jihad Kashmir (1947) to Subedar Mohd Afsar khan Shaheed.



A photograph of a letter seeking permission to hold a congregation in Muhammad Ali Jinnah honour.



The Map of the State of Jammu and Kashmir before Accession



Yadgar Shuhada Mang (1947).

بیادگار شہداء منگ ۱۹۴۷ء

سپرکرتی و باطل کے متوالے جنگ آزادی کے ہیرو صفا اور کے شہداء جنہوں نے ملک کی سرحدیں کیلئے اپنا خون کا نذرانہ پیش کرتے ہوئے جا شہادت نوش کیا اور آئندہ آسمانی سوس و پتا دیار تہیکر جو ستارے تو ان کی ہی شہ ہے، ان شہداء و عازموں کو سلام و تعزیت پیش کرتے ہیں جنہوں نے ۲ اکتوبر ۱۹۴۷ء کو منگ کے مقام پر ڈوگر حملہ سے واپس ہونے کے بعد ان کے غلامی کی زنجیروں کو توڑ دیا۔

نمبر	نام	تعلقہ	تاریخ	مقام
۱	نصرت فرخ	علی پور	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۲	کرتل شیریں	شیشی خان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۳	شہناز	شیر علی خان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۴	فتح محمد	دست خان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۵	موسیٰ	کوہستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۶	مولانا شہزاد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۷	فتیہ محمد	شیر علی خان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۸	محمد عبدالرزاق	شیر علی خان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۹	نور احمد	کوہستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۰	محمد حسین	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۱	شاہ محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۲	عبدالغفور	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۳	اسحاق	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۴	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۵	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۶	نادر علی	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۷	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۸	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۱۹	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
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۲۱	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
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۲۶	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۲۷	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۲۸	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۲۹	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ
۳۰	محمد	نورستان	۱۹۴۷	منگ