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A. INDIA - PAKISTAN. — The Kashmir Situation. - Kashmiri and Pakistani Allegations and Counter-Allegations of Frontier Violations. - Invasion of Kashmir by Moslem Tribesmen. - Kashmir's Accession to India. - Non-Acceptance by Pakistan. - Statements by Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, and Pandit Nehru. - Indian Troops sent to Kashmir. - Invaders driven from Srinagar Approaches. - Kashmir Plebiscite on Accession Question. - Sheikh Abdullah appointed Prime Minister of Kashmir.

A tense situation between India and Pakistan arose during October over the position of Kashmir State, which at the time of the transfer of power on Aug. 15 had acceded to neither Dominion. This tension arose early in the month as a result of a number of incidents and alleged "infiltrations" on the frontiers of Pakistan and Kashmir, leading to charges and counter-charges by the Pakistani and Kashmiri Governments against each other, an attempted invasion of Kashmir by tribesmen allegedly operating from Pakistan, the despatch of Indian troops to repulse the invaders, the accession of Kashmir to the Dominion of India, and the non-recognition of that accession by Pakistan.

On Oct. 12 it was announced in Karachi by the Pakistani Foreign Ministry that a protest had been sent to Kashmir following reports from Moslem soldiers of the Pakistani Army, when returning from leave from their homes in the Poonch area of Kashmir, that non-Moslem bands were allegedly attacking Moslem villages in that area, burning down Moslem homes, and terrorising the Moslem population. The Kashmir State authorities were requested to restore law and order in the Poonch area and to inform the Pakistani Government of the measures taken.

On Oct. 15 the Kashmiri Premier (Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan), in a communication to the Pakistani Government and the *Quaid-i-Asam*, Mr. Jinnah, categorically denied these allegations; alleged that, so far from Kashmiris attacking Moslems, thousands of armed Pakistanis had crossed the frontier from the Sialkot district and had committed "horrors on non-Moslems" in the Poonch area; accused the Pakistani press and radio of "pouring out volumes of malicious and false propaganda" designed to coerce Kashmir into joining Pakistan; and declared that "Kashmir is being blamed for acts which are actually being committed by Pakistanis." The message went on to accuse the Pakistani authorities in the Western Punjab of holding up supplies of petrol, food, salt, sugar and cloth for Kashmir; of refusing to operate the postal system; of discontinuing railway traffic between Sialkot and Jammu (Kashmir); of holding up Kashmiri-registered motor vehicles; and of making it difficult for the Imperial Bank of Kashmir to meet its obligations owing to the failure of remittances from Lahore. "The Kashmiri Government," said the communication, "cannot but conclude that all this is being done with the knowledge and connivance of the local authorities. It considers these acts extremely unfriendly if not actually inimical . . . and wishes to make it plain that it is not possible to tolerate this attitude any longer." After asking Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (the Pakistani Premier) to look into the matter personally and "put a stop to all the iniquities being perpetrated," the message concluded: "If, unfortunately, this request is not heeded the Government (of Kashmir) . . . would be justified in asking for friendly assistance and in opposing trespass on its fundamental rights."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, in his reply on Oct. 18, expressed "astonishment" at the Kashmiri communication; denied "categorically and emphatically" the allegations made against Pakistan; and, after protesting that the Kashmiri Government, instead of taking "immediate and effective action" in respect of the earlier Pakistani complaints, had put forward "vague allegations of infiltrations by Pakistanis into Kashmir," continued: "There is mounting evidence of ruthless oppression of Moslems in Kashmir, and raids into Pakistani territory by armed Dogra bands and non-Moslem refugees from the Punjab, . . . Large numbers of armed Sikhs, as well as Hindus, have gone to Kashmir with the object of repeating the tactics they followed in the Eastern Punjab—to kill, terrorise and drive out the Moslems. The exodus of Moslems from the State has already started. The Pakistan Government take a most serious view of the state of affairs wherein the Moslems of Kashmir are suppressed and forcibly driven out of Kashmir." Referring to the Kashmiri statement that "friendly assistance" might be sought, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said that this would "presumably mean assistance from an outside Power," and added: "The only object of intervention by an outside Power would be the process of suppressing Moslems so as to enable Kashmir to join the Dominion of India as a *coup d'état* against the declared will of the Moslems who form 85 per cent of the population of the State. If this policy is not changed . . . the gravest consequences will follow." Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan also denied the allegations that Pakistan was placing economic and transport difficulties in the way of Kashmir, saying that the Western Punjab authorities had been asked to co-operate with Kashmir in those matters and that any transport difficulties in that Province arose from current circumstances and did not constitute an unfriendly act against Kashmir.

On Oct. 25 the text of a communication by Mr. Jinnah to the Maharaja of Kashmir was released in Karachi. After deploring the fact that the Prime Minister of Kashmir had "resorted to language . . . which embodies a threat to seek outside assistance and is almost in the nature of an ultimatum," the *Quaid-i-Azam* said that the Kashmiri Government's "one-sided and *ex parte* allegations cannot

be supported"; declared that the Kashmiri authorities had ignored Pakistani suggestions, made much earlier, that representatives of both Governments should meet to seek a solution of outstanding difficulties; and added that the Kashmiri Government's "unfounded allegations and accusations" were merely a "smoke-screen" intended to cover the real purposes of that Government's policy. Mr. Jinnah went on to accuse the Kashmiri Government of differential treatment of Moslems and non-Moslems, saying that on the one hand the Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah, who had been tried and convicted of high treason, had been set at liberty and permitted to resume the leadership of the (pro-Congress) National Conference organisation in Kashmir, whilst on the other hand the leaders of the Moslem Conference organisation in that State were still "rotting in gaol" and were not allowed "the elementary right of civil liberties." After reiterating the Pakistani belief that the real aim of the Kashmiri Government's policy was to secure union with India by a *coup d'état*, Mr. Jinnah expressed the view that a settlement of Pakistani-Kashmiri difficulties "in a friendly way" instead of by "an acrimonious and bitter correspondence" was an urgent necessity, and for this purpose invited the Kashmiri Premier to Karachi for conversations.

Meanwhile reports from Srinagar indicated that the position in Kashmir had grown more serious. Despatches from the Kashmir capital on Oct. 24 stated that the Moslem peasantry in Western Kashmir, with the alleged support of armed Pakistanis from across the Jhelum river (which in this area forms the frontier between Kashmir and Pakistan), were in armed rebellion in Poonch Province, had cut the main Rawalpindi-Srinagar road, and had forced Kashmir State troops to withdraw eastwards to the town of Poonch (about 35 miles from the frontier and some 50 miles N.E. of Rawalpindi). Mr. Batra, the Deputy-Premier of Kashmir, stated in New Delhi (where he had seen Pandit Nehru) on Oct. 26 that over 2,000 "Afridis, soldiers of the Pakistani Army on leave, and desperadoes," armed with modern weapons, had entered Kashmir in about 100 trucks on Oct. 22 and were resorting to "arson, murder and looting" against non-Moslems.

On Oct. 27 it was officially announced from New Delhi that Kashmir had acceded to the Dominion of India; that the Governor-General (Lord Mountbatten) had accepted the accession at the request of the Maharaja in view of the special circumstances then existing; that when the threat to the peace of Kashmir was removed steps would be taken to ascertain the will of the Kashmiri people; that the Maharaja had had discussions with Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary of the Indian States Dept., in Kashmir; and that Sikh airborne troops had been despatched to Kashmir to restore law and order.

The correspondence between the Maharaja of Kashmir (Sir Hari Singh) and Lord Mountbatten was released at the same time. In his letter the Maharaja said: "I wanted to take time to decide to which Dominion I should accede and whether it was not in the best interests of my State to remain independent, of course with cordial relations with both Dominions. I accordingly approached India and Pakistan to enter into a standstill agreement with my State. The Pakistani Government accepted this arrangement. The Dominion of India desired further discussions with representatives of my Government. I could not arrange this in view of the developments indicated below. . . . Though we have got a standstill agreement with the Pakistani Government, that Government permitted a steady and increasing strangulation of supplies to my State. . . . Desperadoes with modern weapons have been allowed to infiltrate into the State, first in the Poonch area, then from Sialkot, finally in a mass from the area adjoining the Hazara District. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and thus had to face the oncoming at several points simultaneously, so that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property. . . . The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching with the aim of capturing Srinagar as a first step to over-running the whole State. The mass infiltration of tribesmen drawn from distant areas of the N.W. Frontier Province, coming regularly in motor-trucks and fully armed with up-to-date weapons, cannot possibly be done without the knowledge of the Provincial Government of the N.W.F.P. and of the Government of Pakistan. In spite of repeated appeals made by my Government no attempt has been made to check these raiders or stop them from entering my State. . . . With the conditions obtaining at present in my State, and the emergency of the situation, I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to India. I have accordingly decided to do so, and attach the Instrument of Accession. . . . The other alternative is to leave my State and people to freebooters." The Maharaja concluded by announcing that Shoiikh Mohamed Abdullah (see above) had been asked to take over the Kashmiri Premiership in the emergency and to set up a Government.

Lord Mountbatten, in accepting Kashmir's accession in the special circumstances prevailing, said in his letter to the Maharaja: "In consistence with their policy that, in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is the Government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader,

the question of the State's accession should be settled by reference to the people."

On Oct. 28 the Indian Premier, Pandit Nehru, sent a message to Mr. Attlee informing him that he (Pandit Nehru) had sent a telegram to Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan inviting the Pakistani Government's co-operation in stopping the raiders entering Kashmir from Pakistani territory; that the Government of India's action in Kashmir had been forced upon them by circumstances and by the "imminent and grave danger" to Srinagar; that India had no desire to intervene in Kashmiri affairs once the State had been cleared of the raiders and law and order established; that the question of accession was regarded as one solely for the decision of the Kashmiri people; and that he had invited Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to meet him in Delhi to discuss the Kashmiri situation.

A press *communiqué* issued in Lahore on Oct. 30 stated that "in the opinion of the Pakistan Government the accession of Kashmir to India is based on fraud and violence and as such cannot be recognised." On Nov. 4, on which date Pakistan Army H.Q., Rawalpindi, issued a statement emphatically denying that any Pakistani troops were operating in Kashmir, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan broadcast from Lahore.

After declaring that Kashmir "was, under the infamous Amritsar Treaty, sold by the British to a Dogra chieftain for the paltry sum of 75,000 rupees," he continued: "The present Maharaja inherits the people of Kashmir from his forefathers as though they are so much cattle. It is this Immoral and illegal ownership that Indian troops are defending. . . . During the past 100 years of Dogra rule the Kashmiris have been dragged down to the lowest depths of misery. In recent years they have made many attempts to fight for their freedom. Time and again they have been thwarted, but time and again they have risen to defy tyranny." The Pakistani Premier declared that the Kashmiris had been "caught in the meshes of a widespread plan for the extermination of Moslems"; alleged that "this plan has succeeded in Alwar, Patiala, Faridkot, and Kapurthala . . . all States that have acceded to the Indian Union"; and added: "The armies of Pakistan have not marched into Kashmir as the armies of India marched into Junagadh when that State acceded to Pakistan. The Government of India regarded the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan as a threat to their security. The accession of Kashmir to India is a much greater threat to the security of Pakistan. We do not recognise this accession."

Pandit Nehru, in a broadcast from Delhi on Nov. 2, reiterated that India, when accepting the accession of Kashmir, accepted at the same time the position that the ultimate future of the State should be decided by the Kashmiri people.

"A neighbouring Government," he said, "using language not fit for Governments, has accused the Government of India of fraud in regard to the accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union. . . . I agree there have been fraud and violence in Kashmir, but the question is: 'Who is responsible for it?' . . . I am convinced that what we have done was the right thing. We have no intention of using our troops in Kashmir when the danger of invasion is past. We have declared that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people. That pledge we have given. The Maharajah has supported it, and we wish to give it again not only to the people of Kashmir but to the whole world. We want it to be a fair and just referendum and we shall accept the verdict. I can imagine no fairer and more just offer. . . . We are prepared, when peace, law, and order have been established, to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations. Meanwhile we have given our word to the people of Kashmir to protect them against the invader, and we will keep our pledge."

In Kashmir itself the invading tribesmen, reinforced by several thousand local Moslem peasants, launched a drive on Srinagar from the N.W. (the Vale of Kashmir) and the S.W., and on the night of Oct. 27 captured Baramula, a town some 10 miles N.W. of the Kashmiri capital; the defending force, including Kashmir State troops and two Sikh companies of the Indian Army, suffered casualties and were obliged to fall back. Though the invading force advanced from Baramula to within 18 miles of Srinagar, they were held at the approaches to the capital by Sikh airborne troops flown from India and by Spitfires and Tempests of the Royal Indian Air Force, and by Oct. 31 had been driven back several miles along the Baramula road. After consolidating positions west and north of Srinagar, the Indian forces, which had been brought up to brigade strength, launched an offensive on Nov. 3, recapturing the villages of Patan and Badgom (respectively 17 miles N.W. and 10 miles S.W. of Srinagar) from the invaders, who suffered many casualties; at Badgom, which is within 4 miles of Srinagar airfield, a concentration of 700 raiders was bombed and machine-gunned by the RIAF, an estimated 300 casualties (including about 100 killed) being inflicted on the invading force. On Nov. 7, reinforced by armoured fighting vehicles, the Indian force, with strong air support, launched an attack on the raiders' prepared positions astride the Baramula road; these positions, consisting of slit trenches and dug-outs, were broken by a frontal attack, the raiders

suffering further heavy casualties, estimated at several Hundreds, by bombing and strafing attacks from Indian planes. The Indian Defence Ministry, in a *communiqué* of Nov. 9, announced that Baramula had been recaptured the previous day, that the threat to Srinagar had been lifted, and that, apart from isolated pockets of resistance, the Vale of Kashmir had been cleared of invading forces.

Despatches from correspondents with the Indian troops in Kashmir stated that the invading force numbered about 10,000, armed with modern weapons such as Bron guns and machine-guns; that prisoners taken included a number of tribesmen—among them Afridis, Waziris, and Mahsuds—from the N.W. Frontier; and that, in areas occupied by the raiders a number of villagos had been burned and looted.

During these operations the raiders set up a "Provisional Government of Azad (Free) Kashmir," headed by Sardar Mohammed Ibrahim, which on Nov. 3 appealed through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Hr. Trygve Lie, to all "freedom-loving peoples" to "support the people of Kashmir in their fight for freedom" against the "oppressive and autocratic tyranny of Dogra imperialism." Similar messages were sent to Mr. Attlee, President Truman, Marshal Stalin, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and the heads of all Moslem nations.

In conformity with the Maharaja's announcement, Sheikh Mahomed Abdullah was sworn in as Prime Minister of Kashmir on Oct. 31 in succession to Mr. Mahajan.

Sheikh Abdullah, a Moslem and a science graduate of Allgarh University, helped before the war to found the Kashmir National Conference—a pro-Congress and non-communal body open to all communities—and was several times its President. Towards the end of the war he inaugurated a "Quit Kashmir" movement aimed at the establishment of a "people's Raj" under the aegis of the Maharaja as a constitutional monarch; was sentenced to imprisonment; and was released on Oct. 1 by the Maharaja, after 16 months' incarceration, as an act of clemency. After taking office as Prime Minister he called on all Kashmiris, Hindus, Sikhs, and Moslems, to unite in defence of the country; upheld the principle of a popular vote on the question of accession; and expressed his willingness to moot Mr. Jinnah in Karachi to discuss the whole situation with him.

Mr. Noel-Baker, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, in answer to questions in the House of Commons on the Kashmir situation, said on Oct. 30 that it had been agreed on Oct. 28 that a conference should be held in Lahore at which Lord Mountbatten, Mr. Jinnah, Pandit Nehru, and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan would attend; that, however, it had had to be postponed owing to Mr. Nehru's illness; and that Mr. Attlee had urged on both the Indian and Pakistani Governments that it was only by "frank consultations at the highest level" that a solution of the problems involved could be found. On Nov. 1 leaders of both Dominions attended a Joint Defence Council held in Lahore under the chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten; neither Pandit Nehru, because of illness, nor Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who was likewise indisposed, were able to attend, and Mr. Jinnah was also absent because Lord Mountbatten was not present at the conference in his capacity of Governor-General of India. The conference, which was attended by Field-Marshal Auchinleck as Supreme C.-in-C. of both the Indian and Pakistani Forces, did not in these circumstances discuss the Kashmir situation but dealt with other matters affecting the security of both Dominions.

(Pakistan High Commission Office, London - India News - The Statesman, Calcutta - Times - Manchester Guardian)(Prev. rep.

Indian-Pakistani Relations, Junagadh Crisis, 8860 A.)

Note.—Kashmir, which has frontiers with Pakistan, India, China, and the Soviet Union, has an area of 82,000 sq. miles, making it, with Hyderabad (which has about the same area), one of the two largest States in India. The population (1941 figures) is just over 4,000,000, of whom 80 per cent are Moslems. The capital, Srinagar, has about 174,000 inhabitants. Though Kashmir is predominantly a Moslem State, the ruling dynasty is Hindu; the present Maharaja, Sir Hari Singh, ascended the throne in 1925.

A. GERMANY. — American Zone. - Bremen Elections.

Elections to the new State Parliament of Bremen held on Oct. 12 resulted in the Social-Democrats securing 40 of the 100 seats, followed by the Christian Democratic Union (24 seats), the Bremen Democratic party (15 seats) and the Communists (10 seats), the remaining 5 seats being filled by minor groupings. A new State Constitution was adopted at the same time. Less than 70 per cent of the electorate voted. (New York Times) (Prev. rep. 8460 A.)

B. LONDON. — King George VI Reservoir.

The King George VI Reservoir, which will add substantially to London's water supplies, was officially opened by his Majesty on Nov. 7 at Staines. Covering an area as large as Hyde Park, it will be the second largest in the Metropolitan Water Board area and will raise the total storage capacity of the Board to 22,500,000,000 gallons.—(Times)