

Understanding The Kashmiri Insurgency

By

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To
The Victims of Terror and other Terror

Foreword

The title of the book is self explanatory. "Kashmir is a land that delights in insurrections", observed Kalhana seeing what anarchy was prevalent in the valley during his times. The context was different in the past. The upheavals were against the despots for good government, freedom and liberty. The present phase is marked by 'the cult of the Kalashinkov', the valley of Kashmir is being haunted by the spectre of secessionism terrorism and fundamentalism has acquired dangerous dimensions. It is an indepth study of the Kashmir imbroglio. The fact that several studies are available to the readers and its results does not detract from the merit of present one, which is based on the historical view point. It unmaskes the designs of Pakistan since 1947, exposure of state leaders and their waverings, temporising of prince Hari Singh the ruler of State on the eve of accession, and Anglo—American intrigues. Besides it uncovers the bunglings of central leadership and British hangover of Indian bureaucracy while treating a sensitive border state of Kashmir. It is a sad story how a nascent flowering nationalist movement of Kashmiris hastouched the peaks of violence, terrorism and communal disharmony. It also suggests, how to rekindle future sparks from yesterdays embers. Prior to that it is must to have gleanings of the past. The causes of mass estrangement of Kashmiri masses and recourse to insurgency—though by itself an indicator of political weakness. Insurgency alone is incapable of achieving very much.²⁷

"The root cause of the present turmoil in Kashmir, to quote Mr. Girish Chander Saxena, Governor of Kashmir, was due to the peoples feelings that the state's autonomy had been diluted' 'These perceptions cannot be wished away and have, instead, to be considered". He did not endorse the

views of his predecessor, Mr. Jag Mohan, that the states special status was the root cause of all ills..... He said that the abrogation of the states special status, as advocated by certain people, was not the national policy. He justified his offer of talks on the quantum of autonomy by saying that the special status enjoyed by the state was enshrined in the constitution. He added that he had sworn allegiance to the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir”.

(The Times of India, Oct. 11, '91)

Understanding the Kashmiri insurgency is a seminal work by the author, who has been an active participant in the freedom movement and also in post independence phase. The author being a journalist and publicist, the work heightens and deepens the understanding of Kashmirs freedom struggle, accession of state to Indian union in 1947 and 1953 episode, dismissal and arrest of S.M. Abdullah, and 1975 Indira—Abdullah Accord. The book is a probe into a series of political and social problems, stimulating to consider the enormous complexity of Kashmir problem and of all changes wrought since 1953. It is an masterly analysis and exposition of the conditions leading to insurgency and of various attempts by centre to forge a politico—economic system that would damper the genuine aspirations of Kashmiris—erosion of article 370, installation of puppet regimes, denial of civil liberties, curbs on democratic urges and rigging of elections. The book contains a consistent and convincing analysis of the orgins of terrorism and the birth of fundamentalist movement which has some ideological impact on the emergence of various militant outfits—Hizbul-Mujahideen, Ikhwan-ul-Musslinaeen, Dukhtran-i-Millat etc. The author demythologises the fundamentalist zeal, romanticism of the ‘rebellious children of 21st century, religious obscurantist society of present day of Kashmir’, who resort to intimidation, blackmail, kidnapping, explosion and assasination, in a attempt to make people a gift of (Azadi), freedom from Indian Hindu imperialism, and a future without’ irreligious secularism and satanic western Democracy.

There is much talk about the term, 'political process', to be started in Kashmir. But the term is much maligned and much abused in today's context, but all the same it is the heart of national life. "We should not fight shy of any discussion on various aspects of initiating the political process in Kashmir which was put in oblivion by the indiscreet action of the former Governor Mr. Jagmohan, in dissolving the State Assembly.

Political process in life, silence is death. Lack of enjoyment denotes violence. The fight waged by the noble sons and daughters of Kashmir—Nund—Rishi and Lalaishwari to form a synergetic cult in the valley of Kashmir. The interaction of Hinduism and Islam was harmonious and in its historical process it developed its own brand of mysticism, 'Sufism' which bounds in the milk of secular humanism, preached by school of indigenous Rishis. And the endeavour thus begun continued in the subsequent periods of struggle for freedom. On this basis of traditional humanism it gave birth to modern nationalism, secularism, secular politics and socialist programmes. In a way the struggle continues with vehemence upto this day when we are faced with the Herculean task of a serious challenge posed by communalism and militancy in Kashmir. For today we have to come out for communal amity and counter threats posed by fundamentalists of all hues and simultaneously against the havoc being brought about by our own reactionaries active in different fields of social activity—economic political, social, cultural and the like.

It is apt to conclude the above FOREWORD with a quotation befitting the times :

"Our times are not easy for the pen, "said Vladimir Mayakovsky—to fathom, the historic truth, while following not on the trail of events and what events (?) was infinitely complicated.

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Preface

On 10th December 1989, terrorism erupted in the Kashmir Valley, plunging the state into most severe crisis. People everywhere seek a deeper understanding of the soil and roots of the emergence of terrorism in the valley, that demonstrated the acceleration of History in 1947 for the better - an oasis of communal harmony in a raging hell fire around it. The present volume analyses the design of Pakistan since 1947, exposure of state leaders and their waverings, role of the Prince Hari Singh, S.M. Abdullah on the eve of accession and Anglo American intrigues. It is a sad story how a nascent flowering secular—democratic movement of Kashmir has touched the peaks of violence, terrorism and communal disharmony. It strings together excerpts from the contributions made by the leading luminaries on the events of significance.

Understanding the Kashmiri Insurgency argues that Indian State and society are in the midst of crisis produced by the excessive interference of the Centre in the affairs of States—in case of Kashmir erosion of article 370.

Eloquent and clear in its discussion of Nehru, Patel, S.M. Abdullah, G.M. Sadiq and 'Nehruvian model', the Book presents a stimulating challenge to the simplistic communal approaches of B.J.P., V.H.P. and R.S.S., orthodoxies to the Kashmir problem. As such B.J.P. adds grist to the J-K Militant mill.

The theme of this Book, falls into eleven consecutive parts. The discussion on origins of terrorism. The glorious struggle of Kashmiri people and M.A. Jinnah's failure to win over Kashmiri leaders and people to his side and received a serious rebuff. It enunciates the four components of Kashmir problem and contradictions of Kashmiri Muslim consciousness. It also suggests, how to rekindle future sparks from yesterdays

embers. It advocates pursuing the tortuous path of Indi-Pak peace even there is still a wide gulf in the perception of two countries and on the solution of Kashmir problem.

Understanding the Kashmir insurgency will be of enormous interest to students of Indo-Pak relations, politics and modern history of Kashmir. This is an authoritative and incisive primer on the Kashmir problem and people, being at the centre of Indo-Pak confrontation. A well documented piece with references and notes.

—Author

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1

Shadow of Terror

An extensive literature in haste ; both journalistic and publicist has cropped up since Kashmir insurgency. Mostly it is full of deliberate concealment of historical facts, subjectivity and lack of the selection and arrangement of appropriate facts. Yet if absolute objectivity is impossible, the role of the writer in no way suffer, nor does analysis lose its fascination. It is apt to recall the favourite dictum of the great liberal journalist C.P. Scott : Facts are sacred opinion is free.

The cult of the Kalashnikov, a present dominant trend in Kashmir has debunked the myth that : "The Kashmiri is a loquacious person, but he rarely resorts to force, and the possibility of his blood being shed can readily instill terror into his heart."¹ In comparison to the past traditions the present prevalent "Gun-culture, is not merely a quantum jump but a backward leap-historical regression.

On causes of Terrorism in Kashmir pen has been wielded circumspectly and liberally too. Frequently the main springs of insurgency are dictated by nationalist or religious, ethnical and political aspirations. In their ideologies national, religious, ideological fundamentalism, political ethnical and social motives are interwoven, yet one can always determine which or these are primary and predominant and which are subordinate and attendant.

A recourse to insurgency is by itself an indicator of political weakness. It is an attempt to make small things look great. In-surgency alone is incapable of achieving very much, yet it can be instrument in the hands of much more powerful social forces and provoke most social upheavals-the danger of political and economic havoc, the establishment of an atmosphere of tension, capable of erupting into war. The insurgency poses the main questions. "The Right to hate" "A struggle against the people in the name of people," The total violence and Repressive tolerance. "Violence is a complex societal phenomenon which attempts to strike at the institutional aspect of state and Society. Its purpose is to induce fear and intimidation. (ALEX Schmid has identified 109 different" "definitions of violence" quoted in walter Lequeurs, reflections on Terrorism'.

There is also, "The other Terrorism or state Terrorism, for those who are not living in Kashmir it is just not possible to feel or comprehend what the people of State are going through.

There are two types of Terrorism-Leftist and Rightist. The Rightist terrorism is result of religious/iceological fundamantallism. In Kashmir it is result of religious fundamentalism combined with separatism. As such, terrorism represents a political cum ideological problem and can only be tackled effectively if this is taken into account.

Hatred towards the secular system, composite culture, religious tolerance, and the belief in rapid communal and unhealthy social myths are more than facts of life. There is a substantial difference between rightist and leftist terrorism. But both are bad enough. Life has shown that right terrorism in its scale and the number of victims surpass those of the leftist terror. The basic task of terrorism is not to eliminate individuals, even high ranking ones, it is to intimidate society. "Kill one, frighten ten thousand" is an old Chinese saying terrorists are fond of saying."²

Terrorism broke out in the valley in 1989. Pakistan proclaims its help and support to the terror on the strength of the

bond of Islam and the bond of ethnic identity, mostly religious. The roots of terrorism are multifacet, several and both long term and precipitate. The birth of nationalist movement in Kashmir in forties, and Kashmir's accession to India in 1947, and disintegration of this glorious movement, till it touched the peaks of Rightist, communal terrorism is a sad story of modern India.

To lay bare the political struggle of Kashmir, gleaning into its past is necessary to explode the common held myth that story of Kashmir starts since 1947. "The past which a historian studies is not a dead past, but a past which in some sense is still living in the present."

Past, Present and Future of the National Conference

The Muslim Conference since its inception in 1931, prior to its conversion to the National Conference, had a serious combat with traditional Muslim fundamentalism represented by Mirwaiz Moulvi Yousuf shah, a prominent religious leader, having a substantial base among Muslims and muslim elite. Mirwaiz, and his assoiates detested this new phenomenon. In 1932 he condemned the new progressive trend and said :

"Those who do not follow the cannons of Islam will never progress..... Those who donot know the different aspects of the meaning of the Arabic language can interpret the Quran wrongly."

Moulvi Yousuf Shah and his followers made up with the autocratic regime. The sweep of the new enlightenment among the Kashmiri masses isolated the Mullas (Muslim priests) and Mir Waiz failed to regain most of his lost influence. Ahmadiya influence began to have its impact on the embryonic movement led by S.M. Abdullah. Ahrars having anti-British orientation hit back and denounced Ahmadiya role in Kashmir.

Majlis-I-Ahrar-I-Islami Hind, participated in the 1930 session of the Congress at Lahore. The leaders and ranks of the

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organisation were prominent Kashmiri migrants-Attaullah Shah Bukhari, Mualana Mazhar Ali, Khawja Abdul Rehman Ghazi, several of whom latter played a role in Kashmir and anti-Ahmediyah affairs.⁴ In its very infancy it was responsible for launching a peoples movement in Kashmir. The response may be judged from the fact that several thousand persons courted imprisonment in that movement for extending rights of subjects. The Muslim Conference led by S.M. Abdullah actively responded to the fraternal co-operation extended by the Ahrarars to Kashmir freedom struggle. Muslim priests, business magnates (Khawjas), vested interests and Muslim communal intelligentsia in collusions with fundamentalists and Dogra Autocracy opposed this movement. It was the first battle; gruesome, tough and incisive fought in the streets between traditional Mullas, conservative and fundamentalists and their followers and new enlightened Muslim elite and common people. People won and traditional Mullaism was on defensive but not totally liquidated.

With the formation of All J & K Muslim Conference led by S.M. Abdullah, and his colleagues, a new alignment of forces took place. In embryonic form, the organisation was not communal in substance. It espoused the cause of peasantry artisan and intelligentsia. It demanded a legislature for the State people. And in 1934, it returned its candidates with jumping majority to the Praja Sabha. Muslim fundamentalist reaction was not lying low, though dormant it was forging links across the State borders-mainly Punjab. The main lever of this fundamentalist trend was priestly class, pro-British Muslim aristocracy and upper crust intelligentsia. British factor became active in Kashmir politics. The British Resident was ruling roost and during this phase British consolidation in J & K took place. In 1935, Maharaja Hari Singh surrendered the Gilgit Agency to the British.

British interference in the Kashmir affairs was not only confined to strategical sphere, but surreptitiously diverting the anti-feudal struggle into communal channels-a conflict of

Muslims against Hindu prince, such an attitude facilitated their active intervention in the state polity. These heinous designs of the British and Muslim league got foiled in the beginning of 1940, when in a special session of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference met in Srinagar in 1939, National conference was born, it forestalled the Two nation theory, Resolution of Muslim league adopted in Lahore Session in 1940 at Lahore. It had a far reaching significance, a Kashmiri muslim majority state like North West frontier playing down the Communal card of Mr. Jinnaha and discarding the theory of two cultures. It upheld the concept of composite culture. But this qualitative political transformation, needed sustenance and cooperation of all regions of the state. The Jammu and Kashmir State was mismatched politically and culturally.

Jinnah's Kashmir Visit (1944) A Dispute and Debate on two Nation Theory

Most of the prominent Muslim Conference leaders from Jammu-Choudhry Ghulam Abbas and Choudhry Hamidullah and others lined up with Mirwaiz Moulve Yousuf Shah, Muslim administrative intelligentsia was appreciative of such a step. Several Muslim M.L.A.s lead by Choudhry Hamid-ullah from the Jammu province left National Conference and again set up the Muslim Conference. They did enjoy the support of Muslim bureaucracy. The National Conference had to be on defensive. The ratio of Muslim Population, Population in Jammu was a major one-53 percent compared to Hindu 47 percent. Except an nationalist oasis-Mirpur Tehsil-(mostly Muslim) the rest was political desert. Most of the Dogra Hindu population had dominant pro-monarchy sentiment. In pre-partition days Hindu princes in North India proped up and aided R.S.S. organisation's. After Nagpur the strong storm centre of R.S.S. activities was considered Jammu division.

For National Conference and its leaders nationalism was not a garden path. The Path was strewn with thorns and difficult to tread. Both Muslim and Hindu fundamentalist forces had back of palace and support of British. Muslim Conference

acted as an associate body of All India Muslim league and hindus were actively in collaboration with Hindu communal organisation in India.

In this back drop and context Jinnah started his triumphant march from Punjab to Kashmir in '44. The muslim conference and its base in the State was at his back and call. The National Conference adopted a flexible strategy but stood firm on principles. It accorded reception but confronted Mr. Jinnah on the issue of struggle against feudal authocracy and imperialism and further, stressed the recognition of the National conference encapsulating all castes and Communities. Mr. Jinnah, as Muslim League was constituted could not offend princes and feudal lords, and could not support the socialist programme of "New Kashmir", dithered, prevaricated and finally declared war against S.M. Abdullah and National conference. For one month there was political contest and dialogue from the respective rostrums-an open and democratic. Mr. Jinnah could not succeed to persuade the Kashmiri Muslims to adopt two nation theory and slogan of Pakistan. Ultimately Mr. Jinnah met his waterloo in Kashmir and left kashmir disappointed. National conference was triumphant and morale of its cadre was high.

Howsoever, the seeds of idea of Pakistan and communalism were sown in the State. The entire Jammu Muslim population, ethnically and culturally akin to Punjabi Muslims was pro-Muslim league. In Kashmir Muslim intelligentsia, Muslim priestly class lead by Mirwaiz and big businessman were backbone of Muslim Conference. The National Conference following constituted, peasantry, lower middle class, lower clergy peers, artisans and working class.

Most of the muslim conference/leaders from Jammu province, who had opted at Anantnag session for National conference revised their decision under the pressure of the Muslims in the Governement Service, who considered their mouth-piece and platform the Muslim conference, who could support their sectional demands, in the way that the Muslim conference organisation did in the past. In the session held at Baramulla,

no muslim representative from the Jammu province attended the session except a few solitary figures from Mirpur-Sardar Budh Singh, Raja Akbar Khan, Master Abdul Aziz and Krishan Dev Sethi. On petty issues there were bickerings and under the pretext of dispute over script, some of the delegates tried to put National conference leadership on defensive and to embarrass it. A prominent leader from Jammu, Choudhry Hamidullah and other Muslim M.L.A's resigned from the National Conference, reconstituted and again set up Muslim Conference an associate body of All India Muslim League. This was a period of acute stresses and strains for Kashmir Nationalists. Communal and separatist activities caused the intensification of political disruption all over the country. It has its impact on Kashmir Political Scenario. To hold aloft the nationalist Banner was tough and arduous job. But the National conference held its ground with firmness and boldness and political clarity. The communal clap-trap and resolution of Muslim league on Pakistan in 1940, even had its repercussions in the state too.

The Left Radical Tradition in Kashmir Political Consciousness

The national Conference leadership did not dither, evolved a radical socio-economic programme-New Kashmir." It contained the detailed enunciation of the 'peasants charter' workers charter' and women's charter and restructuring of State apparatus on democratic principles. This progressive view point and programme was not to the taste and liking of official congress and Muslim league being through and through pro-imperialist-Pro-landlord was hostile to it.

In the post war period, the communists evolved the concept of the recognition of the right of self determination of nationalities. This approach was adopted by the National Conference. During Mr. Jinnahas visit in 1944 to Kashmir nationalist leaders advocated this view to Jinnah. In a mammoth session of all J & K National Conference held at Sopore in 1945, when Nehru, Azad, Khan Gaffar Khan Participated in the deliberations, the same approach of State autony was presented to them

by the National Conference leaders. The resolution on the autonomy of the States was adopted called "Right of nationalities to the self determination." This resolution is essence of State autonomy and root of the article of 370-incorporated in the Indian constitution.

In 1939, the Kashmir's anti-feudal struggle established link with anti,autocracy movement of princely States. It was now part of the freedom movement of entire sub-continent. Nehru was president designate and S.M. Abdullah the Vice President of All India States peoples Conference.

The Post War up Surge and Quit Kashmir Movement

On the arrival of cabinet mission at Delhi, the National Conference leadership submitted its memorandum to the mission an early March 1946. The memorandum Commented :

"No Sale Deed, howsoever Sacro-Sanct, can condemn more than four million men and Women to the servitude of an autocrat when the will to live under his rule is no longer there. We the people of Kashmir are determined to mould our destiny and we appeal to the members of cabinet Mission to recognise the justice and strength our case."

It was clarian call to the State people for 'Quit Kashmir' Movement and demanding the annulment of treaty of Amiritsar, alongwith the withdrawal of British imperialism from the sub-continent.

The movement being anti feudal, logically had an anti-imperialist character. The feudal princes existed and maintained on the basis of treaties made with east India Company. It applied to treaty of Amiritsar which has some special and unhappy features.

"Here was a movement which challenged monarchy and all the nicely laid plans of the British to pack the constituent Assembly with its stooges, the princes nominees. Here was a movement whose leaders, ruling over the hearts of Muslim majority state, looked upto Congress leaders for support,

defying the prevailing communal winds, they had been part of All India States peoples Conference, part of the national movementThey expected that the national leadership would hail their struggle and back it with all their strength. But they were destined to deep disillusionment.”

“During the quite Kashmir movement, in All India State peoples Conferenee session, which was attended by Nehru, Sardar Patel and the Kashmir delegates among others..... Sardar was blunt. He so severly criticised Sheikh for starting the Quite Kashmir movement, he caustically commented..... ridiculed the underground struggle of the Kashmir fighters. One of them, Bakashi Ghulam Mohammad who was present angrily replied : “We the Kashmiri delegates, have not come over here to beg for help from any body if he be the biggest leader of the Congress working Committee.”⁵

M.A. Jinnah condemned the movement and denounced the agitation, and called it “an agitation of a few malcontents out to destroy law and order.”..... and advised.....Kashmiri Muslim’s..... ’ to beware of their enemies and not be misled by slogans in Kashmir and stampeded into an action, which would gravely imperil their interests All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference denounced the agitation... .. Moulvi Yousuf Shah also supported the government, calling the Maharaja a shadow of God on earth.”⁶

It is irony and gross distortion of history that Pak media : Today extols the toadies, traitors of Kashmir freedom struggle and denounces the true liberationists.

In Jammu region, people being mostly a political, having monarchical sentiment, the Dogra ruling class, feudal lords and communalist Maha Sabhaites gave a wrong twist to the movement and presented it as anti Dogra not a democratic and anti feudal struggle. Jammuites mostly remained a loof from the struggle and played in the hands of lackeys of Maharaja. This unevenness in the Political consciousness of the regions, played

havoc in the shape of communal riots in Jammu in 1947. Both regions on the eve of partition, in terms of political consciousness mismatched to each other. The only party having a principled stand on the Kashmir movement and on the right of self determination of the people was communist Party of India.

2

The Peculiarities of Kashmir' Accession—1947

The peculiarities of Kashmir Accession 1947 (Role of Mount Batton, Gandhi, Patil, Nehru, Hari Singh and S.M. Abdullah)

On the eve of great storm in the sub-continent when country was about to be divided and the establishment of Pakistan was certain and reality, Kashmir State gave an appearance of uneven and mismatched political development and stage of consciousness. The third constituent of State, Ladakh region was a land locked region and deep in Political slumber. Jammu Muslim constituting 53 per cent of Muslim population was culturally, emotionally and politically under the sway of Muslim Conference and Pakistani sentiment except a few oasis in political desert. Hindu communalism and R.S.S. thriving under the patronage of feudal vested interests were having their hey-day on the political scene. In Kashmir the democratic struggle lead by nationalists had isolated Mirwaiz Maulvi Yousuf Shah main Prop of Muslim reactionary politics. National Conference emerged a solid and unchallenged political party on the state's political scene, The political health of party was such that it was aspiring to wipe out the last remanents of communalism throught the state and consolidate the nationalists and secular forces.

India was divided on 15th August, Kashmir leaders and entire cadre of National Conference was being the bars. In

August 1947, Mahatma Gandhi visited Kashmir. It was to be his first and only visit to Kashmir. In a statement made on August 6th after his visit, Gandhi said, "the will of the Kashmiris was the supreme law in Kashmir". (The Hindustan Times, August 7, 1947). "Gandhi had consistently upheld the view that India's retention of Kashmir would certify Hindu-Muslim co-existence in India proper. He categorically disagreed with the argument that Indian Muslims require state of their own. In this context a statement made on December 12th, 1947 is of relevance.

"It is on Kashmir soil that Islam and Hinduism are being weighed. If both pull their weight correctly and in the same direction, the chief actors will cover themselves with glory..... My sole hope and prayer is that Kashmir should become a beacon light to this benighted sub-continent".⁷

The release of Kashmir leaders and workers from jails started from the last week of September till 15th October 1947. Workers conventions were held and all J & K Working Committee met in Srinagar.

None dare call it conspiracy.

There were contradictory approaches to the problem of accession and at variance with each other. The National Conference evolved the formula of assertion of Sovereignty of People of state as primary demand to be followed by the decision on the question of the accession.

On 15th August 1947, when India became free, three states had not acceded to the Indian Union. They were Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junahgarh. The National leadership, whatever the inclinations of individuals among them, gave the Maharaja a long rope. No one bothered to consult the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

"Pakistan has mixed power with subversion and political manipulationwhile the ruler temporised, armed rebellion broke out in July 1947, in the Sudhnuti tract of Poonch Pro-

vince, the west central part of the stateIt was forigen inspired and was part of Pakistani assault on Kashmir..... It's leaders proclaimed independence and established the first Azad Kashmir Government. the rebellion was receiving Pakistani support and weapons".⁸

"In the far north-west of Kashmir, a territory administered by British as the Gilgit Agency was nominally handed back to the Maharaja in late July A week latter, the Gilgities occupied Baltistan, the area lying to the east, giving Pakistan control over a large slice of strategic mountain [country in northern Kashmir. In November, the tiny principalities of chitral Swat and Dir proclaimed their independence and announced they were following Pakistan. On November 4th, the principalities of Hunza and Nagar joined Pakistan.

It is true that rebellions spirit in these areas of state was not only the handiwork of Pakistan, there were many factors, heavy taxation, feudal oppression and apathy of administration having no accountability. "The revolt in Poonch (the Sudhans) was a straight forward peasant revolt, the religious beliefs of the participants being irrelevant ; an uprising of the appressed against ancient feudal tyrannies."⁹.

Maharaja Harisingh temporises, Pakistan spuraa the idea of independence, insurgency begins.

The Tass correspondence, Mr. A. Orestov, stationed in Delhi during these days of turmoil characterized the situation, the beginnings of insurgency in Kashmir in correct and realistic perspective :

"The rulers of Pakistan, prompted by their British Advisers tried to fan the Kashmiris hatred for the Maharaja into a struggle against all Hindus generally. During this period Hindu-Muslim conflicts instigated by British Secret agents, were causing bloodshed in both the newly created dominions"¹⁰

While Maharaja Hari Singh temporized, toyed with the idea independence, the Pakistani campaign reflected a consistent and

single minded attempt to capture as much of Kashmir as possible and strengthens its foothold in the state at all costs. The insurgencies were not aimed at liberation and idealism to wean away people from feudal yoke and oppression.

“Pakistan has less reason to claim that it fought for the welfare of the Kashmiris. If there was idealism behind involvement of Pakistanis in the Poonch revolt and the insurgency of Jammu, the campaign waged by tribal forces, and in many respects by the Pakistani army, was for conquest. The record is clear that, until the major raids began, India had no move to enter Kashmir with military force. The Pakistanis however, were involved in paramilitary action in July to capitalize upon the Gilgit upheaval and to annex Baltistan. This was rather a clear indication that Karachi would not tolerate an independent Kashmir, despite Jinnahas insistance that the princely rulers could adopt such a position. Gilgit was important strategically, far from it pakistani controlled forces latter threatened both Srinagar and Leh. Thus, pro Karachi forces were in a position to threaten or to assault Srinagar some weeks before the time, when Pakistan latter claimed, the Indians were intriguing to win the state politically. In July, Shelkh Abdullah was in Jail, Nehru was under the threat of imprisonment if he visited the state, National Conference leaders were in custody and the Maharaja was still trying to hold on to his power”.¹¹

In 1947, Mahnraja Hari Singh was in great dillema about accession to either of the demonious-India or Pakistan. The Prince ruled a preserve of the little more than 4 million people, of whom over 3 million, or 77.11 percent were muslims, 20.12 percent Hindus and 1.64 percent Sikhs. The Muslims population in vale of 90 percent in Jammu it was 53 percent. An enclave of some 50,000 Budhhists in Ladakh had little political significance. To steer the ship of state smoothly in turbulent political and communal waters, Sir Hari Singh, maintained independence. This dream of independence, has been a consistent dream of certain sections of Kashmiris over the status of Kashmir since 1947. There is no historical evidence that

Kashmir had ever been independent except on the collapse of Mogul in the 18th century, Kashmir declared independence, along with other remote regions. This lasted, only briefly, about eleven months, and the state-mountain territory was conquered by Afghans, in 1752. The cruel Afghan rule was followed by Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In 1846, after the Sikh defeat, Gulal Singh bought Kashmir from the British, under the treaty of Amritsar. The Dogra dynasty established a semi-independent state of J & K. Sir Hari Singh, keeping in view the complexity of situation in the state, wanted to perpetuate the independence and entered into stand-still agreement with both the dominions.

The Muslim Conference and pre-Pak forces in the state, Jinnah and his countrymen regarded Kashmir as economically and racially part of Pakistan and expected the automatic absorption of the state at partition.

G.M. Sadiq's unsuccessful mission to Pakistan (Lahore)

The National Conference in Kashmir, irrespective of the fact that the majority of its population being Muslim, having a powerful democratic movement, whose leaders had been waging a determined battle against Islamic fundamentalism and separatism was determined to defend secular and democratic traditions. Even at this critical juncture, they played cool and tried to evolve a balanced approach, not compromising on principles. Once out of jail, "National Conference deputed G.M. Sadiq to meet the Pakistani leaders in Lahore, and ask for time for all issues to be coolly discussed within the movement before a decision was taken about accession. Assurances were also sought from them that Kashmir would enjoy full internal autonomy in case the state decided to accede to Pakistan. It turned out that Pakistan leaders had such profound contempt for Kashmiris that they only made court observation that they were all Muslims, implying they did not recognize any sub-divisions among Muslims on the basis of language and culture. The reply was very well understood by the National Conference leaders, and therefore they could at once make up their minds how to face the new menacing situation".¹²

There is a charge from Pakistan and a section of pro-pak Kashmiris that Indian leaders went to Kashmir to persuade the Maharaja to accede to India. There is no documentary evidence to prove or refute the charge. After his visit to Kashmir, Gandhi had written a note to Nehru, in which he has indicated "that he want to Kashmir to probe into the matter and that he stressed the need to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir, in his discussion with Maharaja Hari Singh".¹³

"Pyare Lal has recorded that, as early as August 1947 when Gandhi visited Kashmir, he had a meeting with Bakshi Ghulam Mohmmad in which he discussed the prospects of holding a plebiscite in Kashmir"¹⁴.

Lord Mountbatton paid a visit to Srinagar to advise the Maharaja to accede to one of the dominions by August 14. But the viceroy did not pressurise, as used in other circumstances during this period, and he left Kashmir without obtaining a decision. But according to Lt. Col. Bhagwan Singh, private Secretary to Hari Singh and Mountbatton tried to persuade Maharaja to join Pakistan.

"Through Sardar Patel, the perspective Indian rulers had assured the British they would not oppose the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan".¹⁵

"Had the Maharaja acceded to Pakistan before 15th August 1947, the future government of India had allowed me to give His Highness an assurance that no objection whatever would be raised by them. Had His Highness acceded to India by August 14th, Pakistan did not then exist and therefore could not have interfered. The only trouble that could not have interfered. The only trouble that could have been raised was by non accession to either side, and this was unfortunately the very course followed by the Maharaja"¹⁶.

"We had no territorial ambitions in Kashmir. If the invasion by the raiders had not taken place, I can say in the face of any contradiction that the government of India would have left Kashmir alone"¹⁷

Crisis and Crash (Pakarmed intervention in Kashmir 8947)

On the fatefull night of 24 October 1947 tribals-Afridis, Mahsuds, Mohmands, well equipped in Pakistan with sophlsicated weapons, crossed the borders and launched well planned attack and threatned the city of Srinagar. In an tense atmosphere, raiders daving finished Baramulla, they moved onwards and were expected to reach the capiial by october 26. The viceroy agreed ty the acecssion of Kashmir to India but also stressed his opinion that accession should be contingent upon a plebiscite to determine the views of people after the raiders had been driven out of the state. Nehru and his cabnit agreed. centradiction that the government of India would have left Kashmir alone''¹⁷

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The Maharaja accepted the terms. He signed the instrument of accession on the night of October 26, and subsequently the accession was accepted by Indian Government. On October 27, military was airlifted with surprising efficiency. The city of Srinagar was saved.

However, Mountbatton succeeded in preparing Nehru to refer the Kashmir Problem to United Nations. Gandhi and Patel opposed this move of Nehru. Authentic documents reveal that Gandhi and patil opposed this move, expressing apprehension, that at the U.N. considerations of international power politics rather than merit would determine the attitude of the countries towards the Kashmir issue. "Gandhi it is said saw the draft before it was sent to the U.N. and revised it to remove the suggestion of an independent Kashmir¹⁸. India took the Kashmir issue to the U.N. in December, 1947.

The Communist Party of India in its statement in January

1948 : Nothing can be more suicidal then reference to the Security Council of the U.N.O.”

In the various resolution of U.N.O., Anglo-American block supported the plea of plebiscite made by Pakistan. A UNICIF Commission visited Kashmir, followed by Sir Own Dixon, Graham and Macknaughton.

The Kashmiris glorious chapter of history, the valiant resistance of Kashmiris against the raiders, demonstration of communal unity and organisation of resistance by forming National Military and guarding of bridges offices, factories, schools, by National Conference volunteers gave a surprise to the raiders. “It was they who fought for accession to India and when the Pakistani rulers sent armed tribal raiders to seize Kashmiri, they fought back and saved the state for secularism”.

By a proclamation of Maharaja, S.M. Abdullah was appointed Emergency Chief Administrator and Emergency administration was established. Some radical agrarian reforms, Induscos and formation of cultural Front, were undertaken, which enthused the people for a while.

Trumpling of U.N. Resolutions across the border through Pakistan Media, revived the activities of dormant Muslim-Conference workers and pro-Pak segments of population.

About this lattent mood, Pt. Nehru was quite aware of this change of mood among Kashmiris. On May 30, 1948 he wrote to Sardar Patel, “I am worried about the internal political situation in Kashmir..... the morale of the civil population is rather low. Pakistan’s radio from Muree carries on various and intensive propaganda, and there is nothing to meet on our side”. How they Crush the Kashmir spring of 1947.

“Meanwhile a vigorous anti-Muslim Movement begun in J & K during August. Two months latter the state was heavily infiltrated by Hindu fanaties of the R.S.S. trained sikh fighters and other elements. Thousands of Muslims filed the area and many were killed.

The 30 per cent among the population sought refuge in P.O.K. It is alleged that official administration was involved in this communal violence”.

It sent shock waves to Kashmir Valley. On the contrary at the time of riots, refugees from Sialkote, Rajouri, Poonch, Muzafarabad, Rawalpindi and Hazara, were warmly received in Srinagar by N.C. volunteers. There were some 23000 of them in this oasis of communal peace in a raging hell fire around it.

The plebiscite formula of Anglo-Americans and communal riots in Jammu, put Kashmir patriots on defensive. They felt sandwiched between communal riots raging in Punjab and Jammu and mounting propaganda offensive from Pakistan, P.O.K. and pro-Pak forces in Kashmir.

The movement was in process of disintegration because of the untoward incidents in the rest of the state and the reactionary attitude of Home Ministry, lacking perspective in new situations and engrossed in routine stereotype, British imperialist approaches.

These were the first seeds of insurgency sown by forces hostile to movement ?

The Indian ruling class did not well appreciate the aspirations of Kashmiris who opted for accession to India in 1947. It seems that the Indian ruling class, much more so Indian bureaucracy, has willingly inherited the border regime strategy (Past imperialist hangover) of the British and developed on it. The border regions were considered militarily sensitive areas in terms of the security of the Indian empire. Even limited democratic process were curbed in the border regions. Delhi kept the local power, elites flushed with money and divided and ruled over them without the problem faced in the rest of country. Because of Pakistan hostility in North West and Chinese in North East we virtually accepted the security perception of the British. This might have some validity till the mid sixties. It does not seem to be valid any longer. Internal

subversion is the real danger. It has its roots in domestic policies.

The roots must be destroyed. This implies more democratization, more autonomy, more development and not the creation of puppets—a post independence growth, lacking pre-independence values, petty politicians maintained with easy money, who can be manipulated at will from Delhi. Such politicians were in abundance in Kashmir, from Shamas-ud-Din, Mir Qasim and his group of cohorts.

When the entire mass of Kashmiri armed patriots were resisting the invasion with their might and mien, the tin headed, pen pushers in the Home Ministry in Delhi were trying to get inspiration from dusty files of British intelligence to meet the situation. It cannot help them, as there was no precedent in the files like Kashmir situation. For them Kashmir was problems of law and order and external defence.

On the top the tussle between Patel and Abdullah started—Bakshi G.M. the deputy prime minister was called to Delhi to comb out patriots from National Militia, the progressive edge of Cultural Front was to be blunted and political cadre (qualified) not to be infiltrated into the administration. On the question of privileges of Maharaja, there were acute differences between Patel and Abdullah.

Orestov, Tass Correspondent wrote in Delhi :—“Where were the enthusiasm and fighting spirit that had carried away towns folk and peasants? It has given way to disillusionment and despondency.....

Anglo-American support to Pakistan, further raised morale among Kashmiri secessionists. The right of self-determination was loosely used to mobilize the public opinion throughout the world, in particular among Muslim nations. In its basic resolution on Kashmir of January 5, 1949, the United Nations formally ruled out as the proper phrase to apply to the only alternatives ever given to the Kashmiris : Choice between one of the two adjacent countries—India and Pakistan. In its basic

resolution of Kashmir of January 5, 1949 the United Nation formally ruled out independence and limited to Kashmiris to annexation by either India to Pakistan.

The British cunning approach to the problem and their Pakistani allies, however, succeeded in transforming the status of state into a continuing bone of contention and disruption among the patriotic sections of Kashmiris. This it continues even to-day after four decades of independence.

Kashmir Constituent Assembly ; Article 370

Relations between Centre and State got hotup immediately after the convening of constituent Assembly elected in 1951. when Dr. Graham was attempting to solve the Kashmir impasse. On the issues to be decided by constituent Assembly. S. M. Abdullah was clear, forthright and unhesitating. The pressure from U.N.O. dominated by Anglo-American block, made Government of India to waver, and express that the Constituent Assembly's decisions be deemed the 'opinions' expressed by the representatives of state—On the major question of accession confronting the international organisation. The constituent Assembly affirmed Kashmiris autonomy over all matters except defence, foreign affairs and Communication. In April 1952, Shiekh repeated this point and declared in a speech that the Constitution of India could not be applied to Kashmir. On July 24, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that Kashmir would be conferred special Status Article 370 different from any other state.

But within the country, approaches were not similar. A section in the Congress, hindu revivalists were opposed to this status granted to Kashmir. Their view was integrationist and unitary. The main opposition to the Special Status came from Jammu, hindu dominated districts. The opposition was Organised by Jana Sangh and its leader Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and in Jammu the agitation was spearheaded by a communal organisation Praja Parishad.

The Deihl Kashmir Agreement

An ideal picture of state Centre relationship. The Delhi Kashmir agreement of 1952, was an example of ideal State-Centre relationship, especially in the circumstances in which state was placed-internationally disputed issue and bone of contention between India and Pakistan.

The Delhi Kashmir agreement pleased neither Pakistan nor the Anglo-American Block. For them it was a fresh obstacle in their path. They had no interest in the democratic gains of the Kashmiri people within the Indian Union. Predictably, the Praja Parishad was bitterly opposed to the agreement, and launched a campaign against it. They want India to be a unitary state ..²³

Kashmir Pro-Pak and successionists forces were thoroughly demoralised.

The Delhi Kashmir agreement envisaged, the Central Government's authority would extend to the three subjects covered by the instrument of accession, and residuary powers would be vested, unlike the other states, in the Kashmir Government.....The Central Government could also intervene only on the request or with the connivance of State Government.

Nehru at the time of Delhi Kashmir Agreement made it clear to the impracticability of independent Kashmir. There was cause of concern to the Government of India on the apprehension that S. M. Abdullah had hinted to the 'Switzerland Model' for Kashmir too.

Shiekh Sahib Spoke on March 23, 1952 :

“Suppose for the sake of argument that the people do not ratify this accession. The position that would follow will not be that as matter of course Kashmir becomes a part of Pakistan. No, that would not happen legally and constitutionally. What would happen in such an eventuality would be that the state

would regain the status which it enjoyed immediately preceding the accession . . . “Differences cropped up between Nehru and Abdullah on the question of dealing with this agitation (Jan-Sangh and Praja Parishad) which led to still further intensification of the differences on the status of Kashmir”, Abdullah argued that there was no middle course between full integration and a full autonomy ‘(which was his euphemism for independence) and, as the majority in Kashmir would not accept the just alternative, there was no choice but to accept the second, which now seemed to Abdullah in contrast to his attitude even two months before, to be practicable’)

The prelude to insurgency 1953 episode

The cabinet meet in absentia of PM. S.M. Abdullah, Abdullah was not only dismissed but also arrested. “Nehru reported later,” after they had taken place. He confessed that it left a bad taste in his mouth, but asserting that the men on the spot new best, as head of the Central Government he accepted ultimate responsibility for what had happened, although part of it had happened, although part of it at least had been done without his knowledge . . .” what projected here as a tragedy for him personally was in fact a tragedy for the whole country, its popular and secular democracy. The Abdullah Government in Kashmir was a symbol of secularism in India in contrast to the Islamic theocracy of Pakistan. It was also one state government in the whole country which was implementing many of the progressive measures advocated by the left movement, land reforms above all. The dismissal, arrest and detention of the head of the government in such a state was a blot on the fair name of the secular and democratic policy in the country. It also worsened the relations between the Indian Union and Pakistan. The place of Kashmir in the Indian union and the treatment meted out to the elected head of the government of that state made Kashmir a festering sore in Indo-Pakistan relations between the state of Kashmir and the centre. The legacy left to his successors by Nehru in this respect haunted . . .” is today haunting Shri Narsimha Rao.

S.M. Abdullah's fall embittered the relations of Kashmir with centre and Jammu. A regional conflict ensued. It promoted communalism, muslim communalism was sharpened. The majority of Secular base and valiant cadre turned secessionist with the formation of plebiscite front by Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg - an associate of S.M. Abdullah. Muslim conference and pro-Pak forces felt vindicated in their ascertions. Pro-Pak propaganda beaming across the border was effective and most popular. It was expected that after accession to Indian Union, the secular forces in the state would get strengthened and consolidated, but 1953 episode proved otherwise - disintegration. There was total alienation of the Muslims in Kashmir and in particular of its youth.

The installation of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was a regime of corruption, repression and cynicism. The whitteling down and erosion of state autonomy was initiated by the new prime Minister of Kashmir, new position was endorsed in an order issued by President on May 14, observing the legalities of article 370. A constitution was drafted and adopted on Nov. 19, 1957.

The charge of independence against S.M. Abdullah however be incorrect to consider this to be the sole reason for the political crisis in Kashmir.

The Nehrus government was very much under the pressure of Hindu Chauvnisms. Abdullah's off repeated Charge, that the Indian leaders in New Delhi (except Gandhi, Nehru) were Hindu communalists was not baseless.

The 1953 episode, was the prelude to the insurgency now prevailing in Kashmir. U.S.A. was consistent in her policy of supporting Pakistan, and was not unaware of Pakistan's obsession with India. Behind the smoke-screen of loud talk of seeking India's cooperation and Indo-Pakistan cordiality, U.S.A. tended to support Pakistan's cause for hostility towards India from the very beginning.

The Forging of military alliances between the U.S.A. and

Pakistan brought sharp deterioration in Indo-Pak relations. It resulted in Nehru's refusal to abide by the U.N. resolution on Kashmir, Particularly related to plebiscite.

India had already evolved a peaceful solution of the problem and finalised a resolution of the Kashmir problem when the military alliance packet between USA and Pakistan was being put together.

Nehru visited Karachi in July 1953 and Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Ali paid visit to New Delhi in August. The proposed solution included holding of plebiscite in Kashmir in April 1955. But the US-Pak Military ties changed the Indian mind. (Escart Reid, Envoy to Nehru, 1981, pp 118-122 also Gopal, 11 pp 184-185. In the interest of Indo-Pak Amity and peaceful resolution of the Kashmir problem-the much avowed objectives of U.S. Policy-the U.S. was not even willing to accept India's suggestion that "postponement of actual grant of military aid to Pakistan for one year be announced". Reod, p 123 Thus U.S. factor sabotaged the Kashmiri solution and main accomplice was Pakistan.

The Anglo-American position on Kashmir preferred a Kashmir that was independent and under their influence or alliance. The proposals made during 1961-63 by the U.S. and U.K on the resolving of Kashmir issue reflected this preference. Pro-Pak Forces and some segments of National Conference were enchanted and got infatuated by the slogan of independence.

State autonomy envisaged in the provision of article 370, it was in consonance as conceived in the New Kashmir Programme of the National Conference. Hindu Chauvinists from the very inception of this provision were opposed to it.

"Abdullah for part was always zealous of this special status of his state. No intrusion would therefore be possible into that special status so long as he continued to be at the helm of affairs in the state. As a matter of fact, it was after his dismissal that many of the privileges which the state enjoyed under the con-

stitution were taken away. The result of the action against Abdullaha and his Govt. thus proved to be the beginning the end of special status of Kashmir”.

“The personal friendship for and the political appreciation of the role played by Abdullah in struggle for secularism did not prevent Nehru from adopting a course which amounted to an attack on the State’s autonomous position written in the constitution”.

4

Origin of Degeneration— Disharmony, Corruption and Cynicism

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in 1954 by endorsing Presidential order on May, 14, 1954 brought the state legally into India. The Constituent Assembly in the State on November 17, 1956, adopted the constitution of J & K State and this was made effective as from January 26, 1957, the Independence day. The Act was made 'irrevocable'. The process of integration was finalized in 1960, when the Indian Supreme Court assumed jurisdiction over the state on January 20, 1960.

The post 1953 phase of Kashmir's political history was full of disharmony, cynicism and inefficiency. There was total alienation of the muslim intelligentsia, youth, towns people and urbanites. Coup-De-etate of 1953, was lack of confidence in the masses, as well as individuals, and the party. Empiricism of leadership in 1953 compelled them to choose the path of least resistance. Bakshi, hero of 1953 was politician of golden mean, who did not hesitate to resort to the most extreme measures. Emergence of Bakshi in Kashmir situation was not an accident but a social phenomenon utterly exceptional.

In reality a political reaction set in (communal, secessionist, intensity in the activities of pro-Pak subversive forces) under Bakshi's stewardship. The social situation and ideological dispositions of various classes of society may be termed thermidorian reaction. It resembled an obscene and rowdy bar room burlesque. He was needed by all-tired impoverished radicals,

by the bureaucrats, the kulaks, the up-starts, the sneaks, the sychophants, by all the worms that are crawling out of up-turned soil of manouvred social upheaval. Bakshi quickly became the energetic and unchallenged dictator of Kashmir state. He dominated the National Conference Party and inaugurated the regime of corruption and was regarded with extreme bitterness by the Kashmiri masses.

In the year 1955, a queer political development took place. S.M. Abdullah, desired to have a dialogue on the post 1953 political developments in the state and wrote a letter to G.M. Sadiq, President of Constituent Assembly, to allow him to participate in the proceedings of constituent Assembly and present his views on the constitutional affairs. Letters were exchanged called 'Sheikh-Sadiq correspondence'. Bakshi establishment got unhinged. In case Abdullah was given opportunity, a considerable section of members would have wavered, who were kept intact through intimidation, bread, route permit, licence, contract, lease, subsidy, loan surplus and luxury. Mirza Afzal Beg, associated of Abdullah was released for a few days, attended some sittings of Assembly, he raised certain pertinent questions regarding 'Delhi Kashmir' agreement, was rearrested immediately. Sadiq set certain pre-conditions for permitting S.M. Abdullah to attend Assembly Session—acceptance of Presidential order of May, 1954, was one of the main issues. S.M. Abdullah declined to accept the same, it is sad that this historical dialogue initiated by S.M. Abdullah was turned down by G.M. Sadiq. The Home Ministry Government of India was back stage manager of this melo-drama.

There could be no thaw in the already existing frozen, stagnant political atmosphere and situation showed further signs of deterioration. It is said, that Nehru desired to reopen the issue, and immediately after arrest of S.M. Abdullah had sent his envoys to call on Abdulla at Kud jail.

The National Conference in 1957—the Split or Decay

The dissension began to surface within the ruling clique. A lengthy correspondence—"Bakshi-Sadiq Correspondence" a

series of communications between Sadiq and Bakshi reflected the actual state of affairs obtaining in the state. It accused Bakshi of perpetuating authoritarianism in the government and party organisation. The phase as depicted in the letters of Sadiq was a "transition movement from self sacrifice to self betterment. In post 53 period, Bakshi emerged as the organizer the distributor of jobs, the master of bureaucracy—both in the government and party. He found droves of supporters, old decadent feudal elements, traditional Mullas (Muslim priests)—erstwhile enemies of movement and communal reactionaries.

The Origin of Bureaucratic Degeneration : Party and State

The period was heyday for bureaucracy (especially Muslim). The Muslim bureaucracy always waged rabid struggle against nationalist and progressive ideas, which threatened to jeopardise, their privileges. Their nights were so colourful that description of Napoleonic generals in Emile-Ludwigs—biography of Napoleon is not so much provocative.

The civil rights and liberties of common citizens were violated by street brawlers and goons. The Bakshi was literally packing the party organs, with workers, delegates, office bearers unswervingly loyal to him personally.

There was a split in the National Conference and Democratic National Conference led by G.M. Sadiq, a pro-Indian opposition was born. Nehru dashed to Srinagar and expressed disapproval of its formation in a public meeting. Left gave unqualified support to this new oppositionist trend led by Sadiq. Pak Field Intelligence was taken a back, seeing in it an emergence of pro-Indian democratic opposition relegating into background pro-Pak alternatives—Plebiscite front and Political Conference. Muslim Intelligentsia was scared of the democratic National conference, as usual they were averse to a democratic and secular formation in the state. All these forces united against Sadiq's new initiative, people were told to be indifferent to this new political development. Pro-Pak and secessionist forces drew sadistic pleasure and enjoyed this in-

fighting and confrontation between these two nationalist parties—Bakshi led National conference and Sadiq's Democratic National conference. Muslim intelligentsia, Muslim bureaucracy Mulla's were rabidly anti-Sadic for his left and pronounced and unwavering pro-Indian stance. The leadership of Democratic National Conference being amorphous; an amalgam of centrist and extreme left forces was a rudderless ship. Sadiq's pragmatism always compelled him to choose the path of least resistance.

He bruised his integral, honest, Jacobine career in his quest for success. His close associates were D.P. Dhar a declass, decadent feudal turned patriot, left in the art of vicious mockery, a floating atom, devoid of any base among people and Mir Qasim a shallow patriot and an opportunist. This trimvuriate, led the Democratic National Conference.

While Democratic Nation Conference being in opposition, S.M. Abdullah after remaining in jail for five years without formal charges placed against him was released in 1958. He made a frontal attack on Bakshi regime and raised the slogan of plebiscite.

S.M. Abdullah-the Unarmed

G.M. Sadiq and Indian left tried to persuade S.M. Abdullah to desist from beating the dead horse of plebiscite and join the mainstream. M.L. Misri a prominent leader of Democratic National Conference was deputed to call on S.M. Abdullah and convince him to join this popular front for democracy and secularism of which he was the pioneer in the state. Abdullah declined the offer. He was arrested again after three months liberty, and eventually charged with treason. By refusing the offer of Sadiq, he missed the great historical opportunity. Had Abdullah accepted the offer the history of Kashmir would have been different a healthy democratic movement would have taken rebirth.

Dismayed, having vacillating associates, sandwiched between a ruthless administration, Bakshi toughs, goons and indifference of people resulting from the directions of Pak Field Intelligence, the organisation collapsed under the pressure of its own compulsions too. It is said that such an experiment of pro-Indian opposition ended in fiasco.

5

The Great Holy Relic Upheaval-1964

The great holy relic Upheaval 1964 (Abdullah Freed, Brkshi in prison). In September 1963, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was Kamraj-ed under Kamraj Plan evolved by Kamraj-a veter-n congress leader of south. Bakshi installed Shams-ud-Din, his protege as his suc-essor. Prior to this new development on October 4, 1963, Bakshi as Kashmir's Prime Minister had taken certain measures designed to integrate the state further. It aroused the protest of people and Pakistan raised a hue and cry. These new policy directives initiated by Bakshi were not adopted by the Legislature. Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda, Home Minister, announced in the Indian Parliament on November 27 that Kashmir had been 'fully integrated into India'. Nehru also told the legislators that there had been a 'gradual errosion' of Kashmir's special status which would be allowed to continue.

On the feteful day of December 27, 1963, a great mass upsurge erupted over reports that sacred relic of the Prophet had been stolen. It was said to have been stolen by thieves who crept back into the shrine and restored it a week later. During the intervening period, wailing throngs of about one lakh swirled through the icy streets of Srinagar, and the law and order machine in the Kashmir Valley was paralysed.

Rise of Muslim Priests (Mullaism)

The incident of holy relic brought back Mulla's (Muslim priestly class) after about five decades on the stage of politcal front and they emerged as avital force in the politics of state

and continue to remain even today. Political leaders and priests organized what was called Holy relic Action Committee. Political leaders and priests turned the agitation into a political platform demanding release of S.M. Abdullah. After crisis being over, it got converted into Action Committee, maintained a continual political campaign for release of S.M. Abdullah and for a plebiscite to determine the Kashmir imbroglio. Pakistan extended support to this committee, and already liaison with Azad Kashmir had been established. Besides moral support, Pakistan supplied funds for committees expensive activities. Pakistan field Intelligence Service was active in the valley.

The Principal leaders of the Action Committee were Maulana Masoodi, Maulana Noor-ud-Din and the prominent freedom Fighter G.M. Kara. All of them were agreed on the demand of Right of Self Determination to the Kashmirs. However, this leadership was considered a moderate one. They were not favouring violence and maintained commercial amity during this period of riotous turmoil, through which Kashmir was passing.

But within the womb of Action Committee a new force was visible. It was represented by youths and students. They were in search of arms to fight India. There was internal bickering on this question. It was the prominent personalities of the leadership, who were maintaining a tight rein on students and other youths. The age and authority of M. Sayeed Masoodi and G.M. Kara a moderate leadership that prevented more anti-Indian expression upto mid 1965.

Seeds of Total Violence Sown :

But there was a qualitative transformation in the thinking over strategy and style of agitation and demonstration. A revolutionary, militant organisation was taking shape among youth who were thinking on evolving a new technique-a violent revolt and preparations for armed struggle.

This was the second phase since 1953, when youth had

already resolved that Indian police and army could be challenged, and procurement of arms is imperative for a successful movement-an armed struggle against the state. In this new context, Nehru remarked that " . . . he could see no reason why Abdullah had to be arrested and deplored that they did not have the courage to release him. His effort in April 1962, to secure Abdullah's release had been thwarted by the Bakshi Ministry and Intelligence Bureau". It was only subsequently, after Bakshi was removed from the Chief Ministership., as part of the process of implementing the Kamraj Plan, that conspiracy case against S.M. Abdullah was withdrawn.²⁵ The Bakshi dominated government, run by Shams-ud-Din, was removed in 1964, no doubt under the centres pressure. G.M. Sadiq a man avowedly from Indian public and the leftist was installed as a new Chief Minister. It is a fact that conditions improved somewhat under G.M. Sadiq. Agitation launched by Action Committee did not abate. It began a civil disobedience campaign, based on Ghandian technique-non-violence. The new Delhi, not comprehending the complexity of situation in its entirety, the urge of youth to take up arms its deffence of moderate leadership, Sadiq's restoration of civil liberties and rule of law to win the confidence and cooperation of the people and contain the extremism by these measures were watered down by the centre. Government of India resorted to further errosion of existing state autonomy. The National Conference, a regional party, having traditions of freedom struggle, was dissolved and absorved into the congress party under pressure and scheme was implemented by Mir Qasim and D.P. Dhar for petty politicking. To this posture Sheikh retailated by announcing total boycott, non-cooperation with congressites. Boycott was so effective that it covered all aspects of life.

The Errosion of Article 370 & The Politics of Alienation

With the new errosive steps to article 370 the impasse hardened. Mr. Nanda, Home Minister informed Lok Sabha on December 4, 1964 that new legal measures would make 'empty and redundant' the special status granted Kashmir under the 1950 constitution. "India extended two previously inappli-

cable articles of the constitution to Jammu And Kashmir. The result, in the words of one observer, was to make 'the political integration of Kashmir.....a reality.....one article (356) empowered the Indian President to extend his rule to Kashmir, as previously applicable [to other Indian states. Under this authority, the President can take control of any state, and administer it directly, through an appointed representative, whenever in his opinion and that of the Governor the state leadership is unable to maintain an adequate and peaceful administration. The second article (357) abolished the terms of 'Chief of State' and Prime Minister which had been retained specifically to designate the two leading officials of Jammu & Kashmir. They became 'Governor's and 'Chief Minister' as was the practice elsewhere in India. This ended the legalistic distinction of Kashmir which had been implied by its authority to maintain its own Prime Minister'"²⁶.

The timing of such a political integration was inopportune, unwarranted. The Holy relic turmoil had created a restless dissatisfaction and extreme political protest in the attitude of people. There is possibility that initiation of such political measures have been timed merely by a bureaucratic process. On the face of it, New Delhi armed itself with the legal means of directly intervening in the state affairs through the application of presidents rule. The measures initiated were momentous. It indicated that New Delhi was keen in non-stop process of the erosion of special status.

It further injured the sentiments of Kashmir vale, they thought it another attack on their special status after post 53 operation. "The situation in Kashmir provides important insights. Superficially one may say that because of article 370, Kashmir has now become unmanageable and insubordination reigns there. In actual practice, article 370 has not become in the way of constant meddling in the affairs of the state." "Whatever might have been the constitutional position, Kashmir in the last four decades has been the theatre of intervention. While in the constitutional sphere, many of the provisions of the Delhi agreement of 1952 were whittled down

or by passed there has been blatant interference from the Centre, right upto the point of tempering with the election of the State Assembly. It is such palapable interference in the matters of direct political import which not only undermined the democratic structure in Kashmir but has led to the disenchantment of a large body of youth with regard to the countrys democratic system itself. Hence many of them having lost confidence in the system, have turned to the gun and ultimately to secessionist militancy. Here is the case of too much interference leading to the danger of disintegration”²⁷.

Pakistan : S.M. Abdullah Armed Nehru Backed Abdullah’s Mission to

Nehru was unhappy over dismissal of Abdullah from Chief Ministership, on his long incarceration. “Few occurences in India in the past few years had distressed him more than the continued detention of S.M. Abdullah ; So it was his great relief that Abdullah was relesed... . (S. Gopal, pp-83-84).

In 1964, S.M. Abdullah was released, and personal guest of Nehru. He stayed with him as old friend. The idea of confederation was discussed, as a solution to the Kashmir Question. S.M. Abdullah alongwith his associates, Moulvi Mohd. Sayeed and Mirza Afzal Beg went to Pakistan. There are various comments on his visit to Pakistan and reaction of President Ayub Khan to the proposal of confederation. Speaking of Nehru, the Sheikh said latter : My talks with his convinced me of his genuine desire to find a solution of the problem. At Nehru’s request, Abdullah went to Pakistan and arrranged a personal meeting between Ayub and Nehru. ‘I was heartened to find, the Sheikh said, ‘that Ayub Khan fully shared the desire for such a settlement”. Nehru passed away before meeting could take place, and the prospects of political solution were bleak. The indications are that, as Selig Harrison has written, “the Kashmir settlement envisaged by Nehru presupposed a larger Indo-Pakistani accommodation based on confederal relation between the two countries”. The basis for settlement was consistent with Nehrus constant assertion that Kashmir was only part of the wider problems between

the two countries. But obviously it required great readjustments and concessions which appeared extremely difficult in view of the political encrustations of nearly two decades. Some in Delhi believe that the plan, which was never announced, was to create a confederation between India and Pakistan and semi-autonomous Kashmir. This proposal was made by Nehru's successors and rejected on May 31 by president Ayub. The rejection it is believed, was based upon Ayub's concern that granting semi-autonomy to Kashmir would stimulate irresistible separatism in East Pakistan".²⁹

Sheikh Abdullah's views and statements caused a certain amount of resentment and dissatisfaction among public during his visit to Pakistan. The Pak Intelligentsia was not happy too.

"Friends, Not Masters", book authored by Ayub Khan reiterates the same ideas about confederation and terms these proposal absurd. But Sheikh Sahib's reply to Ayub Khan, released to the Press, Sept. 1, 1967 does not confirm Ayub Khan's views. Nehru left it to them to agree on any suitable formula.

After the failure of S.M. Abdullah's mission to Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir issue, Ayub Khan resorted to time worn technique of subversion. Military action for the time being was abandoned. Pak field intelligence had established its contact with 'Action Committee', depending more on youth than moderate leadership. Anti-Indian rallies were organised and the storm centre Action committee in the heart of city, was conspiratorial headquarter of the organisation. The situation was explosive. The element of uncertainty was visible. It was difficult to measure the extent of discontent or to assess its potential. Beneath the clamorous surface, the insurgent forces in the city of Srinagar were restless. Such a situation obtained in the vale, on the eve of 1965 upheaval - mass infiltration of mujahideens into the state.

S.M. Abdullah the Outcaste

Immediately after the death of Nehru, and failure of his

mission to Pakistan to solve the Kashmir impasse, S.M. Abdullah, again raised the slogan of 'Independence'. These statements attracted the international gaze and publicity to New Delhi's evident discomfort. He was bitterly critical of the constitutional changes announced in December 1964. He said, "that these changes clearly showed, that the Government of India, far from going ahead to revise the Kashmir policy initiated by Panditji, was actually moving in the reverse direction, and, in fact undoing what had been done". (Abdullah's letter to Lal Bhadur Shastri).

S.M. Abdullah embarked on an international mission and went to Algiers to attend the abortive conference of Non-aligned nations, which was scheduled for June. On March 30, he called on Chou-En-Lai, the Chinese Prime Minister. He threatened to bring the Kashmir problem before the Algiers conference. Indian authorities were provoked on this collusion with the 'China', and on his return S.M. Abdullah was rearrested in May 1965.

Operation Gibraltar—Mujahideen Infiltration and 1965 Indo-Pak War.

The action committee brought the mobs on to the streets, mobilizing people for Abdullah's release. Resort was taken to tough measures and about 1000 were arrested. Pakistan evolved a plan to utilize the 'Action Committee' as the spearhead of anti-India revolt.

Eighteen years after the first invasion of Kashmir President Ayub launched the second invasion on Kashmir in 1965 known as Gibraltar Forces. The core of the assault force for the Kashmir guerrilla campaign was organized in Murree, West Pakistan on May 26, 1965.

The group was composed of eight to ten 'Forces', each comprising six units of five companies (110 men in each company). Each company contained regular troops of the Azad Kashmir Army, which was part of Pakistan Army, alongwith Mujahid and Razakars irregulars. "Their instruc-

tions', Shastri informed the United Nations, 'were to destroy bridges and vital roads, attack police stations, supply dumps, army head quarters and important installations, inflict casualties on Indian forces, and attack on V.I. Ps in Jammu and Kashmir'.

Pakistan as usual denied any connection with the 'armed eruption' in Kashmir. Infiltrators were presented internationally as gurrila fighters, were "the sons of the Kashmir soil who have risen to defend themselves against Indian repression.

World knows, that the denials of Pakistan in the involvement of this adventure lacked sufficient evidence to convince people. Pakistan organised and launched the gurrila attack.

In 1965, Pakistani adventure, when 5000 infiltrators had crossed the cease fire line, operation failed because the Kashmiri opposition leaders (S.M. Abdullah, Moulvi Syeed Masoodi, Mirza Afzal Beg and G.M. Din Kara) and people in general were in no mood to support armed revolt. The government led by Sadiq and his colleagues deftly dealt with the situation. The generalized concept of joining Pakistan was not sufficient to arouse the people to an attempt to overthrow Sadiq Government. General J.N. Choudhri, the then Army Chief in his post war book, 'Arms, Aims and Aspects'; that the Gurilla movement failed in the valley because none of the infiltrators were Kashmiris.

6

The Beginnings of Kashmiri Insurgency

This misfired guerrilla adventure manned by Pakistan had its impact on the restless youth of Kashmir. It aroused their pseudo-rebellious romanticism to resort to terrorism, intimidation, explosion and assassination. They began to think in terms of romantic auro and martyrs crown of thorns can, indeed, evoke sympathy and compassion. The trend spread among the young, the under-educated, irate lumpen-proletarians and even pseudo intellectuals. A definite trend was established in propaganda literature and Press media too. D.P. Dhar, the then Home Minister of Kashmir State with other Kashmiri officials, claimed that Pakistan infiltrators gave arms to the students and incited them to violence. The students said they were acting on their own, and no infiltrators were involved. The Home Ministry in its analysis admitted that guerilla sabotage was possible.³¹

“On August 2, 1965 a senior Indian Army Commander told officers in Srinagar. That the next Phase of the Kashmir struggle would not be overt organised power but murder and terrorism”.³¹ These words proved prophetic.

At this conceiving stage of insurgency, Kashmiri Youth was in search of ideology, material support and opportunity. The ideologue was ‘Jamaat’, material assistance began to pour in from I.S.I. (Pakistan) and other countries. The grist to the mill was provided by the Home Ministry (Government of India), manipulating dissidence within nascent, new born Congress Party against Sadiq’s politics of liberalisation. The

dissident group was spearheaded by late D.P. Dhar, Syeed Mir Qasim and their cohorts.

The 1965 war was short term one and brief. This time, however, the ceasefire resulted in the USSR providing the forum for an agreement at Tashkant on January 10, 1966 and the subsequent withdrawal of opposing forces to their pre-war positions by the deadline of February 25, 1966.

G.M. Sadiq and Politics of Liberalization Sadiq, Qasim dan D.P. Tussel

Sadiq's concept of power was 'the mandate of heaven' unpalatable to the mundane, sordid and humdrum politics of chicanery and uneven development. Sadiq being an isolationist tried to bring about bureaucratic reformist rule. But failed, did not comprehend limitations of border States politics with centres active interference. Sadiq was a refist, a pronounced Indian, institutionalized administration, being incorruptible was eager to take urgent measures to curb rampant corruption, which had become a way of life during past regimes. His earstwhile close comrades in arms, D.P. Dhar and Mir Quasim (except extreme left group who did not rejoining post Bakshi National Conference) did not share Sadiq's political culture, they were more legatees of Bakshi's political legacy—authoritarianism, fattening their cohorts with favours and convert cadre into a praetorian guard. This dissident group having its essential features of dare devils did not feel shy of to circumvent the professional dangers of power—corruption etc. Such a political behaviour could not be possible in an atmosphere of liberalization and restoration of Rule of law, transforming palace politics into mass politics and a dialogue with the secessionists, pro Pak youth and most important of all with S.M. Abdullah. The institution of inquiry Commission for corrupt actions against G.M. Bakshi ex-Prime Minister created an uneasiness among corrupt and contempt against corruption in general.

On these vital issues, a heated debate took place in the party and its parliamentary wing. The issues were, liberalization or

reversion to primitive magic, violating the administrative norms and adoption of hard line policy towards S.M. Abdullah. The choice being law or terror curbing civil liberties. In order to curry favour with cross hindu chauvnist sentiment this group gave demagoic statements such as "that under Sadiq's rule everything looks 'green' in the valley, implying thereby that 'Pakistanis have taken over Kashmir'".

The legislature as it was constituted (majority of them were Mir Qasim) President of PCC and D.P. Dhar's loyalists who generously gave mandates at the time of elections to their hirelings was by and large Pro. D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim and hostile to Sadiq's sound and healthy policies. The dissident group enjoyed implicit support of centre.

The major sections of this Assembly were at the back and call of two strong man—D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim. Intelligence Bureau was favourably disposed to this faction of the party. Apparently Indira Gandhi played a neutral role and at the final stage of open leavage the organisation intervened in favour of Sadiq. There were apparent reasons for such a role of Indira Gandhi. The writer of this article being in the Sadiq's Cabinet had advocated dissolution of the Assembly to be recommended to Governor by Sadiq. It was decided in a secret meeting, where Sadiq, the writer, G.L. Dogra were present. The draft was to be prepared by me. The same was prepared in consultation with Mufti Bhau-ud-Din the then—Law Secretary. Some how measage reached New Delhi, and were surprized by such a move and its implications : Sadiq wavered. Sadiq was persuaded by Prime Minister to accommodate Mir Qasim's faction. The defectors returned to Jammu and temporary peace-restored in the party organisation.

I wrote to Sadiq, letter, received by him on 24-4-1970 : "The political melodrama, enacted recently by some of our colleagues, brought into sharp focus the developing contradictions in the State Congress party. It is not accidental that this exercise in brinkmanship was attempted at a time when the policies of liberalization, ennuunciated by you and developed by

us under your leadership, had already started bearing fruit and new perspectives of mass politics were opening up. It was the lost ditch battle on the part of the cavaliers of 'palace Revolution', who, being afraid of this perspective wanted to reverse this process and go back to the 'good old days' of ruling with the help of bribery on the one hand and repression on the other..... unity is important, but, it must be purposive. It should not lead to the liquidation of those who have been wedded to objectives..... in the name of unity, the government and the organisation should not be presented on a platter to those whose adherence to the principles of the organisation is, on the most generous view, rather doubtful. They may be accommodated at various levels, to serve a period of "apprenticeship", and called upon to give evidence of the 'change of heart'. Anything more would be disastrous for the policies of liberalization and would lead to the emergence of syndicate (power brokers) in the State..... Their plans call for the reversal of the policies associated with us—the policies of liberalization, democracy and socialism. In their scheme of things G.M. Sadiq and his policies have no place... . bear these factors in mind while evolving unity formulae'.

In his reply dated 24 April 1970, G.M. Sadiq was ritually appreciative of the sentiments expressed by me in the letter. On the vital questions of policy and the concept of unity, he was evasive and maintained diplomatic silence.

After a while of honeymoon, political differences flared up on the policies of democratisation and the problems of party organisation and future electoral mandates in the coming elections. It was a question of 'who beats whom'.

In the expansion of cabinet the faction led by Mir Qasim had obtained more weightage. D.P. Dhar, was sulking and felt aggrieved as an ambassador in Moscow. Battle lines were being drawn on the eve of next election to be held in 1972. Sadiq was in search of allies in order to countervail the other faction led by Mir Qasim and D.P. Dhar,

What Sadiq would have Done, if He could have Lived

He was visualizing a new realignment - a broader front, to contain both secessionist forces and dissidents. Through Moulvi Moh'd. Syeed Massodi and G.M.D. Kara, he wanted to either engineer a split in Plebiscite front or pressurise S.M. Abdullah, who was in exile, to rejoin the mainstream - participation in elections. A split was brewing in his camp and a splinter group called 'Kharji Mahazi' was emerging to press for the same. Sadiq died in December, 1977 and whole plan failed to go off. Indira Gandhi, not even soliciting the opinion of Pradesh Parliamentary party, nominated Mir Qasim as a Chief Minister. D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim were now, 'Major-Domo' of the state politics—party and government.

In January 1972, Mir Qasim, after assuming Chief Ministership in a meeting held at Kashmir Guest House Delhi, took an important decision about party and politics to be pursued in post Sadiq phase. In the deliberations D.P. Dhar, Mufti Mohd Syeed and important cohorts participated.

The main decisions pertained to politics, party, and coming elections. Politics of liberalization was to be abandoned, S.M. Abdullah was to be contained through forging alliances with Jammāt and Moulvi Farooq. Sadiq group was to be politically liquidated through subtle manoeuvres in the elections. Extremely anti Abdullah splinter group to be inducted into the Congress—Abdul Rashid Kabli and Moulvi Iftikhar Ansari and others.

Prior to Sadiq's death in a snap parliamentary poll, 1971, S.M. Abdullah had agreed to participate in the elections in the Valley by supporting Mr. Shamim's candidature in Srinagar and opposing Bakshi G.M. ex-Prime Minister. Shamim was supported by Mrs. Abdullah, Moulvi Masoodi and G.M. Kara. Sadiq administration saw to it that elections were fair. Shamim won at the hustings. This election initiated a rethinking among sessionist about participation in the elections. Its main exponents were Moulvi Moh'd. Syed Masoodi, G.M. Din Kara, Mubarak Shah. Before elections they left for Delhi from

Srinagar to call on S.M. Abdullah and convince him about the new strategy to be adopted. G.M.D. Kara and Moulvi Sayeed made a declaration about the policy of participation in elections on Id festival in a mammoth gathering at Idgah Srinagar. On their way, G.M.D. Kara had a stop at Jammu and at a dinner hosted by Mr. Qasim at his official residence, apprised him about the new situation and left for Delhi. Mir Qasim and his coterie were taken by surprise, felt unnerved and uneasy, took a decision in huff to arrest G.M.D. Kara. It is said that Mr. Haksar was aware of this new move of secessionists and was favourably disposed to it. It is not known yet, what was the attitude of Indira Gandhi to this development. D.P. Dhar might have convinced her about the feasibility of arresting Kara, in order to forest all this new trend and pre-election group within secessionists.

Mirqasim in alliance with Jamaat and Moulvi Farooq thwarted this move of Moulvi Moh'd Sayeed and others. Had manipulated to eliminate the Sadiq group in the elections.

It was heyday for Jammaat to have their 7 members in the Assembly. A first instance in post independence India, a fundamentalist outfit having entry into the legislature. A process of consolidation of Jamaat had its beginnings. Mir Qasim's Education Minister, A. Gani Lone (A pro Jamaat Minister) packed educational institutions, schools and colleges with thousands of Jamaat cadre as teachers. Generous aid was provided to Jamaat run schools. Jamaat legislators writ was running large over the bureaucracy, developmental projects and administration. Moulvi Farooq was other ally, whose main function and assignment was to rebuke and castigate Abdullah in his public utterances.

Corruption was rampant. Interference of power brokers into the administrative affairs was absolute and total. Policy of liberalization was frozen and abandoned. Dialogue came to stand-still. Economic conditions were worse. Expenditure on development works was shared by engineers, legislators and Congress apart. Situation was restive and uneasy under the

surface. Pak Field Intelligence was active, to penetrate into administration and education.

The Compulsions of Indira and Abdullah Accord

The Home Ministry became restive and after thinking a new strategy began to be evolved. Bangla-Desh had come into existence and India had recognized the republic of Bangla Desh. Sheik Mujib on January 10 landed at Palam airport on his way from London to Dacca. In June 29 to July 2, 1972 Simla Agreement was signed.

S.M. Abdullah and Plebiscite Front began to evaluate the post Simla agreement situation and well appreciated the significance of the articles in the said agreement. Mirza Afzal Beg, President of Plebiscite Front was whole hearted support to the agreement.

Indira Gandhi lifted ban on Abdullah and he returned to Kashmir. On his return, in his first public meeting on July 18, 1974, he renewed his scathing attack on two nation theory and eulogized the concepts of secularism, democracy and socialism enshrined in the "New Kashmir Programme". He defended the Kashmir accession to India. Sheikh knowing the emerging potential of Jamaat-E-Islami, denounced it as being Fascist organization, advocating fundamentalist dogmas, quite opposite to the liberal teachings and precepts of Islam.

Negotiations bore fruit and agreement was signed on November 13, 1974. S.M. Abdullah assumed the responsibility of Chief Ministership and on February 24, 1975, Indira Gandhi announced in the Lok Sabha that an accord had been reached with Kashmir leaders. The Plebiscite Front Organization was dissolved officially on May 9, 1975.

The Accord sent shock waves to Pak Janta reactionary circles and pro establishment press. ISI was depressed pro Pak forces in the valley were confused and cynical. Jamaat was full of rage and queer enough Congress circles were unhappy and pessimistic about the whole affair. Among Congress circles the rumour was afloat, that S.M. Abdullah is suffering from a

serious disease and about to 'go off', and is about to die. Preparations were afoot to subvert the Accord, and unholy alliance with anti Accord forces were struck.

The Policy of Accord and Discord. Disruptive Moves of Indira Congress : National Conference and Congress (I)

The progressive opinion of India felt that for reassertion of democratic movement and strengthening secular forces Accord with S.M. Abdullah was necessary and vital. But in murky politics of Kashmir first proviso of accord was discord. Indira Gandhi publicly did not disapprove of it. It appears that local congress leadership had her tacit approval to such a disruptive tactical behaviour. Mir Qasim led congress in Kashmir being pached with political light weights devoid of vision and perspective, played the part of the people "as Nick Bottom that of the Lion". It is a fact that first accord did not come up to expectations of democrat sand patriots. It failed to reinvigorate the traditional values of the movement. Accord was target of attack from extreme right—monitored from I.S.I. across the border, vital segments inside Congress (I) and muffled voices from National Congress too. Attack from extreme right is not an unexpected one. Punjab and Kashmir are both sensitive border states.³²

As desired, the nationalist forces did not succeed to forge bonds of unity to face the challenge. A new polarization, drawing all genuine elements into the national mainstream and confront anti secular forces did not take place. Smt. Indira Gandhi, and Kashmir leaders—D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim should have viewed the process as a political strategy for victory of healthy values in the national movement of Kashmir, in the perspective of historical tradition. The problem was permitted to be bogged down in legal and constitutional quibblings and petty party bargaining. The debate was not elevated to the level of raising healthy political issues and in the process, the secular and democratic forces in the state and country were not strengthened. The historic accord did not succeed to nurture

new shoots of the traditional movement in the spring of new hopes.

The Present Image of Neo National Conference :

The new phase of S.M. Abdullah lacked and was devoid of past idealism as demonstrated by him during freedom struggle. The National Conference a radical party led by late S.M. Abdullah had equidistant relation with Congress and left in pre-independence phase. After 1975, S.M. Abdullah reshaped it out of 'Plebiscite Front'. History repeats itself—event and persons. "First time as tragedy and second as force" (said Marx)". The new N.C. is an amalgam of Bakshi N.C., erstwhile congressites and plebiscite rump. It has forgotten its historical preclous heritage—"Naya Kashmir" Money and Muscle power are its growing organisational features. Gone are the days of its idealism. It has failed to implement essence of Accord. It depends on certain institutions of medievalism.

The Congress (I) was inducted by late Sadiq in the State. He could succeed to institutionalize administration but his ideological reform attempts of organisation were thwarted and subverted by his erstwhile colleagues—the successive leadership of Congress. He was good but weak willed. Congress (I) had never a mass base in Kashmir. It assumed the shape of a "praetorian's Guards of leader, maintained by him and enjoying various privileges, in particular since 1972. It is in fast disintegrating process at present. Its leaders are responsible for many adventurous political acts. Congress (I) so constituted could not comprehend the significance of the accord and were not serious about its implementation. Congress (I's) political leadership has degenerated now into a group of "Business, Political Directorate. Such being the political scenario in post accord phase, secessionists, pro-pak forces and Jamaat intensified its activities and spread its tentacles. Field intelligence of Pakistan was active and had established multifarious contacts with youth, students, through its Youth wing 'Jamaat-Tuba', and Islamic Study circle. The schism among secular forces, they could utilize well.

The Policy of Confrontation – Indira Gandhi Scuttles Accord

Indira Gandhi's policy of confrontation egged by only local Congress leaders entered the aggressive phase in 1976. It assumed the shape of sharp hostility between S.M. Abdullah and Indira Congress. Indira Congress lost at the hustings in 1977 and Janta Party came into power at the centre. At the behest of Indira and some Congress leaders, local Congress led by Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, initiated a move to withdraw support from Abdullah Government headed by Congress. Politically, it was an indiscreet act fraught with serious dangers. The same fell through, Abdullah recommended the dissolution of Assembly to the Governor. In the new elections at hustings, N.C. won the election with thumping majority. At this critical hour, the writer being a senior congress leader, condemned such a move by issuing a statement, and contacted Mr. Mir Qasim who was staying in Delhi, to do the same. He hesitated and prevaricated. He was in collusion with the sponsors of move. Elections were held in clean and free atmosphere. Janta Party led by veteran leaders, Moulvi Syeed, G.M.D. Kara and Bazaz was defeated in the elections. S.M. Abdullah roused regional sentiment 'Kashmiryat' in the electoral battle. Congress Party cut story figure and many heads of self styled big-wigs rolled. It was an eye opener for the Indira Gandhi and party in the J & K State. But she was incorrigible. Confrontation politics continued with fresh vigour. In post election phase "though the writ of National Conference ran over Kashmir, S.M. Abdullah died a disappointed man in 1982. Able to win the confidence of people, Farooq Abdullah took over, and when in 1983, in a free and fair elections he fought not in alliance with congress, but against it, he was able to rally the majority of the people behind the National Conference. The Congress (I) however, was very anxious for power to fall into its hands and with the Congress (I) central government at Delhi".³³ The writer, drafted a note on the situation obtaining in Kashmir then, and called on Smt. Indira Gandhi at Akbar Road in Delhi. My note amply enunciated "the dangers of separatism aided by foreign powers and emergence of extremist forces in the valley in the shape and growth of Muslim fundamentalist organizations.

The note elaborated that politics of confrontation will weaken the secular forces, strengthen Jamaat-E-Islami and the other secessionist outfits. It is high time for the National conference and Congress (I) to forge a strong political alliance to dispense with tawdry show of naivete. One should understand the simple truth that it is not political chicanery, not the routine style of diplomatic mutual recognition that will ensure joint struggle against common enemy but actual participation in the struggle, actual unity in the struggle. Politics should not be confused with political chicanery. This is the dialectics of 'Reconciliation or split, facts cannot be ignored, they are hard bones'. The gamble to organise defections, and set up the infamous government of defectors, headed by G.M. Shah will precipitate the emergence of a well organized force of secessionists communalists and separatists. Farooq Abdullah, being pushed to the wall, will hit back, and benefits will be reaped by Jamaat-E-Islami'.

"Indira Gandhi did not argue or convince me, but made a sarcastic remark about "Farooq and his USA tour driving in a car accompanied with C.I.A. official". The interview took place in second week of September 1984 and after a couple of years, I conveyed this remark made by Indira Gandhi to Dr. Farooq. He dismissed it non-seriously, being in honey-moon with Congress (I).

In the new arrangement of things, Mir Qasim immediately after Indira Gandhi's election victory, was side-lined. To carry the policy of confrontation with vigour, she wanted to change horses. Mufti Sayeed was now unchallenged leader of Pradesh Congress and are confrontationist, fit for the job. Mir Qasim resigned in September, 1984, and in press conference lauded accord and made critical remarks about attempts by Congress(I) and Indira Gandhi to subvert it. Indira Gandhi retored and in a statement broadcasted on the All India Radio accused Mir Qasim of creating hurdles in the process of Indira-Abdullah Accord'. Mir Qasim joined Mr. Bahugunas Party and gave sustained support to the 'Accord' of 1975.

In July, 1984, as expected, Jag Mohan being the Governor, defections were organised and G.M. Shah, a political dark horse was installed as Chief Minister. It was a Congress (I) rule by proxy. Corruption was rampant. The policy of confrontation, installation of G.M. Shah government resulted in the spurt of fundamentalist forces and separatist tendencies and evolution of the 'Umet-Islami, comprising of Jamaat', Shia Rabita, (contact) Committee, the Islamic Study Circle, 'Jamaat-i-Tulba' and the certain segments of 'Jamaat-Ahle-Hadis'. A serious development took place in Kashmir for the first time. Anantnag district was hit by communal ratios. G.M. Shah, puppet Ministry was dismissed and Governor took over. After prolonged negotiations between the Congress (I) and National Conference, lasting over six months, agreement was reached between Rajiv Gandhi and Dr. Farooq. The democratic forces in the country welcomed such a move.

Kashmir on Fire—Armed Insurgency and Mounting of Operation TOPAC

The situation was very much wounded. Damage was done. As per admission of Dr. Farooq the first batch of youth had gone to receive training in arms across the border immediately after his unceremonious ouster from power.

The first salvos of insurgency were heard and roused the Kashmiri youth. In this scenario of depressing political situation, Pakistan found good opportunity.

“Operation Topac” mounted by President Zia-ul-Huq was a well planned and sophisticated effort to infiltrate the Pak trained saboteurs into all branches of the Kashmir Government, and to expose the entire population to sustained anti-India-propaganda for a length of time. It was calculated to lead on to high class organised sabotage, tenor and public demonstrations, to bring down the entire functioning of the state apparatus to a grinding halt timed with ‘Kabayali’ type invasion from across the border. In such a situation, there is little doubt that at present there is no option but to continue with the rooting out of all infiltrators, saboteurs and terrorists and bring back rule of law to Kashmir”³¹

A Master Stroke of ISI (Pakistan) and Rise of Muslim United Front

In this backdrop the ‘Muslim United Front’ became very active in the 1987. Its formation and timing was master stroke

of 'Inter Service Intelligence', Pakistan. Its hard core, mainly youth had already their first grounding in Afghan Mujahidin encounters and returned to the valley on the eve of elections of 1987. Some of them had participated in Anantnag communal riots in April 1986 during G.M. Shah's tenure of office.

The main stay of M.U.F. during elections was 'Jamaat' and continues even today. It is cadre based organisation, politically arch-reactionary and rightist. It draws its strength from Kulaks, certain sections of educated middle class especially teachers and low paid employees, rich orchardists and stands for deaccession of Kashmir from India. During elections in 1987, such was the zeal demonstrated by M.U.F. in the valley that to superficial observers it appeared that the priesthood is about to flood the Kashmir Legislature.

The alliance did not react rationally to such a phenomena, the emergence of the 'Mullas' (Muslim priests) on the political scene. They should have stood for democratic methods, and should have conceded freedom for any class or people, to take part in politics, provided such a group or party does not utilize democratic methods for subverting democracy. 'Mullaism' has always participated in politics covertly, the people stand to gain, and gain a great deal if the 'Mullaism' begins to participate in politics covertly.

The alliance, during elections was more motivated by factor of power and not political and ideological objectives. The erst-while confrontationists donned the mask of 'new agreement and reconciliation and found themselves on ministerial berths. It was an agreement mechanically processed, hence pregnant with the seeds of split. A split took place, Mufti Mohd. Sayeed resigned and joined Jan Morcha, led by Shri V. P. Singh. The M.U.F. had clear and not nuclear objectives, establishment of 'Islamic State' within a secular fabric and if possible secession of Kashmir from Indian Union. For this ideological battle alliance was unprepared. This cadre of both the partners of alliance has been reared on power positions, concessions, crumbs and organisational doles and not on political ideological basis.

During elections, 'Jamaat' made 'secularism' its main target of attack. It tarnished it as immoral and irreligious concept, alien to Islamic philosophy.

In Anantnag district in particular and in the State in general, alliance partners at the grass root level voted for M.U.F. The poverty of ideology and opportunism of cadres of respective parties was quite obvious. Congress (I) leaders and Dr. Abdullah admitted this glaring fact in their statements. Even Congress (I) appointed two member commission of Enquiry, for window dressing.

San commentary on the state of affairs of mutual recognition, and differences within the alliance during election process.

The issue was, whether there could be a solid block of all secular and nationalist forces possible and successfully forged for the defence of secularism, democracy and 'New Kashmir'—Socialism. That is how rightists (M.U.F.) saw it. The view that there were in effect two warring camps, one of them fighting for and other against these concepts, (secularism etc.) ran through the Right wing and liberal press. But look at this 'theory' from the standpoint of the outcome of elections. How did it stand the test of reality? Though the alliance had won the battle at hustings it had yet to prove that it had won the war of hustings. It should be short sighted to minimize the high record of the M.U.F. The point to note was that whatever the poll score, the alliance has had a narrow victory, for one has to take into account the traditional vote gathering technique of the ruling establishment in Kashmir.

The reaction of town and country to the alliance was different and unequal for the first time, the fact came to the public gaze that National Conference traditional strong holds in cities and towns had developed serious cracks. In absence of politico-ideological progressive moulding of 'backward-peasant', leadership—social and political passes on to an emergent rich peasant class (Kulak), who in order to rape the poor masses needs an ideology— a reactionary one-obscurantist. The

Kashmiri rich peasant (Kulak) adopted its ideology that of 'Jamaat'.

The conduct of elections and result morally and politically shattered the image of alliance among masses.

The Rightists (M.U.F.) in Defence of Democracy

The M.U.F. conducted their offensive against alliance under the slogan of 'defending the democracy'. It was an ideal situation for Pakistan to lateeren and field intelligence to operate with vehemence. But history has shown more than once that by defending democracy against the 'danger from secularism, demoeracy and socialism', advocates of religious obscurantism and fundamentalism and those who implement its strategy serve the rightists, for themostanti democratic forces of our time -- reaction and terrorism. The examples of Pakistan and Indonesia bear testimony to this historical fact. Elections gave a stature, organisational personality, and solidarity to the M.U.F. and alliance was morally and politically in shambles. Past confrontationist policy of Indira Congress had paid dividends havily in favour of reaction and against progress.

The Political Bungling of Alliance and Rise of Extremism

The policies pursued by Congress since its inception on the political scene in the state and combined with political bungs and rampant corruption of National Conference in post Accord phase, fascilitated the emergence of Muslim United Front as a solid alternative political force in the valley. It cleared the decks for rise of extremism and terrorism and secession in Kashmir and provided and opportunity to Pak intervention.

The last important aspect of the situation arising out of 1987 elections is present terrorism. Terrorism is administrative problem but extremism is political one. Terrorism breeds terror culture of Kalishankov, aided and abetted by Pakistan agencies who provide it with training, indoctrination, guns, sanctuary and cash. The general decay of system prevalent, increases wide-spread unemployment, misery and despair. The organisation of

umpen proletarians is a society of disorder. While there is no doubt that the Pak ruling class has been providing help to terrorists, it would be mistake to consider it to be the sole source of problem ; for it cannot be denied that there is a hard core of extremists, consisting of hundreds of Muslim Youngmen, who are active rather than passive agents. It is fantastic that governments have been expounding off repeated theory of the involvement of foreign powers instead of examining the objective situation within the state which provides grist to the mill of covert intervention of these powers.

It is notable that while struggles, subversive activities, uprisings for succession have been going on for about five decades, extremism and terrorism arose since 1988 – a short span of time.

An important socio-economic change preceding extremism took place in the state.

The Socio-Economic Roots of Terrorism in the State

In the State about 3 lakh house holds are at present below poverty line, it has a high infant mortality rate. It leads in the percentage of illiteracy in India. In rural sector perverse income distribution prevails. It results in skewed income distribution. Defective ceiling laws gave rise to the emergence of new class 'orchardists'—a capitalist farmer. Rich farmers are subsidized while marginal and poor are subjected to ruthless market operations. Kashmirs traditional crafts are rich, but craftsmen live in extreme poverty. 'Khawaja', the exporter who does not sweat fills his coffers. The real results of erroneous policy of planning for more than a decade, however, were thriving caste of 'New Rich', growing social contrasts. New high rising buildings at Rajbagh, Nagin, Nishat, Barzulla, expensive posh Hotels on Boulevard and traffic Jams in the winter and Summer capitals of state are symbols of prosperity of states upper crust. Income from smuggling 'charas' (ha-shish), foreign remittances, black money and exports has helped alleviate the impact of rising prices.

The inhabitants in slums in Srinagar see the sumptuous mansions in the fashionable quarters of green belt and Boulevard, and are aware of their slums, hell holes as their residential quarters. People hanging in clusters from buses risk falling on the gleaming top of gypsy, Maruti, Toyota, Mercedes cars. Families eating Dal-Roti, sag-rice after their working day know that customers in posh hotels and restaurants at dinners that costs a workers month wages. Wages do not always keep up with galloping inflation. Capitalism developing in the state

is a parasite in character. Private money pours in trade, purchase of lands by monopolists round cities, speculation at best into real estate and hotel business and not in industry and Agriculture. The biggest industry in state continues to be state service. The gap between rich and poverty, psychological strain and failure to adjust span crime, drug addiction and finally such strata becomes recruiting ground for terrorism. The cleavage is cultural as well as social. The unemployed youth group themselves around religious associations, their political behaviour is marked by proneness to spontaneous revolt followed by quick withdrawal into a shell of outward docility but keep involved in conspirational activities. The new rich are westerned oriented in their mode of life, culture and conviction. But the ultra modern culture of their way of life, views and behaviour is a challenge to the sentiments, traditions and culture of the masses who live within their traditional system of values.

The ideas of Islamic and Hindu fundamentalism appeal not only the literate masses but also to hundreds of thousands of students and youth who see no future for themselves. Agrarian relations are based on small holding form of property, it lacks diversity of development and is devoid of wealth of social relationship. In absence of agro-industrial complexes, such an economy generates an unemployed surplus population, begging for a sort of respectable aims in state offices and necessitates the creation of state posts resulting in unbalanced budget.

The four Components of Kashmir problems and Contradictions of Kashmiri Muslim !Consciousness : (Mulla, Salariat (Muslim Intelligents is Kulak Elite and Lumpen)

To analyse social stratification obtaining in the Kashmir society, categorization on economic basis is not enough to understand the interplay of various social entities and their role on social basis. Even after abolition of landlordism, feudal culture has persisted manifesting in the form of 'Mulla' and Mullaism, Khawaja—trader a protoganist of feudal ethos and behaviourism, intelligentsia (elite) its evolution and socio-

psychological dispositions, peasantry, youth and lumpens and their emergence on the socio-political scenario.

Mullaism—The Institution of Muslim Priests

Islam recognized only one institution Imam. The term is used in the Quran. The Imam is leader of prayers in the Masjid. When there are three persons, one of them must act as Imam to lead the prayers. It is not considered hereditary institution. Islam does not also recognise institution of 'Mir Waiz' in vogue in Kashmir, it is indigenous growth. Mulla is a scholar, a learned man. In Arabic it means a master, a religious leader or leads prayers. Besides Mulla, Qazi denotes Administrator of Justice and Mufti who expresses local opinions, known as 'Fatwah'.

In the early Islamic phase these institutions consisting of intellectuals were pristine pure, confined to religious aspect of Islam. Khalifa was a political head, administrator and governing body who maintained these classes of people.

But with the degeneration of Islamic empires (Khalifas) the institution of Muslim priesthood became a centre of vested interest, a class of exploiters and main levers of reaction, fundamentalism and defenders of dictatorship, imperialism and status quo. Mullas countered modernist and rational trends of Sir Syed, M.A. Azad, Maulan Shibli, Shah Wali Ullal and Iqbal in the sub-continent. In Pakistan were active defenders of worst dictatorships and even today are main prop of military. In Turkey and Afghanistan Mullas opposed secularism and modernity, propounded by Mustafa Kamal and Amanullah Khan. In Egypt were Vehement critics of Jamal Nasir main architect of Arab-nationalism.

With the rise of 'liberation Theory' in Islam on the basis of Quran and Sunna, the two primary sources of Islamic faith can liberate not only muslims but the whole of humanity. The traditional and fundamentalist Mullas are on the defensive and an retreat in most of the Islamic countries—Algeria, Morrocco, Tunis, Libya, Egypt, Turkey, Central Asian Republics etc.

With the advent of Dogra Rule in Kashmir, the process of secularisation set in. Dogras modernised legal and judicial system on the basis of English laws and the same were applied to the state. Mullaism symbolized in the institutions of Qazi, Mufti and Moulvi led into insignificance. Post independence constitutions further augmented and gave a spurt to the process. Mullas, Qazis, Mufti's see their fate sealed in the secular India and look out for merger with Pakistan—where they can rule roast and 'Pak model shariat laws'.

Mullaism the institution of muslim priests have had held key positions in social life of Kashmir, their domination for a long time was unchallengeable. The traditional Mullaism of indigenous origin evolved an institution (Mirwaiz) head-preacher, which does not exist anywhere in the rest of Islamic world. The other species, who emigrated from central Asia during 'Timurs' repression, constitute alien Mullas—Andrabis, Qadir, Suhrawardy, Bukhari, Chisti, Samnani, Fazili, Kamili, Ashai, Naqashbandi, Geelani, Qurashi, Qazis etc. They monopolized trade, political power and priesthood. There have been serious conflicts between Kashmiri people and alien Mullaism.

The local priesthood was exponent of mystic message a Rishi order (Bhakti) its main proponents were Nunda Rishi, Lal-Ishwari and lower clergy-Peers.

The traditional Mullas represented by 'Mirwaiz' were props of feudalism, autocracy, hand in glove with local exploiters—(Khawajas) big traders.

Even during Muslim conference, phase they tried to oppose and squeeze the first peoples rumblings against establishment, opposed National conference, and political struggle for freedom. With the rising crescendo of Pakistan slogan, identified with it. In 1947 opposed Kashmir's accession to India. The last of the barons of Mirwaiz family was Moulvi Farooq who got murdered during militancy in Kashmir.

The assertion made by this traditional Mulla trend represented by Mirwaiz was that 'Mosque' is a weapon and this

weapon is relevant in politics than the weapons in vogue. More or less, this trend of 'Mullaism' was liberal not fundamentalist and upheld the traditional communal amity of Kashmir. Moulvi Yusuf Shah and Moulvi Farooq stood by religious tolerance.

The alien 'Mullaism' was quite different in its approaches and perceptions. It had roots of fundamentalism and fanaticism. Socially, this strata felt superior to common Kashmiri muslims and had their adherents among traders, Khawajas feudal gentry and ruling class. They wielded power during all regimes—Pathans, Moughals, Sikhs and Dogras. In their lap was nurtured the first Muslim intelligentsia, though very small in number.

This category of priests disseminated fundamentalist philosophy and were founders of Jammāt-E-Islamia in Kashmir. They were opposed to Kashmiri nationalism and secular movement and are out to annex Kashmir with Pakistan and displayed their vehement resistance to radical land-reforms, modern education and rights to womanfolk. Today this segment of Mullahs constitutes bed-rock of secessionism and militancy in Kashmir. They express vigorously the demand that Kashmir should be a virtual theocratic muslim state, Jamaat's is the main lever of the Muslim United Front and its hardcore constitutes armed wing—Hizb-ul-Mujuhideen'. This cult of Mullahs is the brain behind the 'Militant' regressive social reforms—(Burqa) women to put on a veil, restricted marriage parties, enforcement of prohibition (liquor), punishment for teasing girls. On the face of it, this is a positive step. But there are instances, (as per their own admissions, that certain section of militants indulge in molestation, rape and extortions.

'Mulla' is an vital link, between Militants and people and Mosque is the political centre.

Salariat - the Muslim Intelligentsia

Owing to extreme unfavourable economic circumstances, general impoverishment and poverty among muslims, mass illiteracy, the growth of Muslim intelligentsia was belated and few and far between in the earl thirties.

In 1931, about a dozen muslim graduates, among them S.M. Abdullah, mostly sons of traders, Mullas and big land holders, were eager to fight for their demands. This batch was founder of 'Historic Reading Room' harbinger of political change and an instrument for ventilating peoples grievances. But most of the ring-leaders turned opportunists except S.M. Abdullah who showed consistency and stood up to autocratic regime.

The Muslim conference was formed in 1932 and on assuming mass character this small section of muslim intelligentsia even at this stage remained aloof from the on-going struggle mostly were in search of crumbs, jobs and keen about their careers.

At the time of conversion of Muslim Conference to National Conference, the muslim intelligentsia exercised pressure on numerous muslim leaders, to slip out from National Conference, form new muslim conference to support their sectional demands in the way that the Muslim Conference organization did in the past.

To ascertain and identify the classes, forces behind the Pakistan demand—in the post war phase many outstanding intellectuals undertook an exercise on the problem. A prominent communist leader, Dr. Adhikari, wrote a thesis, Pakistan and National Unity, advocating the view to seize the initiative from the British, and forge congress-league unity on the basis of liberal nationalities policies—Self determination to nationalities : Punjabies, Baluchis, Sindhis and Bengalis etc. In this backdrop progressive intellectuals inside National Conference adopted its policy on the question of Nationalities. Mr. Jinnah came to Srinagar, in May 1944. In a reception to Mr. Jinnah this formula on nationalities was placed before him. In 1945 at Sopore session of National Conference the same approach was placed before Nehru, Gaffar Khan and Azad. Jinnah was hostile to such an approach and did not conceal his disapproval of it in an interview to a student delegation headed by Sardar Teja Singh, President of the student union, and in a separate interview to other students delegation headed by the writer :

“Con. Satish—‘What is the difference between the right of self determination granted by the Congress (and National Conference) and the demand for Pakistan? Mr. Jinnah—What right of self determination? (Interrupting) I (Sardar Teja Singh) we mean what is the difference between the Delhi Resolution of the Congress – granting right of self-determination to territorial units and the Lahore Resolution of Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah—what does this resolution say? Where is the resolution? (Sardar Teja Singh) I do not have resolution on me but I can quote from memory.

Mr. Jinnah— No Memories are deceptive. Have you got it? Com. S.N. Bira took out the resolution and said, Here it is. Evidently this surprised, rather disconcerted Mr. Jinnah. He proposed avoid being led into a untenable position. But Late Som Nath Bira disposed him..... Mr. Jinnah only laughed away the answer... I (Sardar Teja Singh)’. It is good if religion governs politics but it is bad if communalism does it.

Mr. Jinnah—with a scornful smile in his lips, “well, Communalism, communalism..... Good bye, “saying this, he got up from his chair and shook hands with us and felt relieved”³⁵

From the interview it was clear to us, that Mr. Jinnah, was evading our questions. He had opened the flood gates of muslim passion against Hindus, had no rational policy regarding nationality problem, right of self-determination. With these hazy and blurred views, the progressive Kashmir youth and National Conference were not impressed by him. The policy on nationalities adopted by National Conference got vindicated when Pakistan split and Bangladesh state came into existence and entire Pakistan is torn by ethnic and regional strife. The traditional muslim intelligentsia in general harped on stereo-type ‘Pakistan’ demand and during the stay of Mr. Jinnah, in Kashmir valley the muslim intelligentsia, functional and elite hosted at homes and parties to him and S. M. Abdullah was also invited. Efforts were vigorously on, to reconcile both leaders and revive muslim conference. But the scheme initiated

by muslim intelligentsia, did not come off. National conference stuck to its guns, Mr. Jinnah left Kashmir in a bitter mood and was hostile to National conference in his statements and speeches. At the moment there was certain degree of discomfort and schism manifest between congress and national conference, but it did not create great flutter and both were unanimous in their political programmes and pursuits.

In 1946, when 'Quit Kashmir' movement was on, muslim conference and Moulvi Yousuf Shah condemned it out right but 'Muslim intelligentsia' in spite of their political differences on the question of 'Pakistan and Muslim League', supported the movement whole-heartedly. Not inspired by the genuine patriotism of 'Quit Princesdom and Feudalism' but motivated more by anti Hindu Maharaja sentiment, and struggle of oppressed Muslims against establishment run by Dogra monarch, Hari Singh.

On the eve of 'Kabali Raid' and on the question of accession, muslim intelligentsia was on the other side of the fence. By and large, indifferent and even severely critical of S.M. Abdullah and National Conference leadership, opposed to radical agrarian Reforms and democratic measures, avoided open hostility to the new regime, where conscious of their new hegemonstic role in the affairs of state and pursued the line of diplomatic subversion.

In the post independence phase, the number of muslim intelligentsia registered a considerable increase. Free education from primary to post graduation, opening of Engineering and Medical Colleges, a broad net work of schools and colleges throughout the state gave a impetus to education among masses. Land abolition of feudal estates and economic growth in the country side gave rise to rural elite—sons of rich peasants, traders and orchardists. In post '53 phase, corruption became a way of life. A sectional officer of vital engineering sector and ranger of forest, commonly called low paid employee could dream of rolling in wealth, afford posh bungalows, comforts available to upper class. After retirement being

financially in a position to run lucrative trade : contracts and invest black-money accumulated during tenure of service. Suppression of receipts, exaggeration of expenditure and under valuation of assets are maid methods of concentration of wealth in a few hands, particularly elite and bureaucracy.

“The central assistance, which was funneled through the administrative machinery of the state, was largely cornered by a small class of Kashmiri ‘Muslim intelligentsia in collaboration with big trading class (Khauja) who dominated the political-administrative-commercial life in the valley under the post 1947 dispensation of power. The opulence of the newly built houses owned even by the junior officials and the prosperity of this small class of Kashmiris is incredible. The benefits of central aid has not percolated to the masses, and the lot of the vast majority of poor peasants have not changed anywhere in proportion to the massive funds by the central government”.

“The sudden ascendance to power and wealth by the new elite created two problems for them. One was the increasing necessity of keeping the large majority of poor muslim masses from reacting to the ill-gotten quick wealth of the ruling minority. The other was the anxiety to perpetuate their dominant position since the unexpectedly sudden gains create a fear psychosis especially in context of the kid glove taatment received by them from the central government which meant a near total freedom from the regulating machanisms of tax and other vigilance authorities that operate much more effectively in the rest of India”. “The demand for a free state, the clamour to join to Pakistan, the rise of religious fundamentalism, the creation of the Indian bogey, etc. Ideally suited the ruling elite of the valley. These were excellent tools for diverting the attention of the poor masses from the glaring contrasts of sudden wealth of the politicains and administrations. To counter such anti-India activity, the central government constantly devised ways of supporting the ruling groups, giving a good bye to the efficiency of administrative controls .. ‘The rich elite of Kashmir have the intelligence to realize that

an independent free State of Kashmir is not viable, and the consequences of joining with Pakistan will not be pleasant. They did not expect that their incitement and covert that their incitement and covert support to the secessionist activity will ever snowball so far beyond a point necessary to playgames with New Delhi. The poor are always exploited by the clever and the cunning, be they politicians of India, Pakistan, or the ruling elite of Kashmir.....They are easily manipulated by rhetoric and propoganda of which religion is one of the most convenient tools". "With the masses in the valley smarting under rampant corruption, the grievance safety valves effectively sealed by the manipulated electrol process, and real total breakdown of administrative efficiency, Pakistan found a good opportunity".³⁶

An eminent publicist and Journalist, Dr. Kailas. N. Pradhan in his down to earth anaylsis on the same them makes valuable observations worth quoting :

"Most of the Kashmiri bureaucrats had been catapulted to their positions of power and influence not as their merit and ability but being as members of a 'long oppressed majority community'. Only a few of them came through the channel of selection, though in most cases, those selections have been doubted by the analysts. The non-committed bureaucrats managed acquisition of wealth through illegal means ; wealth disproportionate to their means of income and with no accountability. With wealth and administrative powers in their hand, the Kashmiri muslim bureaucrats established close links with the sections of Kashmiri Muslims who had acquired wealth more through illegal and calendestine means than through the sweat of the brow.....The upper class moved in a subtle manner and used the art which is the exclusive quality of a Kashmiri. They managed to seize the Mosque by enrolling themselves as the members of the mosque committee of the local mosques..... Members of the upper class infiltrated, all committees functioning under the broad banner of welfare and Reform committees. In other words, they neutralized what originally was an anti-capitalist, anti

bureaucratic move.....They became the staunch supporters of Jammāt-i-Islami and used the instrument of religion to shield themselves from any impending danger.³⁷

The Real Identity (Kashmiryat) or Vacuum.

There is much clamour regarding identity 'Kashmiriat, by Kashmiri Muslim pseudo intellectuals and academic circles. You come across people in Srinagar, extremely competent professionals—Doctors, engineers, lawyers - who consider themselves to be modern and advanced, try to organise their lives on the modern principles, social interactions. But this modernity is skin deep, it is limited to certain behaviour pattern, use of modern gadgets etc. About their life, they have extreme conservative concepts. In their actual life situations they are not prepared to adopt what is really modern. Equality of women and their rights, they are not prepared to accept, not free from superstitious and common totems and taboos. In fact, such people really do not have an identity of their own. "They have a vacuum in their lives once pass early phase of their life, at the latter stage the question of rootedness, identity, becomes relevant to them. That is when question of tradition becomes relevant. Given the manner in which the communal forces have been acting, this section of the population become easily vulnerable to the communal propoganda, for it gives them an identity to relate to".³⁸

Traditional muslim intelligentsia, being hidebound conservative is not in search of true identity—regional, cultural identity 'Kashmiriat' but muslim identity. During centuries, we in the sub-continent have developed, composite culture, an end product of interaction of diverse cultures—both muslims and Hindus have contributed in its evolution—Kabir, Chisti, Nanak, Prem Chand, Ram Mohan Roy, Sir Sayeed, Iqbal and Ghalib, Nund Rishi and Lalaishwari etc. A major section of educated 'illiterate Kashmiri Muslim Intelligentsia dubs composite culture as 'cultural aggression of Hindus'.

There is no reason why the Kashmiri way of life encouraged to flourish in its natural way. All reasonable steps to safeguard

the regional culture—'Kashmiriat' must be taken. But to adopt Pakistani 'Kurta-Pyjama', 'Khan dress' and try to imitate it is not Kashmiri identity. It should be shunned, our own dress is to be cultivated and improvised.

Why This Intensification of Communal Politics Among Kashmiri Intelligentsia—Salariat.

Why this pro-Pak or secessionist, fundamentalist tendencies and intensification of communal politics among muslim intelligentsia in Kashmir? The prominent personalities of the sub-continent - India and Pakistan have tried to reply and explain this ticklish question, baffling the minds of these who have some sense of patriotism and qualms of conscience. Nehru in his autobiography, 'Discovery of India', Dr. Adhikari's 'Pakistan and National Unity', Dr. K. Ashrafs (communist leader) "Politics of Indian Muslims" and towering personality of Pakistan Prof: Hamza Alvi have made in depth analysis and down to earth appreciation of this malaise. Prof. Hamza Alvi, in his 'Character of State in Pakistan', "Pakistan and Islam—its ethnicity and ideology" had laid bare the role of 'Salariat'—the muslim intelligentsia. The product of the colonial transformation of Indian social structure in the 19th century and it comprised those who had received an education that would equip them for employment in the expanding colonial state apparatus as scribes and functionaries whose instrument of production was the pen. For the latter term Prof. Hamza Alvi, referred to them as Salariat".³⁹

Nehru's formulation of movement for Pakistan, the belated muslim intelligentsia and hegemony of feudal landlords over Muslim League. Dr. Adhikari, a communist theoretician attributes Pakistans emergence to the weak muslim bourgeoisie compared to strong Hindu capitalist class. The idea that the Pakistan movement was motivated by Islamic ideology is also misconception, asserts Prof: Hamza Alvi and refutes Nehrus and Dr. Adhikaris contention about the establishment of Pakistan. Prof. Hamza Alvi, in his two monumental books "The State in post colonial societies, and 'state and class under

peripheral capitalism”, elaborates his concept of Character of State in Pakistan. He differentiates muslim state and Islamic state. The muslim league movement was not dominated by traders and landlords, they took little Part in the movement. The movement for Pakistan was dominated above all by muslim professionals and the ‘Salarial’ of northern India, especially of the U.P. Bihar and Punjab. Poof-Alvi says :

“It will be argued that central drawing force behind the muslim movement was a class that has a distinct place in colonial societies, whose role needs to be recognised more fully and explicitly. I have labelled that class the ‘Salarial’, the urban educated class, who qualify for employment... .. with them were associated the new professionals who emerged in the context of colonial transformation..... the lawyers, journalists and urban intellectuals generally, who share many of the problems of Salarial”. In the pre-formation of phase of Pakistan, ‘Salarial’ overlorded ethnicity and got it subsumed but in post Pakistan period it flared up -- Bangladesh’s separation and regular conflicts of Punjabis, Sindhis and Pathans. The salariat being an auxiliary class, its class role determines its alliances, particularly with landlords, weak capitalist class of the state, as well with working class. Its is dictated by class alliances - dominant in society.

“An example of this is its willingness to serve the anti national purposes of the colonial state and after the partition, the USA interests in the region at the cost of the nation Its upper echelons, the bureaucratic and military oligarchies play a role that is qualitatively different from that of its lower level Their relative weight in the political process vis-a-vis elected political representative, is the greater the lower the level of development of the society in question. It is prominent in Pakistan and Africa. It is less prominent in post colonial India, which has experienced relatively higher level of economic and political development

This is a striking feature of the political scene in Pakistan".⁴¹

The Salariat (Muslim intelligentsia) is a queer phenomenon worth study in Pakistan and J & K State. "The Salariat not only serves the economically dominant classes (in Kashmir 'Khawjas', landlords, orchardists, muslim fundamentalist outfits—Jammat) in the colonial and the post colonial state, but it also has its specific interests by virtue of its particular structural location and its powers, privileges and opportunities for corruption as the 'governing class' in the post colonial state by virtue of their direct grip over the state apparatus in the absence of institutional structure of democratic political control. This is a striking feature."⁴²

Government of India's policy of 'Repression and corruption' in Kashmir inherited from British 'Irish policy', thwarted democratic growth, gloriant anti-democratic experiment in 1953, Isolation of people from democratic process, gave rising opportunity to Kashmiri 'Salariat' to establish its hegemony over political, and social institutions, enabling it to gain 'command' position and respectability in the society. After 1953 episode, political parties lack of mass base, gave initiative to the bureaucracy to deliver goods and politician's dependence on administrative apparatus resulted in complete sway of 'Salariat' over state institutions. This is the striking feature of the Kashmir political scene today.

Kashmir Muslim salariat, believed in Mr. Jinnah's two nation theory from its very inception, it expressed in the ideology of the weaker 'muslim Salariat' vis-a-vis the dominant high caste Hindu (Kashmiri Pandit) sarariat groups. The salariat (muslim) was centrol to the J & K Muslim Conference in pre-independence phase and Jamaat and other fundamentalist outfits in post independence era.

The 'Salariat' is not a static concept. Thus in Pakistan Muslim ethnic identity, once it had fulfilled a purpose for the salariat of Bengal, Sind, Sarhad and Buluchistan, gave way to the respective regional ethnic (identities—overnight this 'Muslim

identity, undergoes through the process of definitions and redefinitions. It assumes the form of and shape of antagonism to non-Kashmiri muslim in bureaucracy and educational institutions—Universities, Colleges etc. It is being determined on the basis of perceptions of the distribution of privileges and politically viable options.

During the freedom struggle, Kashmiri salariat miserably failed to establish its ideological and political leadership (unlike Pakistani salariat) over muslim peasantry, youth, lower middle classes, lower clergy, working class, if suffered from serious handicap; their identification with muslim conference, which advocated a political line of pro-autocracy, profeudal vested interests in contrast to national conferences battls cry—'land to the tiller'. New Kashmir's most radical: 'peasants; workers and women's charter. National conference's grand strategy confined 'salariat' to its shell.

Why in the independence phase, the sudden ascendance to power and wealth the 'Kashmiri salariat' insists on muslim identity, discards compasite culture and takes refuge under fundamentalism and preaches secession and merger with Pakistan?

To answer this question is very simple.

In Pakistan character of state is 'clergy-landlord—military and bureaucratic'. Successive military dictatorships, limping democracy under military thumb, weak bourgeoisie and their influence on political institutions, backward political consciousness of the masses, have given a role, a significant one to Pakistani salariat. Irrespective of the fact, who wields power, military of civil, two things cannot be tampered with—theocracy and bureaucracy cum landlords', any one making even a mild effort challenge these three 'rights' will be removed from power. In India, parliamentary democracy having come to stay, modern capitalism developed, liberal and democratic institutions being viable, 'Hindu Salariat' cannot afford such a role.

“In this connection, it may be mentioned that the colonial system of government and rules of business, under which ministers were proteges of the British senior civil servants, altered in

independent India. These changes were effected in India because the political leadership was able to assert itself, although the role of bureaucracy in this country is usually under-estimated, as Bambari was demonstrated so clearly.⁴³

The Pakistan state, since its inception has been run by civil service, backed by the Army. For the past time, with the rise and emergence of P.P.P. led by Z.A. Bhutto, the military bureaucratic oligarchy was challenged, but after a brief interval, with the fall of Bhutto it resurfaced as usual.

In the history of Pakistan, Jinnah's main unintended contribution was a demotion of the political leadership in favour of bureaucracy. It was further strengthened by successive military regimes and in post Zia era, the military wing, enjoying hegemony, gives it unstinted support.

The privileged position and opportunities of Pakistan salariat for corruption as the 'ruling class in Pakistan by dint of their strong hold over state apparatus is tempting for Kashmiri Muslim salariat. The existence of weak democracy and absence of institutional structures for peoples political control, the Pakistan salariat's (Muslim Bureaucracy) status is envied by 'Kashmiri' salariat' - Kashmiri Muslim intelligentsia. Corruption being a way of life among major chunks of bureaucracy in Kashmir Pakistan state appears 'paradise on earth' to this class of Kashmiri salariat. Hence innate urge to merge with Pakistan. it is quite understandable. The commitment to Islamic ideology is least. Kashmiri salariat (Muslim) has down to earth appreciation that muslim ethnicity had outlived its original mission when Pakistan was brought into existence, for the Muslim salariat no longer stood in opposition to Hindus. Instead, a new dominant ethnic group identified itself, the ruling Punjabis etc. They had left Muslim ethnicity behind in the pre-partition past. Every regional group wanted its pound of flesh.

Kashmiri Muslim salariat as it is constituted is a social contradiction in action. His outer shell is apparently modern, but part within hard shell ; kernel is hide-bound conservative. In political dispositions, 'Kashmiri Salariat resembles' Jekyll and

Hyde', characters in story by R.L. Stevenson— person in whom two (opposing) personalities alternate. Any violation of democratic norm in functioning of Indian democracy, Kashmiri salariat reacts in oversensitive manner. His criticism is cramp and hair-splitting. As regards military coup-de-etates, forcible overthrow of democratically established governments in Pakistan, he is not only indifferent, numb but an active defender of undemocratic actions and justificative.

Muslim Kashmiri salariat is averse to any support to be extended to the democratic struggles waged by people in Pakistan for democracy and egalitarian system—the basic tenents of Islam.

Problems of and Grievances of 'Kashmiri Muslims' as Indian Minority.

Nevertheless, Kashmiri 'salariat is justified in its grievance against Government of India and Indian Democracy, on the count of his minimal, minuscule representation in central services of all grades and categories. The central statistics shows graphically, that 'Kashmiri salariats' representation throughout India in central services and public undertaking is not even nominal and lowest. His claims have been trampled underfoot, by narrowminded and cringy central bureaucrats. His heart burning on this score is justified and it is vital factor for his alienation. 'Kashmiri Salariat' is seriously apprehensive and horrified on the question of Hindu-Muslim conflict and dangerous expression of communitism in post independence India. In 1989, there were 60 communal riots within 65 days of September-November. Not only we are having more riots every year, but are having riots in more places also. Today it can be safely said that at least half of India is affected by Hindu-Muslim riots. As the number of riots have grown, the number of instigators and organisers of riots have also grown. In 1951 communal organisations of all religions numbered not more than dozen. Today they are over 500 in number. Some of them have a membership of over a lakh.

The muslim salariat response to all these has been

disastrously negative. They saw in this a total breakdown of the secular perception in the Government. They concluded that if they have to live in India they will have to live by organising and defending themselves as muslims if possible to secede from India.

The ground was thus laid by muslim intelligentsia for the quick ascendancy of rabid fundamentalism and passive support to the extremist movement.

Kashmiri 'Muslim Salarial' sees its future career bleak in Indian administration and central bureaucracy. They know well, that presence of Indian muslims at executive level is less than minimal. In 1984 there were only 90 muslims among the 4, 195 IAS officers in the country. At the I.P.S. level they numbered 67 in a total of 2,222. In the central Secretariate, among the 6,708 officers, the rank of Section Officers, the number of muslims were 38.

Kashmiri muslim intelligentsia have lost faith in the majority community because of the fast decline of liberal thought among the Hindus. It was this liberal thought that earlier gave the muslim intelligentsia the acceptance and respect that were their due.

Kashmiri muslim salariat is totally alienated and such is the sad state of affairs obtaining in the valley, that as per statements of governor, no muslim intellectual, of high integrity and honesty and having good reputation, is prepared to accept the job of Advisor to the Governor's Advisory Council.

The Rural Elite and Rise of Fundamentalism and Extremism (Rich Peasant, Landlord and Orchardist).

Rise of extremism among peasantry is rooted in the farm growth pattern. After radical land reform in 1950, 'Land to the tiller without compensation', fixing ceiling, the big social transformation took place, rich peasant and orchardist appeared on the rural scene. The peasantry is not a single category but very much differentiated and the process is continuing even in the backward areas. The rise of extremism in Kashmir rural

areas has its roots in the farm growth pattern of Kashmir. The educated youth unable to get productive employment turned to extremism for the solution of his problem.

There is economic differentiation of the peasantry throughout Kashmir's rural sector. The economic and political power of the rich peasantry has increased in all growth areas. But economic differentiation has not led to political differentiation.

The radical land reform of 1950 was sabotaged and subverted in 1978 by National Conference Government, through an amendment of section 2 of J & K Agrarian Act of 1976, the orchards were exempted from the operation of Act. There could be no fetter to the size of orchards. A big concession to capitalist farmers and creation of neo-land-lordism in the rural sector. "An analysis of Agricultural Development and income distribution in J & K by Prof. Nisar Ali, Advisor to J & K Planning Commission, a scientific treatise, indicating growth of capitalism in Kashmir Agriculture on sound statistics comes to the conclusion that there is "great income inequality in the rural sector. The Kulak and orchardist has devoured entire rural economy. The greater income concentration is among the "apple cultivating households. As a result of cereal acreage getting converted into orchards, as these are exempt from ceiling laws, farming is assuming a capitalistic shape than mere subsistence.

Available evidence in the State indicates that the land transferred through land reform measures has been negligible and bulk of land transferred may have gone to medium and small farmers already owning land.

The present distribution of rural assets in the state is much that the top 10% control nearly half and top 30% about 82 per cent of all rural assets. Let alone the landless, the small and marginal farmers forming 70% are controlled by less than 20% people, there can be no social or economic justice unless this asymmetry is removed.

The Kulak and orchardist, being supplied subsidized inputs,

free from tax and system heavily loaded in his favour turned to religious fundamentalism, monopolized state services, having political weightage, with farmers representation have gone up to nearly 45% in the state legislature, dominate all rural institutions. Having heavy surpluses, kulak and orchardist finance net work of Jamaat's educational institutions, constitute vote banks of Congress and National Conference. With the passage of time, Jamaat succeeded in building an effective potential for secession and finally armed insurgency in rural areas.

Radical land reforms created a rich peasant and 1976 Act revision of the 1950 legislation evolved category of land-lords and orchardists, possessors of big estates, having political weightage, dominating positions in Panchayats, Cooperatives, credit institutions and providing government services to their kith and kin and their proteges. It constituted the social base of Congress (I) and National Conference too. The Jamaat kulak, congress and National conference were in hand and glove, united for power sharing, privileges and loot-shoot. Congress (I) in the first phase of its power, particularly during Mir Qasim's tenure, acquiesced in and tacitly agreed to accept the the ideological stances of this neo-rich emerging class as a power base in the rural sector—a sort of ideological peaceful coexistence. A class, if not moulded to sound and healthy ideology owns reactionary and backward ideology. S.M. Abdullah resisted this ideological trend, after accord, but 'lion the little', Dr. Abdullah, adopted comfortable thesis—'a philistine optimism'—no conflict between untoward ideological trends and political business. You may gain enough of both worlds if you mind each in its place. The rural elite—sons of rich peasants and applekings—administrarors, bureaucrats, teachers, Patwaris, revenue officers, low paid employees judicial officers and professionals donned the fundamentalist robes. Islamic fundamentalism as advocated and founded by Maulana Maududiin 1941, a scholar journalist with a classical education, an opponent of muslim nationalism. The organization was called the Jamaat-e-Islami. The socio-political institutions in rural areas, of Kashmir which had not philosophy of its own and were not politically educated by their power wielding benefactors inevit-

ably accepted that which happens to be fashionable. A formula was discovered which would gather fundamentalist landlord, puritan orchardist, congress socialists, national conference 'Naya Kashmiri' and diggers, merchants and artisans into the fold of a single social theory—Maududis social and political philosophy of course material and ideological changes went together.

In its early phase, (1953-1970) Jamaat in rural areas, especially in northern district of Kashmir-District Baramulla and district Kupwara, and in the South Kashmir-Pulwama and Anantnag district was not a mass party but one with selected cadre members, engrossed in the spade work-establishing educational institutions and moulding its teacher trainers ideologically. During this phase, except in Holy Relic agitation, the organisation remained aloof from agitational and electoral process, engrossed itself in propaganda work and functioned as vote banks of congress legislators for which they were rewarded generously admission to professional colleges, recruitment of pro Jamaat personnel into educational institutions and general administration.

On the ascendancy of Mr. Qasim and his cohorts to state power, and policy adopted by Indira Congress to utilize Jamaat for containing Sheikh's influence in the valley, Jamaat was persuaded to participate in elections as a political party. Jamaat having an active understanding with congress (I) returned its seven members to the legislative assembly. It achieved its objective of political respectability. It had no shallow roots in rural sector. It felt confident that as an organisation it was not isolated from popular support. The election victory of 1972 took aback and surprised its opponents, anti Jamaat and anti Mir Qasim group. who got defeated in the electoral process. The field was clear for the Jamaat to make a clean sweep and spawn in the valley. The political circles in the valley felt its strength and did not dismiss it as a political non-entity. After its electoral victory, it tended to function as a pressure group rather than as a political party. It acquired firm grip over the educational institutions-schools, colleges, professional colleges

and Universities. It spread its tentacles in the administration, medical institutes, Hospitals, judiciary. It had exercised a powerful influence on the media, Radio, Television and State cultural academy. Its tentacles are believed to have extended everywhere so that its opponents live in fear. With patience, tact it won the government patronage, and succeeded in creating a cognizable political clout in the villages.

Gradually it cultivated a militant element in the party namely 'Al-Fatah' in sixties in alliance with Plebiscite Front organisation led by Mirza A. Beg. The left over of these outfits are associated with, especially, the Islami-Jamiyat-Tulba, the student organisation of the Jamaat, it gradually developed into an armed wing on the eve of Armed insurgency in Kashmir.

The rising capitalist farmer (Rich peasant and orchardist) has both the capitalist spirit and fundamentalist ethics, therefore are good deal more complex, compared to the politically pre reform villager-having non-communal approach to politico-social affairs. The new disposition is markedly different-more conservative elements in village society-the peasants, the craftsman and many landed gentry and that conception found expression in politics and religion.

Darkness From Where? Jammāt And R.S.S.

The Kashmir Jammāt is ideologically oriented to 'Mansoorā' brand of Islam, Mansoorā being the head-quarters of Jammāt in Pakistan, "The Jammāt preaches reactionary obscurantist ideology and tries to justify it with quotations from 'Holy Quran' and their own specific interpretation of the same. They preach establishment of theocratic state. The definition of 'Shariat' (Islamic) includes, 'Ijma' (consensus) 'Qiyas' (Analogy) 'Ijtihad', (reinterpretation of Islamic laws) as part of the 'Shariat'. 'In their political debate about Islamic state, the Jammāt stands for Ijtihad but at the same time derides the the method proposed by modernist Sir Sayeed, Shibli, Azad, Hali and Iqbal, for achieving it under present conditions, by legitimizing representative democracy in the name if 'Ijma'.

Jammat contends against this, that this could not lead to a reliable interpretation of Islam, for the voters may not be muslim and even if they are they may not have true understanding of Islam, such as only Maududy and his followers have. Such an argument leads to negation of democracy and authoritarian, Fascist position. Such an elitism is in contradiction to the central principle in Islam, namely that Ijtihad, by Ijma, the consensus of the community, has precedence over Ijtihad by the 'alim' the man of religious learning because an individual, however learned he may be is fallible but God 'Allah' in his mercy would not allow error. This has been recognised as the principle of Democracy in Islam, The Jammat ideology, while insisting on Ijtihad, in effect rejects 'Ijma'. 44.

Hence 'Jammat' represents a sect, tries to impose its sectarian thinking over all others. The correct position is to accept secular conception of the politics and state so that every individual, would be able to participate in the democratic process.

Real Islam and the New Fundamentalist Wave is the Ideological Crisis in Kashmir—Emergence of M.U.F. as Political Alternative

The Congress in post Sadiq period and National Conference after passing away of S.M. Abdullah, ideologically were tailists to Jamat. None faced them ideologically and politically but were competing to curry favour with the Jamat. Jamat became a monster devoured and eroded the peasant base of National Conference and Congress. On the eve of election the United Front of political parties came into existence in the valley called 'Muslim Front'. After elections Jammat through its mass front, M.U.F. emerged as an alternative, overshadowing Congress and National conference. Today it has assumed the position of vanguard of Armed insurgency. Its armed wing 'Hizb' trusted by Pakistan, led by ISI has attained domineering position in sustaining insurgency.

The advent of Islam in Kashmir is an unique process. In its harmonious interaction it influenced the doctrine of 'Advita-

Savism and in its historial process developed its own brand of mysticism, sufism which abounds in the milk of humanism and religious tolerance preached by the school of indigenous Rishis. On the basis of humanism it gave birth to modern nationalism, secularism, secular politics and radical socio-economic programmes. The fundamentalism and fanaticism preached by Jamat is alien to Islam, essence of Islam is in its concept—Ijtihad' reinterpretation in changing conditions. "Allah particularly detests those who are unwilling to subject their fundamental ideas to re-examination : such people are the worst of all in his eyes (8 : 23 of 10 : 100) Islam is compatible with change and growth. Islam should not be looked only from the angle of revivalism but its essence i.e. Rationalism : it requires a serious consideration and comprehension of dynamic revolutionary concept of Islam is to be defended and further developed.

The common Kashmiri peasant—poor and middle is not revivalist, moulded in the tradition of 'Rishis', a liberal mystic trend, historically evolved by Nund-Rishi and Lalla Ded. Traditionally Kashmir valley is called 'Peer Wari—a land of Rishis.

The situation today is different, through Jammatt does not have a mass appeal, and influence among peasantry, but it is considered most consistent proponent of secession, its cadre has capacity to mobilize the villages, as was done by plebiscite Front led by S.M. Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg in the previous phase till signing of Accord in 1975. Jamat has succeeded in building power of affective political action in the districts of Baramulla, Kupwara and Pulwama. A substantial segment of peasantry is under their active political influence and ideological impact. Anti secular and secessionist stance are nurtured and sustained through massive propaganda beaming across the border—the catalyst and main lever in this thought process is Jamaat. Prior to any fresh political initiative in Kashmir and new approaches are made this hard fact must be taken cognisance of. The villages where Jammatt has penetrated, have turned arsenal of secessionist movement and armed insurgency.

The Emergence of Kashmiri Lumpen in Politics and Process of Lumpenization

The process of lumpenization is on 'in Kashmir' since sixties. About 50 crores of charas smuggling (hashish) is estimated to be taking place annually since sixties. Subsequent to 'Golden crescent' an operation of drug trafficking extending to network of routes covering the areas of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan, a discovery has been made of new drug routes in Pak occupied Kashmir. The revelation has been made by a Pakistani drug courier at Oslo international Airport. The existence of drug laboratories in Muzaffarabad—capital of P.O.K., Dir etc. "Heroin derived from opium, comes to India from two points and from India to Western countries.....It comes firstly through the land routes from Pakistan via Punjab and Rajasthan. Militants in Kashmir also bring it in. Kashmir also has its own popy. Bags of popy are exchanged for guns and ammunition. Recently a country in the Middle east gave the equivalent of a years earnings from tourism in normal times to the militants. It has also been established that Punjab and Kashmir militants are in touch and know each others strategy. The Pakistan route through which heroin is pushed into India is known as the golden crescent" (Nexus between narcotics and terrorism—Promilakalhan—The Kashmir Times 17-9-1991. The Azad Kashmir and Pakistan is 'Bhang'—'Drug' smugglers paradise. This motivates lumpens to hanker after Pakistan. The source pumps big money into the coffers of lumpens and lumpen capitalist smugglers—commonly called 'Neo-Khawajas' (nouve riche), even bureaucracy is involved in the shady deals. Government of India from the outset of its operation closed its eyes and allowed traffic to be on. Add to it drug traffic, heroin, brown sugar, surfaced since seventies. From this social base sprouted lumpen class, it constitutes one of the vital segment of insurgency, even this element is decried by other militant outfits as anti social's off and on, for their grave crimes—extortion, molestation etc. Timber smugglers, (wood thieves) can be brackted with this category also. Lumpen centre of operations have surfaced in Bhang growing areas teeming with lumpens. Rural areas generate conservative and

stagnant semi-employment of large strata of the poorest peasantry ; educated unemployed and cesspool of all kinds of semi declass elements. This social structure gives birth to lumpen proletarians, lumpen capitalists, lumpen pseudo intellectuals, lumpen and artisans.

“Lumpens have developed their own ideology, and it is their representative who emerge as the founders and backbones of a number of highly powerful lumpen organisations, some of which, in structure and function are reminiscent of secret societies with their own ‘code of conduct and honour’. These are largely thieves of bandit organisations, which often take part (albeit invisibly) in political life”.⁴⁵

The social composition of lumpens constitutes conservative body and have close nexus with propertied classes. In politics, the class takes basically anti-progressive, conservative stance, cynicism, total permissiveness, callousness, rancour, indifference, nonchalance, and an instinctive aversions for ideals are the main characteristics of lumpens. The large mass of lumpens elements follow right wing, semi-fascist organisations.

The Kashmiri lumpens have penetrated the militant and insurgent movement in a big way and with gun-totting strike terror among people. Their slogan is, ‘Join terrorists and get rich’. The lumpens have friends in the police as well as in the civil administrations. The trigger happy lumpens, have expanded the militant mass base. Many political elements of all parties are linked to smugglers and militants. Recruitment of militants has swelled in terrorist ranks, mostly youngstersth at at worst they will have to spend a few months in jails. Meantime, they will be able to amass a good deal of wealth through extortion. In certain places, the degeneration of ideals of youngsters has been on the increase. Not long ago, a group of terrorists kidnapped a Gujjar girl and gang raped her. The JK Liberation Front took notice of this incident and tried to punish them.

The lumpens are virtually running a parallel government in certain areas. Within a few months, they collect lakhs from

various rich people, corrupt officials and engineers. Even in certain instance, some of these militant say, "we will collect five to six lakhs in a very short time. If we go Jail, we are sure to come out after a few months. If we get killed we will become martyrs".

The Lumpens even interfere in the development work and succeed in stopping the construction work especially of bridges, one of the instances is delapidated bridge at Bijbehara, district Anantnag. The engineers are threatened. The fear of the gun regins supreme in the administrative sphere and developmental staff-engineers etc.

Kashmiri Rootless Youth

The problem of youth in Kashmir is a complex one and needs in depth analysis and study. With four percent literacy in 1931 (pre-independence period) the microscopic minority of Kashmiri educated youth has its credit the glorious tradition of anti-imperialist, anti feudal struggle in the state. From it developed a well organised leadership headed by S.M. Abdullah, G.M. Sadiq. Maulana Mohmmad sayeed Masoodi, P.N. Bazaz and others. Todays youth lacks ideological and political clarity. The majority of students are under the influence of reactionary politics of R.S.S. and Jammata-E-Islami and such other communal, secessionist and militant organisations. For about a decade, since dismissal and imprisonment of S.M. Abdullah and others, students in Kashmir were in a state of euphoria and obsessed with negative slogans. Some groups among them mostly lumpens are reared and nurtured by dubious agencies, one of whose aims is to obliterate any sign of democratic and secular politics in the student community of state and have succeeded in their heinous designs. Post independence period by and large gave rise to a lumpen development in Kashmir. The 'charas' smuggling, corruption, tax evasion, black marketing, non taxable orchard money, accumulation in transport sector monopolized by a class, a certain shady class of contractors and ruthless deforestation has created a class not of producers but lumpen bourgeoisie. This is the socio-economic background of students, youth belonging to this class. The

leadership of various groups of students is mostly drawn from this class. Such type of leadership has been responsible for fundamentalist outfits like Jammāt, Tulbā, organising student outbursts of reactionary nature and of fundamentalist, communalist character. This type of leadership has led student community to confuse India with imperialist state. They do not know that Indian people through their liberation struggle gave crushing blow to world imperialist system. Most sections of youth have all praise for 'military-feudal and bureaucratic state of Pakistan and would like to merge with it. By raising anti-India and anti-secular slogans, such leadership of students belonging mostly upper layers of society is quite understandable. By raising such slogans, these groups (sons of corrupt bureaucrats, engineers, contractors charas smugglers) divert the attention of general mass of students from real movement—struggle against corruption, rigging of elections and building sound, viable socio-economic system in the state. The bulk of mass of students, sons of lower middle class and poor peasants is dominated by so called leaders, mostly neo-rich cum bureaucratic. This stratum of youth has taken up arms and were initiators of armed insurgency.

“At the same time, there is no doubt that many youths are frustrated and sullen and feel that the only way for them to attract attention is with the gun. Political leaders do not enthuse them and the Jammāt-E-Islami, which impressed them when many among them owed allegiance to 'Jamiat-Tulbā', the student wing, does not provide an answer to their immediate problems of neglect and unemployment . . . The solution is an independent Islamic state of Kashmir”, says Ali Shah Gilani, Chief of the Jammāt. But the youth see the hypocrisy because Gillani swore to uphold the integrity and unity of India before contesting the state Assembly election . . . They are also worried about the spectre of Hindu communalism which they believe is beginning to raise its head in the country. Their fear is that as Muslims they face danger to their entity and culture. Not knowing the overwhelming strength of secular forces in India, the youth who talked to me wondered what the future held for them”.⁴⁶

Mr. Kuldip Nayyar, an eminent liberal journalist in his analysis of rise of militancy among Kashmiri youth misses the most vital link in the whole process—anti India sentiment—spearheaded by the Plebiscite Front, 'Mahaz Azadi', the Al-Fatah and the peoples league, predominantly youth organisations. The elections of 1977 and 1983, were fought and won on the basis of 'Kashmiriat', by National Conference, identity was not given meaning in economic, political and cultural terms but presented in the chauvnist form of uslim identity. It is this anti-India sentiment which laid the foundation of Kalinshokoi culture, among the youth.

'Operation-Topac' mounted by President Zia-ul-Huq was a well planned and sophisticated effort to infiltrate the Pak trained saboteurs into the educational institutions among teachers and students, an inflammable material in the politics of insurgency. The entire Kashmiri population was exposed to the sustained anti-India propoganda for a length of time. In this backdrop, for the first time in the history of elections in continuation of 'Operation Topac' plan, Kashmiri youth in large number participated in elections held in 1987 and were avante-garde in conducting the election of M.U.F.

Intelligence reports suggest, in accordance with prior plan, that majority of Kashmiri youths who crossed over to Pakistan occupied Kashmir following 1987 elections were welcomed by Pak Intelligence with open arms and pushed them back in the valley after giving them training in handling sophisticated arms.

9

Kashmir Press & Human Rights :

(What we Argue About)

Press in Kashmir in pre independence and post independence phase, manifests sharp ideological, political divergencies in its approaches to the problem of communalism, and secularism. In pre independence phase, political differences were discernible in the leading newspapers of the State—'Khidmat' edited by M. Sayeed Masoodi and 'Hamdard' by P.N. Bazaz, but on national issues, secular outlook, renaissance and Democracy views were similar. Many otherpapers in English and urdu languages were published also, but these two papers had largest circulation by the standards and literacy percentages prevalent at that time. The situation in post independence phase of Kashmir was critical for the press, draconian laws and curbs on press were order of the day.

The peoples 'right to know' and "the free access to and circulation of knowledge" are recognised all over the world, for without these democratic principles representative governments would be reduced to authoritarian power structures. The citizens 'right to know the truth' relating to any public issues is fundamental and cannot be encroached upon by the government'. But this basic right to know, and free circulation of knowledge was trampled underfoot for so many years in Kashmir.

The events took a sharp turn, there was thaw in the realm of journalistic pursuits, newspapers surfaced on the scene, but the peoples 'right to know' was polluted, misused. Essentially and in historical sense, the slogan of the peoples right to know

is to be a progressive and reject democratic aspirations and values. In the Kashmir's socio-political and intellectual context, it does mean a great deal. To pander to crass sentiments of people is not 'professionalism' but sensationalism. It is not patriotism. Look to the files of dailies of Srinagar, during the Bangla Desh episode, on Kashmir problem you can mark the stance. The canards were spread regarding papers holding principle of professionalism as values. You can make a difference to peruse the files of the daily Chinar edited by the writer.

The problem of suppression of facts in dark areas of Pak politics. Suppression of civil liberties, violation of Human rights during military regimes, non projections of democratic struggles by people in Pakistan against enemies of democracy, threat of muslim fundamentalism an hydra headed monster raising its head, risings of people against puppet regimes in P.O.K. and corrupt involvement of successive Pak regimes in massive scandles. Examine the files of leading urdu Newspapers in the valley since 1965 till upto date ; you will find the cynical and amoral stand point and judgement of values as reflected in the Kashmir media and the self serving reading of the Pak situation. There are journalists and journalists but if there is one organising principle in a field where there are embarassingly few defined rules of the game. The right to know can be guaranteed only when vigilant public opinion exists, not only to defend the right to know but also to deepen it to cover all sectors of information.

Since the advent of terror culture in Kashmir, in the domain of journalism a serious conflict has appeared in the concept of professionalism versus Nationalism, secularism etc. It would be hard to find examples of valour, self sacrifice, endurance, of much pain and suffering and tension comparable to Punjabi journalists. However there are shining examples where Kashmiri journalists were victims of terror culture—'Alsafa's editor got killed, editors of Srinagar Times and 'Aftab' were seriously attacked. Exasperation sets in, not because of threats but opportunism and double standards in the profession.

Newspapers have to face extremist threats, at the gun point they are forced to carry statements of militants, look to so called advertisements—individuals submitting to terrorist dictates or to atone past mistakes. Even militants dictate and evolve code of conduct to journalists.

But there is not only fear of gun, which motivates newspapers in the state to publish matter of militants. Journalists, newspapers believe in the professionalism—dictates of militants regarding regressive social reforms—veil (Burqa). restricted marriage parties, closure of cinema Houses, certain prescribed dress etc. But there is no fault finding with news media, government itself caves in, frequency of change in stances—to contain terrorism with iron hand, now announcing the need for political process.

“There is a classic dilemma, between the declared censorship of the terrorists and the guide lines issued by the government..... newspapers caught in similar situations face to choose between ‘professionalism’ and the large interests of the country. ‘Professionalism demands that news, however unsavoury to the government must get into the papers. On the other hand the ‘largest interests of the country demand that any news item or comment which defeats the goals set by the government must be kept out’.

There is no newspaper in the valley unlike Jammu, who can claim that it has fought separatism and secessionism. There has been criticism, that these ‘Newspapers’ from valley have pandered to Muslim communalism.

It is difficult in these circumstances to evolve with consistency and maintain the voluntary code of conduct—as journalist’s are sandwiched between the threats of terrorists and government curbs.

It is not irrelevant to mention the mushroom growth of dailies and weeklies preceding the phase of militancy in the valley. This yellow journalism in most cases was sponsored by dubious agencies with specific directions regarding the Kashmir’s

national movemet and historical personages. It was full of abuse of history, political distortions and character assassinations. S.M. Abdullah' as life story is not free from negative aspects and influences, but his life career is also full of glorious pages—freedom struggle, nationalist and secular politics, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle a vital instrument in the political awakening of the state people. This particular 'journalist junk' tried to shatter his personality, an ignoble attempt to tarnish his image. In this design there was concurrence of congress(I) too.

The conversion of muslim conference into national conference was deemed an act of treachery and accession of state to India the result of an intrigue by Nehru-Abdullah, an hoax perpetuated on the state people. Such acts of Goebbelesian propaganda and demolition of images of historical mould can be easily inferred the handiwork of Inter Service Intelligence of Pakistan.

The fudging - concealing of information is not an internal issue, confined to state, the journalists, newspersons and media outside the state resort to such practices—cynical and amoral. The issue of the case of atrocity allegedly committed in village Kunnan-Poshpora in district Kupwara (Kashmir) and involvement of the army, the enabling arrangement for them, irresponsible involvement of the government of the day, also crisis management and cover up by the Verghese committee, is obviously not an issue to be viewed in isolation. There are several aspects and issues—to question of injustice, to policy matters internal as well as external—which matter a great deal. Moreso of course, is the manifest role of the government and its shameful course of obstructing justice and suppressing facts to protect those whose hands are trapped in the till.

The Verghese committee initiative in the 'Poshpora affair' was not of its own but it was taken on the request by the Army to conduct an investigation and verify impartially the local media stories about the atrocities allegedly committed by it.

'Poshpora' incident was followed by fresh cases of atrocities—reported by both national and international press.

The Verghese report is voluminous—and runs into about 200 pages. He has been forthright and frank about the causes of the failure of press in the state to register its protest and rise to occasion. But the report is not free from infirmities and glaring defects. The committee did not follow normal procedure, such an act on the part of Verghese—a man of integrity has raised doubts about the authenticity of report. The Verghese committee report betrays cover up, secrecy and hold—not on the basis of any evidence but on the basis of its own opinion—facts are facts, opinions can vary. Medical Officer, D.M. categorically, Divisional Commissioner too a certain extent does not reject the rape charge. Verghese committee does not quote any medical authority in support of its opinion.

The Verghese committee report, compiled by eminent journalists of the country, members of worthy press institution 'Press Council' of India is classic example of 'Fudging'.

To identify and differentiate violation of human rights is a delicate job. It is controversial too, it is an issue of affirmation and denial—a long chain of arguments and counter arguments. To quote Antonio Gramsci, "The violation of human rights of state withers away by degrees, as ever more conspicuous elements of civil society make their appearance. A true writer is a patriot and patriotism means love for the people and not for a piece of land.

Love for the motherland should mean identification with the pain and misery of the people. What is all this talk for Jihad? The first pre-requisite is the establishment of a policy based on human dignity, justice and harmony. There is no merit in self defence perse.

A human rightist, journalist and writer call for a human approach in the present phase of Jammu and Kashmir state. A human approach is to be cultivated and a considerate policy

evolved to distinguish and differentiate between innocent people and guilty. A balance is to be struck between terrorism and state terrorism. The main condition of successful struggle, against insurgency in Kashmir is the active defence of human rights against insurgency and state terrorism. Here is the job, a sacred one that devolves on a writer, newsperson, journalist.

Besides doyens of Indian journalism—Kuldip Nayyar, Verghese Pran Chopra etc. one should take off one's hat to the commendable role of Jammu press, journalists who maintained equanimity, quiescent state, repose, countered terrorism and state terrorism through their writings in the balance, counterpoise and even distribution of weight.

The Non-Enigmatic Sphinx—Terror and Other Terror

Oncoming armed insurgency and polarization took by surprise the leadership of secular parties—National Conference, Congress (I), Janta Dal. Since then, these parties are in a state of paralysis, totally inactivated. The organisational structures as constituted tumbled down like house of cards. After some killings by terrorists mainly of National Conference activists, whom they considered incorrigible, the queues of political cadres lined up before newspaper offices with the advertisements—submitting to terrorist dictates or to atone past mistakes. A spineless lot unlike Punjab. There could be no political process to see the trend is reversed and restore activity. Many leaders, ranks are secretly in hand and glove with militant outfits, sympathetic and even their family members—sons etc. have wormed their way in the womb of terrorists—some of their kith and kin are involved in terrorist acts. Wealthy and rich office bearers of pro-Indian organisations, make regular payments to these militant outfits. There are all kinds of former leaders of Kashmir—Dr. Farooq Abdullah left Kashmir is out in London, Syed Mir Qasim in USA and Mufti Mohd Sayeed in Delhi. Many more leaders and workers live as migrants in Delhi and Jammu.

“The erstwhile leaders of the valley, irrespective of their

political affiliations need to do some heart searching now. It is for them to ponder why their very presence in the valley is an anathema to the people".⁴⁸

Such is the sad state of affairs on the political scene of Kashmir.

The political cadres of all nationalist organizations have disintegrated. There may be many of them there still who can be revived. I am not in a position to say. It is stark reality and hard fact that neither the congress party nor the national conference and Janta Dal or the other pro-Indian secular elements have been able in this whole period to revive their activities ; political activities in the valley.

Muslim united Front leadership, some of them liberal and moderates are in prison. There have been several attempts to initiate a dialogue with them but of no avail. The leadership has been taken over by hot heads, extremists, the main lever of which is 'Jammat-E-Islami, its armed wing is 'Hizb' led by Ahsan Dar ; its supreme and functioning under the command and directions of Inter Service Intelligence Pakistan. There are some sections of Muslim Intelligentsia both in service and retired who through their writings by offering advice guide militant outfits tactically. But I.S.I's direction is the sacred and supreme.

Presently there are a large number of terrorist organisations functioning in Jammu and Kashmir with the names of Arabic derivation. The major outfits are : (1) J & K Liberation Front—it stands for Independence of Kashmir State, (2) Hizb-ul-Mujahideen—it is an armed wing of fundamentalist Jammat, stands for merger with Pakistan. (3) Al-Umar Mujahideen—it comprises of down town belt, Bukras (goats)—nick name given by S.M. Abdullahs followers since 1932 led by Maoulvi Yousuf Shah—Mirwaiz, who fled to Pakistan in 1947, opposed National Conference and accession to India. This organization has remained consistent pro-Pakistani in the past as Muslim conference and subsequently Awami Action Committee headed by Moulvi Farooq. (4) Inhwani-ul-Muslimeen (5) Allah Tigers

(6) The Muslim Janbaz Force are small action groups which create terror and spread fundamentalist message.

Muslim Liberation Front, Islami Students League, People's League, Dukhtran-E-Millat (Womens wing), Mahaz-E-Azadi are exponents of Islamization and merger with Pakistan and are affiliated groups of Jamat-E-Islami". There are as many 29 subversive groups functioning in J & K with training base in POK. According to published reports some 20,000 youngmen (Kashmiri) are trained and armed by Pakistan for subversion and violence. Muslim Liberation Front is politically oriented group and its political posture is autonomy and self-determination.

The operational plan of these terrorits is well planned have resources at their disposal ranging from weapons, firearms and well knit intelligence system and sufficiently manned infrastructure.

Mostly, the activities of a number of terrorist organizatons are dictated by fundamentalism or religious aspirations. The motivation for terrorism is an activity mainly dictated by ideological factors, rather than a fit of hysteria or the desire to make money through extortion. As such, terrorism represents political problem and can be faced politically. A Romantic aura and martyrs crown of thorns can, indeed, evoke sympathy and compassion. The compassion, sympathy towards terrorists is aroused among people as valiant fighters against so called 'Indian Hindu Imperialism' defenders of Islamic faith. The main aim of terrorists is not to eliminate individuals, the intemtion is to intimidate society. "Kill one, frighten ten thousand' is an old chinese saying

To resort to terrorist acts, is by itself, an indicator of political weakness. Terrorism alone is incapable of achieving very much except provoke most serious social upheavals, the danger of economic havoc. The fire consuning the fuse is small, but the fuse is attached to a bomb. There are divergences between rural guerilla movement and urban terrorism as witnessed in

the valley. In rural areas the target are military objectives, urban objective is a cheering a psychological reaction and panic. The battles are replaced with petty clashes and treacherous attacks on the hit and run principle.

The Kashmiri terrorism evolved the concept of selective killings, attempts on Prominent political figures, kidnapping political and officials and keeping them hostages but also systematically resorted to random terror, planting bombs in heavily crowded areas. In the terrorist terminology it is referred as a 'Bomb Philosophy'. The bomb philosophy always embodies the terrorists convictions which are more or less illusory or less imaginary. Many terrorist actions are carried out specifically for the purposes of publicity—abduction of Swedish engineers, jews and Dooruswamy

“The chief driving force behind terrorist action is the terrorists need for self expression and self assertion in any form at any cost, though many of them, hypnotized by their own demagogy, do not realize this. While striving to appear and feel an original and important being, the terrorist is virtually an ordinary imitator, a creature of the herd instinct. He is a forgery, not an original. The one thing that is real in his life is the blood he sheds”.⁴⁹ Are terrorists really religious and are acts specifically determined by tenents of religion ? To unmask it, one should explain and reveal true essence of religions—compassion, humanness, and the first pre-requisite of 'Jehad' — establishment of a policy based on human dignity, justice and harmony. There is no moral merit in self defence per se. To analyse terrorism, “the slogans and the relationship between the terrorists ideological and political precepts with their social and psychological motivations and impulses has to be understood. Elementary, yet important questions have to be answered : Whence did they come and who they are, these men and women, who allow themselves to dispose of others lives in the name of their notions of 'benefit of mankind' ? What does this benefit actually mean ? And how does the consciousness of these uncalled - for - do - gooders combine their allegedly human premise with their misanthropic practices ? Political

assassination forms the core of terrorist tactics ... A recourse to terrorism is, by itself, an indicator of political weakness ... From explosions and are sons to attack on people, from clashes with anonymous adversaries to political assassinations attempts on specific individuals, from political kidnappings with subsequent release of the hostages to premediated murder, from planting bombs and firing shots from distance to cold blooded shooting down defenceless prisoners at point blank range, from attacks on political enemy to executions of their own comrades suspected of treason or merely a desire to renege on terrorism—thus evolved not only the methods of terrorism; such was the psychological evolution of the terrorists themselves, described by those escaping from the terrorist underground as the spiral of Hell”.

Is it not the picture of ongoing Kashmir terrorism, truly reflective in all its manifestations. A politically weak being who resorts to terror is to be involved in political process, wrong notions about ‘Jihad’, Hindu imperialism, secularism and Indian democracy to be cleared from his mind mostly among misguided youth. It is here where fault lies with political parties ruling the state—their leaders and cadre, who were not keen about political process, dialogue and real politics but political chicanery. If there are clouds in the sky today in our state, this does not mean that man has ceased to exist—It has simply disappeared from view for a while. There is much talk about conflict and confrontation between ‘Hizb’ and JKLF on the question of independence and merger with Pakistan and it is said that ISI does not hold the latter in trust and all assistance—money and material has been stopped to it. The problem of independence has appeal in POK, where people have experienced the arbitrary rule of Pak ruling class, domination of Punjabis denial of democratic rights. The slogan of independence is popular in POK. In Kashmir its adherents are peripheral—intelligentsia and a section of followers on National conference. This slogan emerged in 1953, raised by S. M. Abdullah. It was vehemently opposed by intelligentsia in general and Mirwaiz’s followers -- Awami Action committee too.

To me it still appears a subterfuge the Jamaat, Al-Ummar and other satellite terrorist outfits and intelligentsia are in favour of merger with Pakistan. J & K Liberation is not secular. They were first to strike terror among minorities by indiscriminate killings. Let us watch the conflict and do not draw hasty wishful inferences.

Kashmir Govt. Falls to take Initiative

“I would remind you that among these militant groups which are there in the valley, as far we understand it, not all of them are for merger with Pakistan. The Jamaat-E-Islami stands for the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. But, for example, the J & K Liberation Front does not stand for merger with Pakistan at all. They say yes, we want to be free independent— independent of India, independent of Pakistan. There is an occupied area of Kashmir on the other side of the border, occupied by Pakistan where we are told all sorts of internal trouble are now taking place. But we have no line of communication with anybody.

When it comes to Kashmir, what happens about other people in the world who are witnessing what they consider to be a war of liberation by the people of Kashmir? Neither our media nor our propaganda, nor our method of administering that place, nothing is helping us in any way..... The fact remains that there is armed insurgency going on in the Kashmir valley and it has acquired a higher dimension now. They are able to launch counter attacks against our security forces; they are able to carry out ambushes; they have sophisticated weapons of every sort. Therefore it is a kind of miniature war”.

Kashmir—the Other Terrorism

There is also, “The other Terrorism” or state terrorism. For those who are not living in Kashmir it is just now possible to feel or comprehend what the people of this state (J & K) are going through. Reports and findings of ‘Committee for initiative on Kashmir’ to the valley are horrible and alarming besides narration of Human Rights organisations. The atrocities and

excesses committed by para-military and police forces at 'Khanyar', Chotabazar, Zaldagar and 'Sarafkadal'—localities in Srinagar, to quote the prominent Jammu daily, "The madness that is perpetrated in Kashmir valley seems to lack even proverbial method. How else can one explain the security forces marching all the way to 'Chota-Bazar', traversing the localities of Zaldagar and Sarafkadal, shooting at random in all directions from their sophisticated rifles in supposed retaliation against what the militants did deeper in Srinagar interior at Zainakadal on Tuesday afternoon? These police atrocities have also become a fertile ground for breeding new batches of terrorists and militants. Some human rights groups have gone to Kashmir and collected evidence. They must make sure of their facts. The credibility and the authenticity of their findings is of great value in the battle against police excesses "unless this tyranny is put to an end, the word state terrorism will become part of the political lexicon in our country".

R. K. Misra, Punjab (Courtsey Patriot)

There is a need for introspection and self criticism. There was a planned mobilization by Hindu communalist organisations for abrogation of article 370 granting special status to Kashmir, that the appeasement of the minorities must stop. Militancy arises only after months and years of unnoticed alienation. Prior Jagmohan was installed Governor, there were violations by crowds of curfew, encounters should have been avoided with tact. Did someone from Delhi ordered to adopt tough measures? There was no urgency to confront mobs with rifle fire, when violations of curfew occurred. It was appropriate to withdraw forces at strategical centres. Every student of Indian History knows the damage which Jalianawalla Bagh did to British rule. True answer to the turmoil of Kashmir is internal.

It 's true that in any operation, the people of the valley have been caught between two fires, state terror and subversive terror. There may be people who object the equating the two. They may be motivated by noble aspirations, the net result is the same—the killings and harassment of the innocent people.

Every operation is not favourable and advantageous for security forces. They are handicapped too. The confrontation with a determined guerilla force, there is always the danger of heavy toll of innocent lives. How far this has happened in the Kashmir valley needs to be examined. The Human Rights groups which have of late brought serious, perturbing reports on this count are also handicapped by the fact that many such on the spot survey without any scope of verification, exaggerations are natural because in many cases secessionist can certainly invent stories with fantastic details and present them as factual reports as part of their smearing campaign. However, even with such exaggerations, one has to concede that the human rights aspects has to prevail in the governments agenda, and its is the duty of the public and parliament in our set up to bring this into focus.

“If we forget the man behind a rebel, if we fail to take note of his feelings, his wants, troubles, problems and his ambitions, the thorn of insurgency will not easily be removed from the country’s flesh.....we should be more concerned with the man behind weapons than the weapons themselves”.⁵²

An eminent journalist and former editor of ‘The Times of India’ (dated August 22, 1990) in his political commentary captioned, “Fighting Secession and Terror” writes “For their part, government authorities ought to be ashamed of some of their grave errors and shortcomings. Despite the experience in Punjab, to say nothing of the North East in the distant past, no one has made the slightest attempt to educate the CRPF the B.S.F. and other para military personnel deployed in Kashmir in the delicacy of their mission”.

The militants constitute the non-enigmatic sphinx. They try to assume the right to remould others to their own image through terror and blackmail. Prof. H.H.A. Cooper Clarifies this in his statement. The answer to why one person becomes terrorist while another does not to be found in the individual(Political Terrorism, Vol. 2 Edoly lister—by Lister A. Sobel, Facts on the file, New York, 1978, P-6.) W. Salekis replies this query : “Anyone can become a terrorist. It is not a

question of pre-disposition or character, but of individual experience and development". *Terrorism* Vol. III No. 3, 4 1980, P. 222". In individuals process of becoming terrorist it cannot be completely denied the role of social conditions and political pressures. No one is born a terrorist. The outlook determines the making of a terrorist, it develops with the growth of individual in his family, under concrete social conditions. Their psychological preparedness is motivated by ideological arguments (fundamentalism) and political slogans—secession and merger with Pakistan. So called fear of irreligious secularism and Hindu India. Further this type of disposition that feeds their illusion and sustains them is practical assistance, and when concrete social grounds exist for resorting to armed violence. The sons of well to do families and wretched of the earth'; become terrorists, the former rebel against the bounty of their closed families and latter being deprived children—lost both parents, orphans.

Terrorist company consists of idealist dreamers, pragmatists, passive, inert individuals, and those having the qualities of leadership and adventurers; idlers who hate any kind of work and are parasites or live by odd jobs, and also capable people who have not adjusted in society and those after achieving certain goals in life are tired of humdrum and routine existence. The terrorist fixes targets that are beyond his abilities, and, thus in reality is non-entity. They suffer from inferiority complex and hence resorts to manipulating the lives of others.

"Not only is intellectual level of terrorists usually quite low, but, contrary to popular belief, they do not possess strong will power or staunch characters either. The widespread of 'men of steel', ascetic and fanatic fighters for an idea is obviously groundless. This myth would seem to have a firm basis : "Are you prepared to die" ? "Yes I am".⁵³

(Jacques Kaufman op. cit. P. 117).

The above analysis substantiates the tenability of argument that state terrorism is no answer to eliminate terrorism. In Kashmir, it is India's commitment to democracy and secularism,

efforts should be made to persuade the militants to return to the fold. The maintenance of law and order and at the same time acting upon principles of justice in the teeth of treason, terrorism and abduction is what is expected from democratic set up.

The common man in Kashmir has understood the rationale behind Pak abetted designs that unrest continues unabated in Kashmir as it provides them the pretext to incite religious feeling in them and through it have brought the Kashmiri youth and whole of Kashmir to the brink of disaster.

10

Kashmir Imbroglia : (What Needs to be Done?)

Multi-dimensional Kashmir problem has assumed a protracted form. It has dragged on so far without either a proper understanding of its complex history or nature or solution in sight. In the meanwhile, lives are being lost every day—some people get killed or injured by terrorists or anti social elements and some by the para-military forces. Age old familiar bonds between muslims and hindus are being strained, entire Kashmiri Pandit community has migrated to plains. Muslims tend to be alienated from the main-stream of national life ; due to hostage problem inter-regional conflict and tension has been developing - they are becoming suspect all over India. Though the sins of the centre are numerous and cannot be ignored, it would be wrong at the same to ignore the roots of phenomenon we have to deal with—its global setting, its link with south Asian regions peace and cooperation. Kashmir problem cannot be clubbed together with 'Khalistan' issue in Punjab. Both have distinct specific characteristics.

The basis have to be evolved so that positive political action has to follow for taking Kashmir back to normalcy and solving the crisis faced by the state. The first step must be to initiate action against the culprits of 'Kunan Poshpora', Khanyar, Chottabazar, Zaldagar indiscriminate killings.

Kashmir government fails to take initiative. The political leaders of the calibre of Dr. Abdullah, Syed Mir Qasim and

Mufti Mohd. Sayeed have abandoned the people and disappeared from the political scene of J. & K. State. The political workers of various political parties, being political migrants are rotting in Delhi and Jammu.

Take off hats to Moulvi Mohd. Sayeed Masoodi, architect of Freedom Movement in Kashmir, he did not leave his people, stood like rock and was assassinated by militants.

“I am afraid the situation in Kashmir appears to be reaching a point of no return. There is no faintest glimmer of light visible at the end of the tunnel . . . The fact remains that there is armed insuraency going on in the Kashmir valley and it has acquired higher dimensions now. They are able to launch counter attacks against our security forces, they are able to carry out ambushes of every sort. Therefore it is a kind of miniature war . . . The central problem in Kashmir, as I understand it is 200 per cent bureaucratic administration which has no line of communication with the masses. You may think of some means by which some political initiative is taken to change this totally bureaucratic, military, police set up and give the people a feeling that there is an opening, a channel and a line of communication by which they can represent whatever they want to say But this government since coming to power, does not even express in so many words its intention of holding consultations with political porties, jointly, severally, as you like gradually that National conference organisation, Congress (I) etc. and its cadres have disintegrated. There may be many who can be revived, I am not in a position to say . . . I do not believe that nothing can be done. Some beginning can be made and has to be made if this considered to be a national problem cutting across all party barriers.⁵⁴

The Euphoria of ‘Azadi’ though abated and new mood visible among populace compared to fifteen months earlier, still there is wide spread support for secessionists among muslim majority.

The struggle against insurgency must be conducted along a broader front and with a greater foresight than tracking down

and arresting members of insurgent groups. The insurgency must be destroyed in the ideological and political sense, i.e. all illusions concerned, it must be dispelled, it must be deprived of support of that milieu which is still sympathetic, fence sitter and indifferent to it, and a general intolerance towards it must be created. The main condition of successful struggle against insurgency is the active participation of masses and mass political education through media. The democracy must be offended against insurgency and state terrorism, Essentially the problem of insurgency is political one and had to be solved politically.

What is the future of militancy in Kashmir? Examining the world experience of terrorist movements and in particular in depth study of post independence Indian insurgencies, chances are it will fail. The on going Khalistani movement in Punjab for 12 years took a toll of 12000 lives. Secession movements did not succeed anywhere. Take our neighbours, for instance, Sri Lanka has Tamils who want to secede. Pakistan has restive minorities, the Buluchis, Sindhis and Pathans. Bangla Desh unhappy Chakma tribals. Iraq has Kurds. China has Tibetans. The Philippines and Thailand have had insurgencies for 30 years. Nigeria had one province. Biafra, attempted to break away in the late 60s. "Post independent India has seen only three separatist movements that have taken up arms. All three failed. Naga rebels sniped at the Indian Army for 15 years before they made peace with New Delhi. Mizoram was similarly convulsed by an armed insurrection but after years of gurrilla warfare, the Mizo leader, the late Mr. Lal Denga, negotiated for peace. The third example is that of Mr. Geishing. He and his Gurkhas also fought for a separate Gorkhaland but agreed to a Gurkha Hill Council eventually In the same way the secessionist movement in Punjab and Kashmir will also fizzle out though it may take 10, 20 or even 30 years .. Nagas and Mizos were racially akin ty Burmese or Vietnamese, and they had far more support enjoyed by Sikh and Kashmiri militants in Punjab and Kashmir.⁵⁵

There is a new development, historically far reaching and of

great significance—declaration of Independence by constituent republics of USSR, a loose confederation emerging on the map of the world. However, as the deliberations at the recent session of the Supreme Soviet and the congress of the peoples deputies have indicated, a new structure of relationship between the union and republics is being evolved. The republics in future set up will be near sovereigns and Kremlin mere a co-ordinating centre. “On a wider canvas, the upsurge for freedom and democracy in the Soviet central Asian Republics is bound to have its repercussions in Pakistan..... so far as our country is concerned the impact of Soviet developments is bound to be felt not only in the trouble tossed Kashmir, Punjab and Assam, but all over the country with our political leaders virtually burying their heads in the sand as the clamour for more powers for the states is coming up in a big way, which no Sarkaria commission can any longer ward off.⁵⁶

This new factor, throwing up concept of loose confederation has reduced still further the chances of Punjab and Kashmir ever becoming full fledged sovereign independent states. All the sudden the world realises it cannot see multi ethnic nations breaking up. It is to be seen, what will be shape of things to come, a new experiment of Soviet Union splitting into dozen states, with a central coordination, a confederation and not command system. Changes in USSR, the instrument being its inhabitants, certainly will have its impact on neighbours, it will reshape the face of adjacent states. Foreign policy experts and statesman of the countries have to look beyond their nose to get the idea of new world that is shaping in our neighbourhood.

In Kashmir among the numerous militant groups which are operating in the valley, as far we understand it, not all of them are for merger with Pakistan. The Jamaat-E-Islami stands for the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. But for example, the J. & K. Liberation Front (now an outcaste in the ISI estimations) does not stand for merger with Pakistan at all. They would like Kashmir to be an independent state—independent of India and Pakistan. The plebiscite not being on cards, aot popular idea with USA and Britain as it used to be in fifties, Pakistan is

perturbed and alarmed about the slogan of independence raised by certain militant outfit.

Secession for us is a serious problem. The stake in Kashmir is not territory, but whole concept of nation building, secular fabric and concept of India, without which the nation will fall apart. To bring normalcy and stem the terrorist wave is, of course, a just pre-requisite, but that need not preclude a political process, dialogue with the militants. And diplomatic exchange of views and dialogue with Pakistan is must and we should not shun even in the most crisis-ridden situations.

The first step in Kashmir is the problem of restoration of normalcy. A scientific prospective, statesmanship and political wisdom expect from us to look beyond and think about a wider solution of problems based on the spirit of times and the aspirations of the people. Any political dialogue be subjected to this longer term perspective, and be patient about the establishment of some sort of normalcy.

To me revival of Nehruvian vision on Indo-Pak relations still hold good, peace problem and cooperation in South Asian region necessitates that India being a big country in the region should see that peace is prime factor for any economic development and for assertion of independent sovereignty in the unipolar world. India must guard against new U.S. machinations, far more dangerous than any schemed earlier. The two countries—India-Pakistan are teetering on the brink of war—it is imperative to refresh our memory, “in December 1962, Nehru told U.S. journalist Sleigh Harrison : Confederation remains our ultimate goal. Look at Europe, (now Soviet Union too and East Europe at the common market. There is the urge everywhere. There are no two peoples anywhere nearer than those of India and Pakistan, though if we say it, they are alarmed and think we want to swallow them In May 1964 he spoke to Sleigh Harrison of “more or less parallel political processes” in India and Pakistan giving gradually increasing autonomy to both Indian and Pakistan portions of Kashmir as well as East Bengal (This was before Bangla Desh came into being). The two

Kashmir .. . and two Bengals would begin to have trade and other interchange as part of a general relaxation in the atmosphere between the two countries ... When Sheikh Abdullah mentioned this idea to President Ayub Khan the latter remarked that Nehru was playing with fire in propounding such ideas. Though he talked about confederation it is clear that what Nehru had in mind was something like the EEC which today is reaching out to a political union . . . History may take us by the scruff of our necks to such a situation even if we decide to fight today. A fight may also postpone it. It is not, therefore, better to avoid war, and tread the slow and perhaps tortuous path of peace chalked out by the Simla Accord !⁶⁷

Via Media Between Full Integration and Full Autonomy— Article—370.

S.M. Abdullah's stance in 1953, on Article 370, and centre state relationship, if measured by present standards and criterion, it appears was not secession. In a letter to Shri Nehru dated July 4, 1953, he wrote "We believe that the accession of the state to India on the terms of instrument of Accession would provide necessary opportunities of allaying the fears of various sections of the people of the state. It is true that the choice before the state lay between full integration and full integration and full autonomy. We wished to steer a middle course between these two extreme positions".⁵⁸ In 1953, the local vested interest, Hindu communal forces and steel frames of central government, rather amplifying the issue through debate and dialogue, muffled it. It gave birth to the politics of unreason democratic distemper.

There is an view point, advocated not B.J.P. only but element luminaries one of them being Shri Jag Mohan ex-Governor of State that root cause of crisis in Kashmir is the retention of article 370. The real solution to the problem is its abrogation. Insurgency in NEFA, Punjab and Assam erupted without having or enjoying the special status. In case of Kashmir the boot is on the other leg. The application of constitutional orders promulgated by the President from time to

time has distorted article 370 aggressively that there remains hardly any distinction between the state of J & K and any other state of the union.

“What are these provisions which they aim at when putting their demand ? (for abrogation of article 370). Here we will discuss these provisions which, in my opinion are not liked by our friends (Mr. Jagmohan included).

(1) To Article 3 of the ‘COI’ following proviso has been added : - Provided further that no bill providing for increasing or diminishing the areas of the state of J & K or altering the name of the boundary of that state shall be introduced in parliament without the consent of the Legislature of that state”. (See CG-48 clause 2) (Hence separate statehood of Jammu, merging with Himachal Pradesh Kangra) even formation of regional council, declaring a region a union territory come within the purview of this article the implications of abrogation with regard to the rights and privileges conferred on the citizens of Kashmir under article 35 A.

“Even if the article under reference or article 370 is abrogated the state legislature can enact the proviso in the public interest of a section of the people because our fundamental rights are subject to reasonable restrictions. They are not absoluteNext comes the proviso added to article 3 to prohibit increasing, diminishing and altering the name of State. This is the point which pricks more to find our friends who want to break up state into pieces in the name of religion and change the composition of population

“It is not article 370 which has created the problem. It is its distortion which has erupted series of problems”.⁵⁹

“Article 370 is the umbilical cord that links J & K to India and has been dynamically brought into play time and again through constitutional amendments extending various provisions of the Indian constitution to J & K with the consent of the State Assembly”.⁶⁰

Kashmir Accession to India/Independence and Right to Seced.

The accession of Kashmir to India was a plus point to the secular character of Indian state. It is not mere a territorial question but linked with wider problem in the sub-continent—**secular fabric** of the state distinct from theocratic or religious religious state. In Indo-Pak relations this is a most relevant issue and it is directly interlinked with Kashmir question.

The character and separation of Kashmir state will have serious consequences on the Rest of India. It is linked up with the destiny of 150 million muslims living in India. It will certainly push down the status of muslims in India which will make them resentful. Muslim leaders of eminence in India have disapproved the secessionist moves of Kashmiri Muslims. Syed Shab-Din is one of the prominent among these leaders. Any outburst in India, as in the case of Sikhs, will cause hurt to the sikh psych. will cause serious damage to social fabric. These most points need to be explained to the Kashmiri Muslims by a appropriate media techniques.

We have to identify the factors, which justify a region or nationality to secede from a country to which they presently belong. These factors may be explained as when the people of a particular region, nationality are subjected to economic exploitation ; cultural identity is threatened ; unjustified curbs placed on a group of people to follow their religion, violence unleashed on a group of people identified on the basis of their religion ; and democratic process is denied to them. Except rigging of elections in 1887, none of the factors exist in the Kashmir situation.

Kashmir's accession to India both constitutionally, legally as well as morally is complete, it did not opt for Pakistan or independence at the time of accession. Constitutionally as well as by will of its people Kashmir became a part of India except a portion POK remained under the illegal occupation of Pakistan.

It is also a historical fact that in the U.N.O. India agreed

that the question of accession be decided by a plebiscite. This plebiscite was to take place after Pakistan was to fulfil certain conditions, as for example, withdraw all its forces. It never fulfilled these conditions. Moreover in 1971, the two countries signed the Simla Agreement and agreed to resolve all disputes including Kashmir, mutually, peacefully and bilaterally. To harp on the UNO Resolution and to help the militants is gross violation of the Simla agreement and is clearly an interference in India's internal affairs.

“Do nationalities/sub national groups—linguistic groups have the right to demand secession any time? Let us assume that they have, that at least the Kashmiris have it. The procedure for demanding and deciding the demand by ascertaining the will of the people have to be first agreed upon. Terrorism cannot be accepted as a legitimate weapon to decide this matter or ascertain the will of the people. Are the Kashmiri Pandits and the Kashmiri sikhs not Kashmiris? To force them to migrate through terror and to compel sizable sections of ditto what the terrorists say, is to negate the right of self—determination. Terrorism has to be opposed tooth and nail and peace restored Having exercised the right to remain together at the relevant time, did a nation/country reserves its right to secede at a latter stage? And if it did, would it be free to secede whenever it would like? Would it not be necessary to take into consideration the big changes that may have taken place in the intervening period, as for example, the integration of economics, the migration of people of other ethnic and linguistic groups etc? What would be the procedure to raise the demand to secede and what would be the procedure to decide it?

Let us now come back to Kashmir and India. Kashmir was never a separate country. It was part of one country called India though artificially divided by the British rulers into the British India and so-called Indian states ruled by princes Kashmir was never colony of India. In fact the whole of India was a British colony”.⁶¹

In the pages of my article, I have touched the 'issue of Independence of Kashmir'. The militant outfit of Raja Aman Ullah (JKLF) is its strong exponent. Pakistan is deeply worried about this slant of JKLF and slogan of independence. It cold shoulders JKLE and has stopped providing money and arms to this outfit. There is an acute tension between Hizb, (an active advocate of Kashmir's merger within Pakistan) and JKLF. Before examining the issue of independence it is imperative to narrate the vital strategical position of Kashmir —being a highly sensitive area. It is encircled in the East by Chinese Sinkiang and Tibet ; in the west it is contiguous to sovereign independent Republics of Taajikitsan, Badakshan and Uzbekistan erstwhile constituent Republics of USSR. Kashmir is separated from these republics by a strip of Afghnistan some 40 miles wide. The strategic situation is vital for Russian Republics (Moscow) and Chinese military positions. Great Britain and USA also had major interest in the Kashmir valley. Therefore in the Kashmir foreign involvement has been a vital factor. Now in the changed circumstances, detente between Russia and USA position of Moscow is to be watched, but Chinese and west and USA have not changed their stance— Chinese and Pak close alliance is a reality, as attitude has slightly changed eschewing plebiscite but inclined to independence.

In the past at time of partition Maharaja Hari Singh, toyed with the idea of independence. "In 1953, S.M. Abdullah was captivated by the idea of independence of valley. "Immediately after his meeting with Stevenson, Shelkh Abdullah.... on May 18, placed before the working committee the plan of independent Kashmir, which was rejected".⁶² Recently Oakleys (USA Ambassador in Pakistan) letter to the Kashmir American Council, was indicator to support the hands of the Kashmir America council, which is lobbying in the US Congress for an independent Kashmir State. The movement for independence is popular in the POX, reasons being obvious, people there have been subjected to repressive measures by Pakistan government. But its support in the valley is peripheral—confined to a section of intelligentsia constituting 15

percent of the total population. The general populace would have preferred independence, but being conscious that this is impossible. The UNO has limited the choice between India and Pakistan. Kashmir could not exist independently. The concept of independence is not viable. It will be an hornet's nest, amenable to all kinds of pressures and intrigues from neighbours—India, Pakistan, China and fundamentalist influences, from Afghanistan. After stoppage of arms by Russia to Dr. Najibis government there is possibility of fundamentalists take over in Afghanistan. These states would not let Kashmir to live in peace. Keeping in view these hard realities, majority of Kashmiris in their choice would merge with either of the dominions.

The present fundamentalist wave in Kashmir, reared and nurtured by Jammāt-E-Islami, having close rapport with fundamentalist forces in Pakistan, will destroy the secular fabric built after hard struggle and enshrined in the State's constitution, in case of independence will establish a theocratic state in Kashmir. Recent instances of the regressive social reforms and religious intolerance to the minority community (forced migration of Kashmir Pandits) justify the above contention.

In 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh, ruler of J & K State entered into stand still agreement with Pakistan. There was an economic blockade of the valley followed by invasion organised by Pakistan. The idea of independence is not plausible, realistic option, keeping in view the defence and poor economies of the state. The dream of independence has captivated certain political sections over status of Kashmir since 1947. If we scan the historical past of Kashmir, it has never been an independent state, except after the collapse of Moghul rule, Kashmir enjoyed independent status for 1 month only, when the myth was exploded by Afghan ruler Ahmed Shah Abdali, who conquered the valley and stabilized his rule.

Where then DO WE GO From Hear ?

A political process is to be initiated, public opinion is to be built and Kashmiri is to be convinced and made to believe that the option of an independent state or one of merging Kashmir with Pakistan does not exist on account of ground reality and their fate cannot be different from the fate of the rest of India. Every formula to be evolved or help rendered to Kashmir should be within constitutional frame work of India and the constituent Assembly of J & K. The recent history of India has been of communalization of politics, the decentralization has been neglected, democracy has been stifled. The Kashmir state has been worst victim of these trends. The autonomy in the state has been subverted, Article 370 diluted through political manipulations. The J & K State was ideal for experimenting the concept of autonomy since it is the only state in the Indian union that can boast of having a separate constitution on the model of an American state.

The real challenge is how to redefine Kashmir's place in the Indian Union.

About Jamaat's demand of theocratic state in the Kashmir there can be no question of acceptance of it. If you concede Muslim state, (a theocratic state) in Kashmir, and a Christian theocratic state in North east of India? And how can you oppose whole India being converted into Hindu theocratic state?

To agree to theocracy in any part of India will either lead to disintegration or India becoming a Hindu fascist state. There can be no question of acceptance of such a demand. India cannot be part secular and part theocratse.

On the issue of political process and solution to the Kashmir problem the prominent intellectuals, journalists, and publicists have made exercises on the problem in the various directions. The Simla agreement has been analysed in detail. Among these contributions—B.G. Verghesse's Kashmir—way to recovery; Kuldip Nayyars: Kashmir can thaw Indo-Pak ties; Pran

Chopras : Kashmir—A bunch of new ideas ; Rajinder Puri : Kashmir : crisis or opportunity are thought provoking, frank and forth-right exposition of the problem.

An indepth study of these solutions as given in these articles by learned authors are in Nehruvian vision and traditions—bolder and broader vision to play with. The unwritten clause of Simla Agreement is ‘Trieste-type solution of Kashmir—no curbs on mutual traffic, trade etc. plus full autonomy of the two parts of the state.

“J & K needs political direction. The political parties are conspicuous by their absence—May be one could go further and suggest that both India and Pakistan vest their respective parts of J & K with greater autonomy as might be negotiated separately by the local people with their respective metropolitan government and then permit the two units to federate around the devolved subjects with regional autonomy with each as desired, as for Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh on the Indian side and POK, the northern territories and Gilgit within Pakistan. The model could be the confederation India actually created for a while when it admitted Sikkim into the union as an associate state with the passage of the constitution 35th amendment in 1974. B.G. Verghese—

(Indian Express July 12, 1991 Chandigarh)

“One possible solution is the Trieste-Type agreement provided for the partitioning of the Free territory of Trieste between Italy and Yugoslavia along the then existing demarcation between the two with minor changes. The agreement guaranteed free travel between the two sides. Perhaps this types of agreement can make the basis for talks between Indian and Pakistan on Kashmir”. Kuldeep Nayar—

(The Kashmir Times June 4, 1991)

“.....a majority also advocate a federal structure, granting ‘maximum autonomy’ to the state . . .that article 370 should be restored to its original form and the security forces should be immediately withdrawan from the valley” - Civil Liberties and

Human Rightest activities—Inder Mohan, Justice V.M. Tarkunde etc. "The Sunday Times of India".

(April 21, 1991)

"It is in this general background that Pakistans objective in Kashmir might best be assessedThat brings us to the regional response. We should offer Pakistan a proposal by which in the first instance, the Kashmir valley have a soft border allowing a free movement across the line of control. With the eventual goal of reuniting the two areas Security would be guaranteed jointly by India and Pakistan through a treaty giving equal rights to both countries in Kashmir reunited and having a special status". Kashmir : Crisis or Opportunity ?

Rajinder Puri—(The Hindustan Times, New Delhi
January 31, 1990)

"New Delhi must convince the people of the state ... and the new state government will be given more autonomy if it so desires (Studies show that there are no legal or constitutional constraints upon restoring more autonomy to the state, and if negotiations take place with Pakistan on the future dispensation, they will not be conducted behind the state governments back"

"The people of Jammu and Ladakh have traditionally adopted a negative attitude over the 'special status' in terms of article 370 of the constitution.....In other words, devolution from the centre to the state did not flow further down to accommodate the regional and sub-regional aspirations..... The roots of Jammu's sense of deprivation lie more in having denied it an adequate participatory role than in a denial of economic opportunity. Jammu, for instance has witnessed a far quicker pace of industrial development than any other region of the state....."

"Kashmir -- A process for Peace—
Pran Chopra (The Hindustan Times,
New Delhi August 15, 1991).

"Even if Islamabad terminates its support for the insurgency,

a stable peace will not return to Kashmir unless India gives greater autonomy to the muslim majority there. At present, the valley is linked with Hindu majority in Ladakh in the unified state of Jammu and Kashmir. While designed to uphold the principle of secularism, this arrangement has served in practice, so far in Hindu Muslim tensions. A possible way out would be for Jammu and Ladakh to become full fledged Indian states while the valley acquires special confederated status within the Indian defence and foreign policy sphere.

In Kashmir and Punjab, as in other third world areas torn by insurgence, military repression will only make matters worse, inviting continued foreign intervention".⁶³

Conduct Dialogue with Open Mind

In a given complex and combustible situation, dialogue is life and silence is death. Kashmir problem is multifacet—Indo-Pak conflict or cooperation and Kashmir to be saved on its own terms which is not the same thing as militants terms. The option of independence and one of merging with Pakistan does not exist keeping in view the ground reality.

To carve out a theocratic Islamic Kashmir state as demanded by Jammat-E-Islami within secular Indian fabric is negation of basic secular tenents. To achieve it is sheer impossibility and thoroughly an unworkable proposition. Even today under the shadow of gun, hardline organisation such as the 'Hizbul-Mujahideen' could enjoy modest success in imposing regressive, social reforms, the Islamic way of life and 'Shariat courts'.

To initiate dialogue and start political process, the government should be clear in its mind that there are no short cuts in Kashmir.

"The road to dialogue, therefore is not a simple and straight one. The process probably will have to pass through several twists and turns before the militants agree to come to the conference table and the government finds an entry point for a meaningful dialogue. Until then, it is important that the centre

retains a clear concept of what kind of future Kashmir it wants to have and on what terms”⁶⁴ This question is posed by the Kashmiri migrants—Hindu minority, and by a number of Muslim leaders from Kashmir.

About this clear concept of future Kashmir, government of India is not able to spill it out yet. It has not undertaken any serious exercise on the issue. The writer got convinced about this position, in an interview with Home Minister of India as a head of all parties delegation at Jammu on 26th September, 1991. I (the writer) “whatever scope for dialogue exists remains confined to the terms of an enlarged framework of autonomy within the union? The article 370 should be restored in health and spirit. Mr. S.B. Chavan, Home Minister Government of India ‘we do not advocate abrogation of the article 370’. The above position existed before the eruption of insurgency. The other political parties except BJP maintained this stance also. In the prevailing circumstances in Kashmir, it needs revision, and a fresh look not only by Congress(I) but National Front too. The problem of the valleys sense of alienation vis-a-vis the centre is the crux of present insurgency. Here arises the question of more autonomy to the state. There are no hurdles legal or constitutional, in the way of restoration of more autonomy to the state. The centre must be frank in its discussions in evolving a new status, if any, within the Indian Union for the state—a satisfactory one.

This process, if carried, phasewise, can synchronise Kashmir problem with the solution of Indo-Pak tension as the former is but a part. The Kashmir problem has defied solution till In reality Pakistan feels that we have Kashmir and they are stuck with the Kashmir problem. The Trieste type agreement and softening of the line of control may facilitate synchronised softening of the Indo-Pak border. In this process Kashmir ceases to be irritant, it becomes a cementing force between the India and Pakistan. The process is worth to be initiated and sustained till it reaches its culmmation.

Regional Disparities—Myth and Realities

Besides separatism particularly in Kashmir valley, state being multi ethnic and multi-religious is afflicted with inter regional strife and tension – Jammu–Ladakhi—Kashmiri. The ethnic problem in the J & K State, in its multilateral and diverse forms continues to be on the forefront of the political stage. Fundamentalism of various hues – Hindu—Budhist and Muslim, caste and so on are pressed into service for stirring up such divisive questions in the state thus calls for specific solution and remedies arising from its specific character and historical setting. There should be ending of all national and ethnic discrimination, the recognition of full equality of all regions and ethnic groups and for framing up their own personnel, a political state structure which ensures every region to manage their own domestic affairs—formation of Regional Councils within the common democratic state polity”.⁶⁵

But for clarification of issues in a rational way and for correct political education of the masses inhabiting the various regions and to reduce the inter regional and inter communal tension mumbo-Ju-mbo regarding discrimination is to be exploded.

The roots of Jammu’s discrimination lie more in politics than in economics. In a post independence set up of state—Kashmiri being the main ‘apparat’ in the major politic-economic spheres there was no discrimination—Democracy, Agrarian Reforms land to the tiller and free education from primary to university level. Today Jammu after Faridabad has come up on the industrial map—small and medium size industries at Bari Brahmana and Ganguwal. The credit facilities from state and semi-official agencies to trade and industrial sector, Jammu has edge over Kashmir.

The recent statistical figures indicate that in per capita income district Jammu has lead over other districts of the state.

The new intelligentsia both functional and professional is the

result of post independence phase, with a separate university, Medical College and educational institutes. Jammu is the only region having rail link with the rest of the country. Consequently, many Kashmiris too have preferred to set up industries in Jammu rather than in the valley. State government since 1947, appointed two commissions of Inquiry to look into grievances—the Gajendragadkar commission in 1968 and the Sikri commission of 1982, seeking to correct some of the regional imbalances.

It is in the political sphere where Jammu's shoe pinches—denial of an adequate participatory role in the political power. This role can be fructified by conceding the regional autonomy—formation of Regional councils. The state legislature is proper forum under Article 370 to adopt such a legislation and enforce it. The same treatment should be accorded to Ladakh region. Such a dispensation—conceding autonomy should percolate to each of its ethnic and cultural groups. These include the Dogras, Ladakhis, Karglis, Gujjer and Bakerwalas, Pharis, Pandits and Sikhs. Conclusively, the Jammu region is not as happy as Kashmir political leadership claims, nor as down trodden and in need of rescue as Jammuites contend. Time has transformed it from a Kashmir's out-post into one of the most important strategic areas of India today.

Dialogue : Yes but under Right Conditions

Kashmir : Long Haul. Light is not visible at the end of tunnel in Kashmir. During V.P. Singh's tenure, the Home Minister talked about political process. Next followed the George Fernandes attempt to keep up the political process. He only talked and listened to the militants. Due to internal dissensions in the V.P. Singh's cabinet, this initiative taken by George Fernandes was doomed to failure. With the unceremonious burial of all party team attached to Kashmir Ministry at the centre and Simultaneous recall of Governor Jagmohan, it became quite clear that it had no policy whatsoever in Kashmir.

After V.P. Singh's exit, the next Prime Ministers invitation to the round table to militants to clarify issues fell flat on them. There was no response.

The recent fact-finding mission and invitation to militants for unconditional dialogue did not create any appreciable response. The major terrorist outfits--Hizb-ul-Mujahideen etc. tagged dialogue with pre-conditions--to concede 'Right of Self determination' and make Pakistan third party in the dialogue.

No sensible person can take that there must be no dialogue. At the same time, it should be considered necessary to sound a note of warning that any deviation or negligence in this connection can do a substantial damage, it will strengthen terrorism and demoralize healthy political forces. Let us illustrate the point from what has happened already. The terrorist outfits have continued to harp on Right of Self Determination of Kashmirs. In Srinagar, Home Minister showed readiness to hold talks unconditionally, and forgot to mention it to be held within the parameters of union constitution. After meeting various delegations at Jammu, he could feel the pinch and said categorically that the talks can be held within constitution of India.

Let us accept the reality, that there is adhocism but no well defined policy non Kashmir, and we ourselves have made mess of the entire Kashmir question.

Let Us Extinguish the Devasting Fire

To initiate political process, the pre-condition is to restore normalcy. People should move away from insurgency and terrorism. The insurgency/terrorism cannot be fought without isolating the insurgents and terrorists from the civil population because they “cannot survive and operate for such a long time without the sympathy and cooperation extended by the urban and rural people.....‘we should be more concerned with the man behind the weapons than the weapons themselves’”.⁶

The path to political process and Indo-Pak peace is tortuous one. We have to consider the implications of initiating political process and a dialogue with Pakistan is something we should not ignore even in the most acrimonious situations.

Armed forces alone are not sufficient to bring back normalcy in the trouble tossed valley. The regrouping of political forces is need of the hour. There are cracks in the militant outfits, and the militants have various trends within it—the JKLF with its stress on the independence of state and the Jammatt with the Hizbuls, which stands for merger with Pakistan. The motivated militants possess by rough estimates low percentage of weapons, while the major portion of weapons are held by anti-social elements, who parade themselves as political militants. The extortion, molestation and method of black-mail resorted by anti social elements have alienated them from masses in the valley and signs of revulsions at their activities have come on the surface.

The spirits of motivated militants are not as high as were some time back. They expected intervention of Pak armies

more so on the assumption of power by Nawaz Sharif. After elections in Pakistan, the international scene changed considerably and abruptly. American Ambassador in Islamabad, expressed that the US administration no longer supported the demand of plebiscite in Kashmir.

The right approach to the problem is Simla Agreement and Pakistan received further shock, the America envoys disapproval of Pakistan supporting the secessionists. In this backdrop, Kashmiri militants got demoralized and frustrated. It has been corroborated by Home Minister of Government of India after his recent visit to Kashmir in a statement to the Press. The militants feel let down by the Pakistani authorities.

All party approach to the Kashmir problem is belated, as new congress government lacks initiative to convene all party meet on the Kashmir imbroglio. Inside state, an united front of all secular forces is imperative for a while competitive politics is to be kept in abeyance for the sake of national issue, efforts are to be made by persuading tactly back into healthy politics those among the militants who may now be engaged in severe self introspection. After the fulfilment of these urgent takes political process can take off the valley, and the road to normaly will be cleared. An arduous uphill journey indeed, by all calculations.

Initiation of political process presupposes well though out solution of the issues which will come on the front. The centre has not defined the issues—the major issue is of state autonomy, restoration of health and spirit of Article 370. Any restarting of old game in Kashmir is fraught with dangers. It will nullify all efforts.

Externally India should do is to take effective action to stop Pakistans physical and psychological interference. The recent visit of Home Minister to Kashmir, a fact finding mission indicates that centre lacks will and policy on Kashmir. The Times of India, dated 27 September 1991 has correctly characterized in its editorial note, under caption 'wrong signals in Kashmir, "The editorial note has termed the union Home Minister's two

days visit to Kashmir, at best, a futile exercise'. He did not visualise any change in policy of offer package deal to the people of Kashmir. The militants have rejected the unconditional offer made by Union Minister. The militants are not prepared to enter into dialogue within the framework of constitution. It appears that Narasimha Rao government is more interested in pushing the country into the lap of TKF and the World Bank and free market than solving the burning problems."

Some vision seems to be necessary especially when the so called sincerity being shown on the ground by Pakistan is mere eyewash. "As usual, Pakistan is engaged in double talk. For, Pak Foreign secretary, Khan has also said that it was necessary to 'break away from the strait jacket of old attitudes and mind sets', meaning that India has to take corrective positions. Even while Khan has been presenting his Prime Ministers message, Nawaz Sharief was telling the US magazine New Week that there could be a war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir."⁶⁷

Is war inevitable and necessary in the changed circumstances – President Bush's historic announcement to have a massive cut in N. Weapons. Such a decision when implemented will be of international significance. Mr. Mikhail Gorbachov was the first to propound the doctrine of 'sufficient Defence'. He proved his bonafides and withdrew Soviet forces from western and eastern Europe.

"Security is indivisible. A state of equal security is the best insurance against war and should replace the present concept of deterrence through marked superiority. This is the rationale of 'sufficient defence'. "Both India and Pakistan are not in a position to afford the level of defence expenditure required to sustain the present level of forces. To take the example of the IAF, the replacement cost of combat is so high that the funds available will not be able to sustain the present strength of 700 odd aircraft. In allotting resources for the 1991-92 defence budget, both countries have been forced to cut down, in real terms, as compared to last year's allocation (India's Defence

budget of Rs. 16,350 crore against revised estimate of Rs. 15,750 crore last year is an increase of about four per cent against the 12 per cent of inflation). Besides the resources crunch, Pakistan can no longer hope for US military aid. The time is, therefore opportune to discuss reduction of forces It is clear that an Indo-Pak on military measures towards normalization of relations will be long drawn tardy and even frustrating. Nevertheless the dialogue should take place and the compulsion of economic considerations should motivate both countries to work out on agreement on the reduction of military forces".⁶⁸

The international disarmament offensive launched by super powers—USA and USSR, the peace and cooperation in South Asian Region (SARRAC) India holding the vanguard position, it is historically warranted and better to avoid war, and tread the slow and perhaps tortuous path of peace chalked out by the Simla accord. The stark reality of the situation and changed circumstances be eye opener to the war mongers and drummer in the both countries—Indo-Pak. To counter it, besides official dialogue an non-official exchange of opinion to be promoted—a people to people diplomacy.

Disappearance of Leaders & Political Parties in Kashmir

Lastly, and most importantly, we must evaluate the political parties and the parties which will join the fray, when political process restarts in Kashmir. During on going insurgency/terrorism all the leaders who were left Kashmir ; are relaxing in London, USA and Delhi except one valiant figure, Maulana Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi, veteran freedom fighter one of the prominent architects of Nationalist movement, ex-M.P. and ex-General Secretary of All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference during its dangerous decades—1947, 1953. He stood to the ground and succumbed the Hizbul's bullets' National conference and Congress party disappeared overnight from the scene. About a few hundred of activists being under persecution by militants are migrants in Jammu and Delhi. What happened to these parties is obvious and not a mystery. National conference dominated the scene for about a half century

and congress for three decades. Both were ruling parties and enjoyed pelf and power for years, especially congress. They were sole monopolists of the distribution of favours, loaves and fishes arbitrarily to their proteges and kith and kin. Both shared common handicap—political education of cadre and masses. Congress during electoral alliances was banking for support on Jamaat cadre and vote banks in villages and in exchange were together sharing loot-shoot—contracts, licenses, permits and recruitment to the government services. This alliance came in open since 1972 when legislature was even shared with it.

National conference after accord in 1975, was not the same old organisation of ideologically sound nationalists, but consisted of plebiscite rump—who fought for secession for about more than two decades under the banner of plebiscite Front, led by S.M. Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg. Ideologically far distant from being secular and pro-Indian, their concern was more for grubbing and grabbing money. But some segments in the both organisation were politically well grounded and stood the test of militant on slaughter and many were assassinated.

On the eye of insurgency, the extreme political unpreparedness on the part of National conference and Congress (I) provided opportunity and facilitated the take over by militants of the political scene. The respective bases slipped away from both the organisation—pro-Jamaat from Congress's and pro-Pak a political amorphous mass from National Conference. Pro-Pak sections readily found its ideologue in Jamaat and political leadership in Hizbul—its armed wing and JKLF—mostly having links with National conference activists.

In an atmosphere of much maligned and much abused political past and traditions in the state, we have to consider and evolve the methodology of restarting political process. It is imperative to take reformative measures regarding the entire gamut of political system prevailing in the valley.

With an administration in disarray and messy politics, escalating insurgency (as per governors admission), it is but natural that youth will have only one option but to take law in

his hands. Like Punjab the situation in Kashmir is not different the only exception being the left in Punjab who faced the insurgency boldly and valiantly.

How does the political process restart in Kashmir? Which parties join the fray? Which issues come to the fore front. To start the political process we have to find the will to reform the political process. Indeed a formidable challenge for all democratic and secular parties in the country. It is worth while to organise a state wide dialogue. It is imperative to meet this challenge. All patriotic, secular, democratic and progressive forces have to unite and build a strength of the people to overcome this threat from 'Black Reaction' and shadow of the gun. The central government should provide adequate protection to the hundered of activists, being political migrants in various parts of the country and arrange their return to the valley. The leaders Dr. Farooq Abdullah, Syed Mir Qasim, Mufti Mohd. Sayeed and G.M. Shah assume the role of pioneers and set a precedent for rank and file. Embarking on this project will have a psychological impact on secular forces in the state and will inspire them from primary action.

Here is the Rose, here dance !

(Ae-Sops Fables)

(Show right here by action what you can do)

Peer Gias-ud-Din)

1-10-1991

195-MLA Hostel Jammu.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR
STUDY CIRCLE

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(R. K. Nehru)
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22-12-1989

My dear Shri V.P. Singh,

You being engrossed in too many problems and situations to tackle, I did not think it feasible to trouble you for seeking an interview during our visit to Delhi recently. I did get an opportunity to discuss Kashmir situation with our old friend Shri I.K. Gujral. We welcome your Government's steps to give Kashmir problem priority of significance and fixing the immediate target-restoration of peace and initiation of firm measures to curb terrorism. In your statement, your formulation of unity of "Nationalist forces" needs to be spelt out and amplified. In the state, Congress and National Conference are in coalition and Janta Dal till now has been playing an opposition role. Marshalling Secular Forces is vital, but its form needs to be designed and shaped.

I draw your attention, if I may, as a concerned party functionary to the following basic priorities while tackling Kashmir tangle :-

1. The present alarming facet of the situation, it should be remembered, is historically inherited for narrow political

ends, Congress created wedge and divisions in Kashmir's healthy politics and thus through a protracted process pushed it on the brink of so called militancy. The coalition was forced on the National Conference by Congress, misusing its power in New Delhi. By its acts of omission and commission the Congress Government at the Centre had prepared the ground for secessionists and terrorists to get the upper hand in the State.

The recent administrative measures, as already initiated must be combined with political measures and initiative, which both means—mobilizing of all Secular parties, groups and individuals at State level and political campaign, activity involving the people of State, reminding them the best traditions of past, Conversion of Muslim Conference to National Conference (1939) heroic role during Indian Freedom struggle—'slogan of Quit Princedom' resistance to Pak raiders (1947) and accession to Indian Union, upholding the Hindu-Muslim Unity when entire sub continent was aflame. This is the task which awaits the all parties conference on Kashmir.

2. There is no such thing as an administration in the Kashmir part of the State. Things have come to such a stage because of the failures of Farooq Abdullah's government. Entire Educational and Cultural Institutions are penetrated by Jamt-E-Islami cadre (Pro Pak Fundamentalist Organisation). Police is infiltrated too, of late the revamping process has begun but in huff. About one lakh educated unemployed are in the State. The frustrated youth among them swell the ranks of the so called militants. Till process of finding a political solution continues, the people in Kashmir must be reassured, that there will be no let up in the fight against terrorism.

3. Besides separatism particularly in Kashmir Valley, State is afflicted with inter-regional strife and tension-Jammu-Ladakh-Kashmir. The ethnic problem in the J & K State in its multilateral and diverse forms continues to be one on the forefront of political stage. Fundamentalism of various hues—Hindu-Budhist and Muslim, caste and so on are pressed into service for stirring up such divisive and disruptive movements.

Communalism is the main driving force. The identity question in the State thus calls for specific solution and remedies arising from its specific character and historical setting. There should be ending of all national and ethnic discrimination, the recognition of full equality of all regions and ethnic groups and for framing up their own personnel, a political State structure which ensures every region to manage their own domestic affairs, formation of regional councils within the common democratic state polity.

4. Since, 1982, nothing in the State moves or works without grease or influence. The thick Cob-web of corruption has engulfed the State at all levels administrative and political. To flush it out, successful drastic measures are needed with immediate results.

5. On economic front since 1975, when Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah took over, non-developmental expenditure has resulted into the lumpen development, parasitic economy, a capitalist without capital formation. Such type of Socio-Economic formation is often the result of deliberate Government policy, Planned development is in shambles.

The emergency of this rich trading class is special breed of such Socio-Economic formation. This moribund trading financial gentry most willingly invest in quick project enterprizes like housing construction, real estate and land speculation, Commerce and automative transport, and hotels except in industry and agriculture.

Money begets money in these circumstances and consequently of economic power. A dual Society is thus being created in our State in which about 5 to 10 percent are enjoying the fruits of growth to the exclusion of the rest of population. The black money phenomenon has assumed alarming dimension and has become a part of State's economic and political life.

In Rural Sector the benefits of growth are also being garnered by Neo-Rich-(Kulaks, orchardists, Contractors) who control about 80% of Rural assets.

How to get out of this complicated situation.

You have rightly said that one of the priority concerns of your Government is solving the Kashmir Tangle, under development, power shortage etc. and effort for a consensus solution.

The Congress 'I' in Kashmir was a partner in the coalition led by Farooq Abdullah. It implies that Cong. I will cooperate to tackle this extra-ordinary situation. It is to be seen whether Rajiv Gandhi will rise above his partisan interest and how erstwhile inconsistent Farooq will be steadfast and consistent to face the challenge posed by extra ordinary situation. Politics being art of possibilities, proper handling plus optimism and earnest effort may achieve success and enable to get out of the imbroglio in Kashmir.

It is worthwhile to organise a State wide dialogue. It is imperative to meet this challenge.

Here is the Rose, here dance :

(Aesops Fawks)

(Show right here by action what you can do)

With kindest regards,
Kindly acknowledge.
Sh. V.P. Singh,
Prime Minister,
NEW DELHI.

Yours sincerely,
(Peer Giyas-ud-din)

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