

BIRTH OF A TRAGEDY KASHMIR 1947

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Acknowledgements

Since the publication of my *Kashmir. A Disputed Legacy 1846–1990* in 1991, I have been able to carry out further research into the minutiae of those events of 1947 which resulted in the end of the British Indian Empire, the Partition of the Punjab and Bengal and the creation of Pakistan, and the opening stages of the Kashmir dispute the consequences of which are with us still. While in no significant respect altering the conclusions which I had reached in 1991, yet this new work has illuminated more brightly a number of topics including the process by which the Punjab was partitioned, the alleged signing of the Instrument of Accession by the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir on 26 October 1947, and the negotiations and discussions which finally resulted in the Indian reference of the Kashmir question to the Security Council of the United Nations on 1 January 1948. Such additional data, much of it amplifying and clarifying what was outlined in my 1991 book, seems to me to justify a further publication.

My research since 1991 has been based on many sources. I had the good fortune to be able to talk with several individuals who still remember what happened in 1947, and I have availed myself of their recollections here. There are also some extremely valuable papers, hitherto unexplored, preserved in the India Office Library and Records of the British Library, where the staff gave me their unstinting assistance which I have much appreciated. I must thank the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationary Office for permission to quote from Crown copyright material. I would also like to acknowledge the kindness of Athar Ali in securing for me all four volumes of *The Partition of the Punjab 1947*, an invaluable set of documents compiled by Mian Muhammad Sadullah and published in Lahore in 1983. These volumes are the essential companion to the final volumes of *The Transfer of Power 1942–7*; and without them it would have been much more difficult for me to work out how and why Punjab was partitioned.

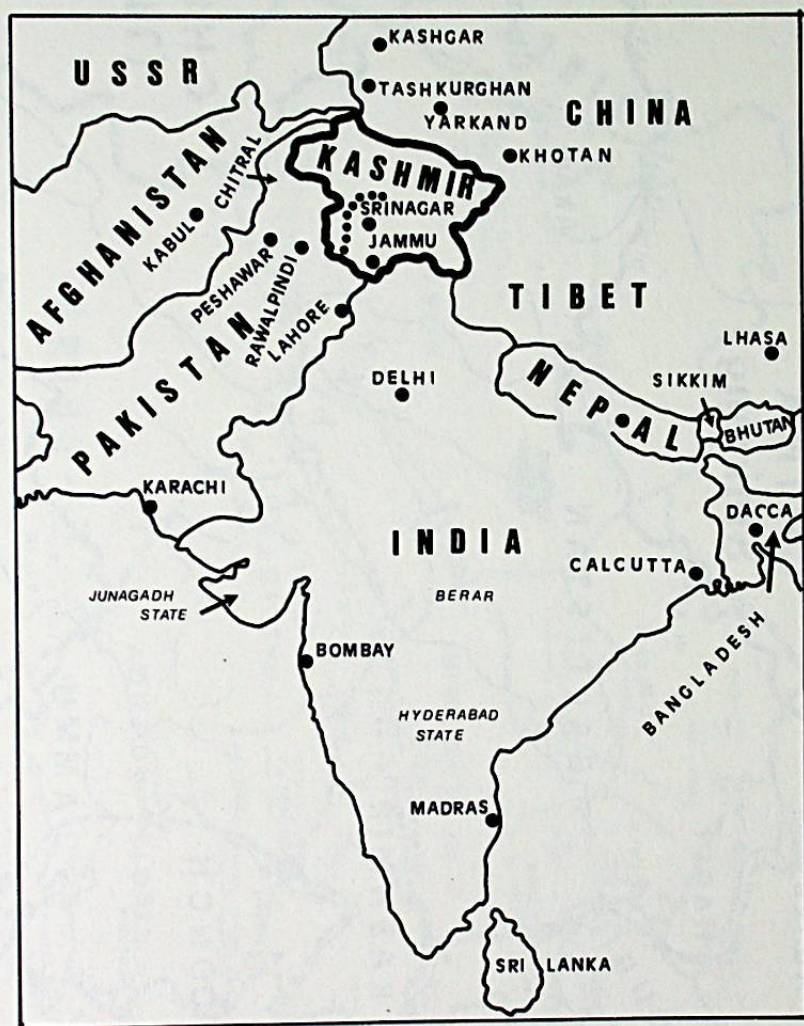
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I hope that the fresh matter contained in this book will eventually be incorporated into a revised edition of *Kashmir. A Disputed Legacy*, when it will be accompanied by all the appropriate references and explanatory footnotes. In the present book, bearing in mind some cogent criticism of my predilection for an elaborate critical apparatus, I have kept references to the absolute minimum, and those within the body of the text. The policy has been to mention only secondary works which have seemed to me for one reason or another to be of exceptional importance or interest. I have not given specific references for documentary material in the India Office Records though I have endeavoured to indicate their general whereabouts. For a variety of reasons the individuals whose memories have been drawn upon in this book are not named here though some of them will be acknowledged in the revised edition of *Kashmir. A Disputed Legacy*. Among the scholars to whom reference has not been made in the text I would particularly like to mention Ian Copland whose writings on so much of the background to the Kashmir dispute I have found exceptionally stimulating.

Kashmir. A Disputed Legacy received some extremely hostile reviews from Indian critics. Some of these were frivolous and just what one would expect in a situation so dominated by national polemic; but some have merited serious attention, coming as they have from writers who know a great deal about the recent history of the Subcontinent. I have, in any case, looked into all criticisms to see if behind the occasionally offensive language there might lurk a nugget of truth. As a result of such comment from the Indian side, for example, I re-examined very carefully the journal and other papers of Sir George Cunningham to see what light they might cast upon the events which immediately preceded the formal Indian intervention in Kashmir on 27 October 1947.

I must acknowledge my debt to Julia Allen whose skilled editorial eye spotted a number of infelicities in the earlier versions of the typescript which, I hope, I have managed to eliminate. My wife, as has been her wont for many years now, supported me during the preparation of this book in too many ways to list here. As in the case of *Kashmir. A Disputed Legacy*, she prepared the maps; and she also helped see the book through the press.

Alastair Lamb,
Hertford and St. And  ol de Clerguemort,
October 1993.



Map 1. The State of Jammu & Kashmir in relation to its neighbours.

The Kashmir dispute has dominated the relations between India and Pakistan from the moment when these two countries first came into being in 1947 as successors to the old British Indian Empire. The dispute, indeed, emerged from the very same act of Partition of the British Raj which defined the territorial limits of independent India and Pakistan; and had a different approach to Partition been adopted in 1947 it is possible that at least the most damaging features of the dispute might have been avoided. In this book the story of the Kashmir dispute, from its birth during the accelerated process of Partition from March to August 1947 until it was put into the hands of the Security Council of the United Nations on 1 January 1948, is related in detail. The narrative makes use of a great deal of archival material, some hitherto unpublished. This is an entirely new book. It expands considerably the story told in Alastair Lamb's earlier *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990* and provides much fresh information on such topics as the Poonch rebellion against the Maharaja of Kashmir, the nature of the Maharaja's alleged accession to India in October 1947, and the various discussions between India and Pakistan (sometimes with British participation) from late October 1947 which failed to resolve the dispute and which culminated in the Indian reference to the United Nations in January 1948. By reexamining these early days of the dispute this book illuminates the essential features of the problem and highlights some of the major questions which must be addressed if there is to be any realistic prospect of ending what has evolved into one of the great tragedies of contemporary history.

Alastair Lamb is the author of several books on Sino-Indian and Indo-Pakistani relations, including *The China-India Border* (1964), *The McMahon Line* (1966), *Crisis in Kashmir* (1966), *Asian Frontiers* (1968), *The Sino-Indian Border in Ladakh* (1973), *Tibet, China & India 1914-1950* (1989), and *Kashmir - A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990* (1991).