Separatist politics refers to the advocacy of a state of ethno-cultural, tribal, religious or racial separation from the larger group often with demands for greater political autonomy and even for full political succession and the formation of a new state. Depending on their political situation and views, groups may refer to their organising as independence, self-determination, partition or decolonialisation movements instead of, or in addition to automatic, separatist or secession movements. Separatism is one of the violent maladies that afflict constitutional governments in the emergent states. It is directed against the constitution with the aim of overthrowing its authority in a part of the country. If it succeeds it becomes a revolution and creates a new legal order for that parts of the country affected. The separatist activities may either fail or culminate in the attainment of a separate state. ¹

Separatist politics refers to a region’s formal withdrawing of its participation in an existing country’s political system. When a part of

country successfully separates, it severs its political ties to the central government.

Table 1.1
Separatism as perceived by respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Separation from India and attachment with adjacent state.</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Separation from both India and Pakistan and establish an independent state</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Struggle against forcible occupation of Jammu and Kashmir</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Strategy of freedom loving people against the political hegemony</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Struggle of Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir in the name of Islam and to propagate Islamic teachings.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Internal autonomy</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table is based on questionnaire circulated among the respondents. For details see Appendix-I.
In doing so, the separating region may attempt to join a different country, usually, however, a separating region declares sovereignty and attempts to be recognised as a country in its own right. Yet the mere declaration of sovereignty does not confer statehood, as a state must formally be recognised as such by other states in the world community. Further, the separation may be opposed politically and militarily by the parent country. Separatism as opposed to other methods for securing political independence, implies that the separating region had someway joined the parent country in the past. Often a separating region has existed as part of federation of semi-autonomous government. Typically, the various parts of the federation have their own histories that distinguishes them from another and these differences serve as the justification for having formed a federation rather than a unitary state in the first place. In a federation, the various parts are accorded a measure of autonomy or the authority to make and execute policies in certain areas, such as education and land use etc. Although this framework is designed to accomodate differing attitudes, needs and interests among the parts of federation, it also creates conflict that might be exploited by separatists.

If a region joins a union voluntarily which is not always the case, it presumably anticipates a net benefit from membership. Regions latter can be motivated to separate when the cost of membership are perceived to
overweight the benefits, of course, a formal cost-benefit calculus is seldom performed, instead, public opinion within the region begins to settle on the belief, correct or otherwise, that the region is being exploited by the central government, sometimes the perceived exploitation is economic in nature.\textsuperscript{3} If a part of country believes that it is contributing disproportionately high share of taxes to central government that inturn redistributes wealth to the poorer and perhaps less productive parts of the country, the wealthy region might question the value of remaining in the union. Similarly, if a poor region believes that its economic plight is caused by exploitative industrial and employment policies in the country, it might seek to control its own economic system. It should be noted, however, that economic issue by themselves are rarely potent enough to precipitate separation. More often they are redressed through legislation, strikes, boycotts and other means.

It is worthwhile to note that sub nationalism represents a much more potent driving force for separatist politics. Many countries can be considered multi-national, that is, comprising more than one nation. This can pose problem when one predominant nation group holds the reins of power. To the extent that any group considers itself to be unique in culture or religion, for example that group might chafe at being governed

\textsuperscript{3} Encyclopaedia of Terrorism, Macmillan India, New Delhi, 2010 pp 1431-1432.
by others. When this happens, members of the predominant nationality are perceived, to be indifferent or hostile to the interests of the minority nationalities. Government policies and laws are perceived to promote the interests of the dominant nationality over those of other national groups. Even when the central government includes representatives of many different groups, the policies which result can be seen by sub-nationalists as homogenising, and therefore destructive to sub-national groups. They therefore tend to see separation and independent statehood as a valid and logical solution to such perceived injustices.

Predictably, separatist politics does not usually set well with the remainder of the country if the separating region’s claims of exploitation are true, the rest of the country could lose the advantage it had been receiving. Even if the separating region had not in fact been exploiting, its absence still could hurt the country as a whole, most federal systems are founded with the belief that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. The withdrawal of region destroys the wholeness of the federation and sets a precedent which might precipitate a complete disintegration of a country. For the reasons, central government often responds to acts of separation with military force, and the country descends into civil war. Such wars pit the principle of self-determination against those of

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political cohesiveness and territorial integrity. Needless to say that a sovereign government’s claims of ultimate authority in a country is based at least in part upon the consent of the governed and a contract between the rulers and the ruled.

The challenge of separatism is being experienced by both developing as well as developed countries. The challenge comes in the form of separatist movement from significant ethnic or self conscious linguistic, cultural and communal groups. Their demand is the recognition of their distinct identities and finally secession from a state of which they are a part. The rise of separatism received impetus since the formation of new states in the post-cold war era with their growing awareness regarding the separate identities. During twentieth century, there has been phenomenal rise in the separatist politics throughout the world. Most of the South Asian states are experiencing separatism in one form or the other since their independence from colonial rule. South Asian societies comprising India, Pakistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Srilanka and Meldev are heterogeneous societies which present a picture of unity in diversity. When these societies came into being, the character of polity aspired to was secular and respecting the multi-ethnic nature of such societies. But with the changing scenario, they developed the strategy of proclaiming

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themselves as sectarian states based on religious or ethnic identities which disturbed the harmony of multiethnic society of South Asia⁶.

Most of the countries in South Asia have separatist movements and challenge the unity and integrity of large number of states, developing and developed. Srilankan state have been experiencing separatist politics since 1950. The main reason behind the emergence of separatist movement in Srilanka have been the ethnic identity of Tamils of Jaffna Peninsula. The separatist struggle of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE) in Srilanka is one example wherein an ethnic group seeks territorial withdrawal from the state entity.⁷

Similarly, Pakistan too suffers from separatist politics since long. The genesis of separatism in Pakistan go back to general elections held in Pakistan in December 1970 where Awami League Party headed by Sheikh Majib-ul-Rehman got absolute majority in the National Assembly and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) emerged as the second largest party. However, Z.A. Bhuto along with ruler Yahya Khan launched military crackdown in East Pakistan which prompted Sheikh Majib-ur-Rehman to struggle for separate independent state and after a war on December 16,

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⁶ Urmila Phadnis, et.al., *Ethnicity And Nation –Building in South Asia*, Sage, New Delhi, 1998, p.15

1971, Bangladesh as a sovereign nation came into being. Even today, Pakistan faces political instability due to possible talibanisation.\textsuperscript{8}

In fact, the roots of Pakistani separatism go back to Pakistani movement launched by Muslim League under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinah. In the pre-independence era, the Muslims of British India were opposed to the secular democratic ideals as advocated by Indian National Congress. The leaders of the Muslim League adopted anti-Congress agenda and gave the idea of Islamic state that is Pakistan. Infact, the demand for Islamic state of Pakistan was a demand for political empowerment. Consequently separate state of Pakistan was created in the Muslim majority provinces of northwestern Punjab and Bengal. However, ethnic, linguistic or cultural distinctions set them apart. The founding fathers of Pakistan were hoping that Islam would act as a cementing force and would bring unity and integrity among various ethnic groups as Sindhis, Panjabis, Bengalis etc. But after the death of Mohammad Ali Jinah and Liyaqat Ali Khan, Muslim League was dominated by Muhajirs and Urdu speaking people who migrated from India and Panjabis who were completely against the Bengalis of East-Pakistan, a culturally stranger and dominant community in Pakistan. Thus, there was a big gap between the East and the West Pakistan.

\textsuperscript{8} Urmila Phadnis, et al, 6, p. 208.
resulting into a sense of discrimination among Bengali Muslims which culminated into the bifurcation of Pakistan in December 1971.\(^9\)

Apart from the separatist feelings between East and the West Pakistan, a widespread separatist feelings developed in Pakistan between the two sects of Shias\(^10\) and Sunnis\(^11\) and fundamentalists demanded for the declaration of Shias as a non-Muslim sect within the Pakistan. When Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto assumed power in 1970, he labeled Shias as a non-Muslim minority community. After the military coup of 1977, Zia-ul-Haq usurped power, he started bringing reforms in the country so as to introduce Islamic system in Pakistan. Infact his attention was to make laws in different fields as per the tenants of Islam. As a part of policy, he introduced Hadood Laws\(^12\) in 1980 to deal with various evils in the society.

In fact Zia regime witnessed an atmosphere of intolerance towards minorities in Pakistan which created separatist feelings between the Shias

\(^9\) For more details see, *Ethnicity And Regional Aspiration in Pakistan* on website, WWW. Jammu-Kashmir.com/insights/insight200201old.html.

\(^10\) Shias refers to that section of Muslim community who believe in the significance of Ali, the fourth Caliph (successor) as the legitimate successor to Prophet Mohammad. The other three Caliphas were Abu Bakar Sadiq, Umar Farooq, and Usmaan Gani.

\(^11\) Sunnis refer to those Muslims who accept the legitimacy of the first four cali phas to the Prophet. The core beliefs of Muslim are based on Quran and Sunna.

\(^12\) Hadood Laws authorized death by stoning in case of adultery, and cutting of right hand and left foot for theft. Drinking of alcohol was punished by eight lashes. Similarly women were paraded naked to avenge family honour.
and the Sunnis. The result was the destruction of worship places of Shias which recorded to an unprecedented degree in the history of Pakistan.\(^\text{13}\) A large number of separatist organisations like Jamaat-e-Islami, the Jimiyat-ul-Islam, Jimiyat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam, Jimiyat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan, Islami Tehrik, Harket-ul-Mujihideen, Lashkar-e-Toiba, Hizbul-Mujahideen, Hizb-e-Wahadat, Sipah-e-Saba and Lashkar-e-Taiba.\(^\text{14}\)

Similarly, the governments of Sindh, Balochs and North West Frontier Province (NWFP) have repeatedly accused the central government of neglecting their interests and favouring Panjabis\(^\text{15}\). In case of Balochistan, they have never been given share in federal and local governments which caused Baloch’s resentment and have been fighting for Baloch independence.\(^\text{16}\)

So far as Bangladesh is concerned, it suffers from separatism in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) where separatists comprising Buddhists, Hindus and Christens call for constitutional reforms. In order to challenge the government of Bangladesh, Parbattya Chhutt Gram Jena Sanghati Samiti (PCJSS) was formed for demanding autonomy of Chittagong Hill Tracts which is viewed by Bangladeshi Government as a challenge to the

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unitary structure of Bangladesh.\textsuperscript{17} Before the creation of Bangladesh, Chittagong Hill tract was predominantly Buddhist majority area including Chakmas, Marmas and Tripuras and they enjoy high degree of autonomy in that area. But after the creation of Bangladesh, government resettled the Bengali Muslims in Chittajong Hill Tracts. Thus, original inhabitants organised armed group ‘Shanti Bahini’ to wage armed conflict against the influx of Bengali Muslims. Though in 1977, an accord was signed between Government of Bangladesh and the Parbattya Chattugram Jana Sanghati Samiti (PCJSS) which paved the way for the return of Jumma tribe who had migrated to India, yet it did nothing to resolve the problem of internal displacement which made them demand autonomy.\textsuperscript{18}

In India separatism exists in various forms like demand for statehood, demand for the protection of privileges and rights and in extreme cases the demand for separation from India.\textsuperscript{19} Infact the tribal groups in the North-East states have fear of losing their identity which made them organise movements in these states\textsuperscript{20}. Besides there are several states like Nagaland, Mizoram, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Tamil

\begin{center}
\textsuperscript{17} J.B.Das Gupta, n.13, p.16. \\
\textsuperscript{18} S.K. Das et.al. \textit{Internal Displacement in South Asia}, Sage, Delhi, 2005, p.175. \\
\textsuperscript{19} S.K. Singh, \textit{Centre-State Relations in India}, Deep and Deep, New Delhi, 1990, p. 219 \\
\end{center}
Nadu, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir where India faced separatist movements.

The first post-independence separatist movement in India was witnessed in Nagaland in 1956 under the leadership of Z.A. Phizo when there were demands for separation from India and form an independent separate state. Though in 1960, government of India signed an agreement with Naga People’s Convention and in 1962, thirteen amendment act was passed whereby Nagaland was given full-fledged statehood, yet this did not satisfy Naga separatists and they carried on their separatist activities so as to pressurise Indian Government to concede their demands. Despite accommodating the aspirations of the people of Nagaland by the Central government, Naga leadership is not prepared to compromise on their demands. Similarly, the tribals of Mizoram formed political front of Mizoram for the formation of independent sovereign state outside the Indian Union which was opposed by government of India. However, on June 30, 1986, government of India signed an accord with Mizoram National Front leader Lal Denga and elections were held in Mizoram in which Mizoram National Front won

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22 S.K. Singh, n. 19, pp. 244-245
23 S.K. Sinha, n.21, p.22.
majority of seats and Lal Denga become the Chief Minister of Mizoram.\textsuperscript{24} Thus, by accommodating tribals of Mizoram in the power sharing arrangement, the separatist movement led by Mizoram Nationalist Front faded away.

Further, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu organised a movement throughout the Madras state demanding its separation from India and making it an independent sovereign state. They demanded that negligence of Union government towards Tamils led to awareness of Tamil identity in them. In 1963, Parliament passed sixteenth amendment bill which provided penalty for any person questioning the sovereignty and integrity of Indian Union. As a result of this amendment the DMK dropped its demand of sovereign state outside Indian Union and demanded the formation of Dravid Union of Madras, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala within the Indian Union. However, when M.G. Ramachadran of All India Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIDMK) gained political power, he provided stable and charismatic leadership and the separatist attitude of Tamils gradually diminished.\textsuperscript{25}

In case of Punjab, the basis of Sikh separatism can be traced back to Gurdawara Act of 1925 whereby Shiromani Gurdawara Prabandak

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item S.K. Sinha, n.21, p-246
\item \textit{Ibid}, pp. 247-248
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Committee (SGPC) was authorized to exercise jurisdiction over the Sikh Gurdawaras and Shrines in Punjab. Following the passage of 1925 Act, Akali Dal as a political party started strengthening the Sikh sentiments and committed to the maintenance of Sikh identity. Earlier before India got Independence, Master Tara Singh, the then leaders of Akali Dal in 1948 declared, that sikhs want to have a province where they can safeguard their culture and tradition. Consequently, a memorandum demanding for the fifty percent representation for the Sikhs in Punjab legislature and forty percent in the government services was submitted to the Constituent Assembly. But Constituent Assembly refused to accept such demand. So, in the general election of 1952, Akali Dal’s election manifesto stated;

*The true test of democracy, in the opinion of the Shiromani Akali Dal, is that the minorities should feel that they are really free and equal partners in the destiny of their country. The Shiromani Akali Dal is in favour of the formation of provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis throughout India, but it holds it as a question of life and death for the Sikhs, therefore a new Punjab to be created immediately.*

In fact the Akali Dal was demanding for the formation of Punjabi Suba. But such demands were opposed by the Hindu organizations and

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looked it as an attempt on the part of Sikhs to establish Sikh domination in the state\textsuperscript{27}. Thus, in Punjab the century old Hindu-Sikh amity turned into enmity as Sikh separatists tried to exploit religion to foment violence in Punjab.

In response to governments refusal to accept their demands, the Akali Dal launched series of mass-agitations in support of separate state of Khalistan. Though government imposed ban on public gathering and many Sikhs were arrested, but it had little impact on the Akali Dal leaders who continued their agitation. Subsequently, separatist tendencies developed in Sikhs of Punjab\textsuperscript{28}. However the separatist movement in Punjab was encouraged as a result of support in the form of arms and ammunition from Pakistan under Zia-ul Haq’s regime. Zia-ul Haq’s aim was to develop nexus between the Sikh separatists in Punjab and Kashmir separatists in Kashmir. They were trained at various camps in Pakistan and were infiltrated into Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.\textsuperscript{29} However, government of India under the leadership of Indira Gandhi took army action known as Operation Bluestar against the Sikh separatists in which approximately 300 Sikhs lost their lives. Pakistani involvement became an open secret when Mir Ali Ahmed, the then Defence Minister of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[27] S.K. Sinha, n.21, p.18.
\item[28] Rajiv A. Kapur, n.26, pp. 220-221.
\item[29] Ravi Nanda, n.14, pp. 90-91
\end{footnotes}
Pakistan said, “What has happened in the Indian Punjab is more than what happened in Jallianwala Bagh massacre. By praying in the Golden Temple, Indira Gandhi can not wash away the bloodstains of these killings on her clothes. It is against the civilised behaviour to destroy a Shrine”.\textsuperscript{30} Though Indira-Gandhi got repaired the Akal Takhat and restored the Golden Temple to the Sikhs after withdrawing the army, yet it could not satisfy the Akalis particularly the Sikh separatists and thus on October 31, 1984, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodygaurds.

Similarly, there have been certain fundamental forces operating in the state of Jammu and Kashmir that have been responsible for the growing separatism. It is said that lack of employment among the educated and politically conscious youths led to widespread resentment among a section of Kashmiri Muslims.\textsuperscript{31} Infact, the separatist feelings among the Muslims were encouraged in the pre-Independence India by the Two Nations Theory of Mohammad Ali Jinnah which provided that Muslims of India are a separate nation, and as such need a homeland and state for themselves, separate from Hindu land for propagating separatist feelings among the Muslims in India. Chowdhary Rehamat Ali, the then student of Cambridge University in his pamphlet, titled ‘Now or Never’

\textsuperscript{30} J.N. Dixit, n.15, p-254
\textsuperscript{31} Harish K. Thakur, n. 1, p.99.
while advocating the complete break away of Muslims of Northwestern Zones of India from the rest of Indian Nation said, “We do not interdine, we do not intermarr. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress, are different.”

The Muslims demanded the recognition of separate national status and creation of Pakistan. In pre independence era separatist feelings among the Kashmiri Muslims were planted because of various rumours that a mosque has been destroyed and Holy Quran has been desecrated in Jammu. This was followed by processions, public meetings and agitations. In view of the provocative speech of Abdul Qadir, he was arrested. People of Kashmir took processions against his trial where twenty two demonstrators were killed in police firing on July 31, 1931 named as Martyr Day in Jammu and Kashmir. This strengthened the roots of separatism in Kashmir.

The socio economic situation in which Muslim community was placed under Dogra rule also led to the emergence of Muslim separatism in Kashmir. The then ruler paid no heed to the pitable conditions of the

32  J.N. Dixit, n. 15, pp. 441-442

33  According to this proposal the letter ‘P’ stands for Punjab, “A” stands Afgania, “k” for Kashmir, “l” for Iran “S” for Sind, “T” for Turkinistan, “A” and “N” for Baloach areas.

34  Abdul Qadir was a servant of British Resident in Kashmir. His speech and involvement in the Kashmir rising in early 1930s also indicated British involvement in the whole episode.

Muslim community. The pro-Hindu attitude of the rulers and the prejudice against Muslims contributed to the dissatisfaction of Muslim community. Initially, the well-off Muslims in Kashmir made significant contribution towards strengthening separatist feelings in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{36} They migrated to Punjab for receiving higher education. On their return to Kashmir, they incited other Kashmiri Muslims and created discontent among them against the ruler. They started anti establishment movement in Kashmir. It was under such circumstances that Muslim Conference was formed on October, 16, 1932 to spread an organised struggle against the Dogra ruler.

However, towards the end of 1930s Sheikh Abdullah came in close contact with Jawahar Lal Nehru and it was under his influence and the pressure from a few leaders of Kashmiri Pandits that on June 28, 1930 a resolution was moved to change the name of Muslim Conference into National Conference.\textsuperscript{37} However, in 1941, because of growing differences between the leaders of Jammu Muslims and Kashmir Muslims, the former decided to revive the Muslim Conference under the leadership of Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas. Chowdhary Ghulam Abbas was the leaders


\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, p.20.
of Jammu Muslims.\textsuperscript{38} Being closer to the hub of Muslim League politics adjoining the state of Punjab, he was totally influenced by the politics of Muslim League. Moreover, he was not acceptable to Kashmiri speaking Muslims, therefore he revived the Muslim Conference and later on urged the Muslim conference to adopt resolution supporting accession to Pakistan in 1947.\textsuperscript{39} There started a tug of war between the leaders of National Conference and the Muslim Conference. The former got support from Indian National Congress while the latter from Indian Muslim League. Thus, started an era of alliances and counter alliances.

Meanwhile on August 15, 1947, partition of India culminated into two dominions viz, India and Pakistan. When Britishers left India, there were 563 princely states in India. Out of these princely states, 560 decided to accede to India. Three states Hyderabad, Junagarh and Jammu and Kashmir had not taken a final decision on accession by August 14, 1947.\textsuperscript{40} As far as state of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, the then ruler of state Hari Singh did not take any decision regarding the accession of


\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{40} M.K. Teng, C.L. Gadoo, \textit{Kashmir Militancy And Human Rights}, Deep and Deep, New Delhi, 2003, p. 23. Junagarh and Hyderabad were Hindu Majority states ruled by Muslim Nawab who were keen to accede to Pakistan. However, the civil disturbances took place and after India’s intervention, both states were acceded to India.
state and proposed stand-still agreement.\textsuperscript{41} Pakistan agreed to enter into stand still agreement w.e.f. August 15, 1947. But later, Pakistan violated it by withdrawing supplies of essential commodities like kerosene, petrol, food, edible oils and salt to the Jammu and Kashmir state. Simultaneously, raiders supported by Pakistan invaded Jammu and Kashmir on October 21-22, 1947. Hari Singh, sought help from India, but India refused to sent its troops unless and until state of Jammu and Kashmir signs the instrument of Accession\textsuperscript{42}. Consequently on October 26, 1947 Instrument of Accession was signed between the ruler and the Governor General. Threafter Indian troops were sent to Kashmir to save it from turmoil.\textsuperscript{43} It is imperative to mention that both National Conference and Muslim Conference held divergent views regarding the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. While National Conference supported the state’s accession to Indian union, Muslim Conference supported the accession with Pakistan. While justifying the state’s accession to Pakistan, Muslim conference concluded that state’s accession to Pakistan is absolutely necessary in view of the geographical, economic, linguistic,

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid, p.26.
\textsuperscript{42} Prem Shanker Jha, \textit{The Origins of Dispute}, Oxford, New Delhi, 2003, p.2
\textsuperscript{43} Ravi Nanda, n.14, p. 60
cultural and religious considerations because Muslims constitute eighty percent of state’s population.\textsuperscript{44}

Separatism has always been a popular concept especially in Kashmir valley. The inability of ruling authority in post-independent India to deal with growing discontentment resulted in the emergence of separatist tendencies which inturn gave birth to various separatist outfits like Jamat-e-Islami (JEI), Jammu and Kashmir Liberation front (JKLF), Muhaz-e-Azadi, The Al-Fateh, People’s League and so on\textsuperscript{45}. These organizations remained active since their origin in promoting separatism.

The seeds of separatism were further strengthened during the period when Sheikh Abdullah was arrested in 1953.\textsuperscript{46} Since in 1952 Delhi Agreement was signed where it was agreed that Kashmir would be allowed to have its own constitution and a separate flag, but not a rival to the tricolour, have a Prime-Minister instead of Chief Minister and commitment to Article 370 was also made.\textsuperscript{47} However, Delhi Agreement received strong backlashes in Jammu region in the form of an agitation headed by Praja Parishad which wanted full merger of Jammu and Kashmir with Indian Union. This strong reaction inturn created anti-

\textsuperscript{44} Mohammad Yousuf Saraf, n.38, pp. 109-111
\textsuperscript{46} Harish K. Thakur, n.2, p.51.
\textsuperscript{47} S.N. Koul, \textit{Political Turmoil of Kashmir}, Rajat, New Delhi, 2005, p. 149. For details of Delhi Agreement see Appendix III.
Indian feelings among the rank and file of National Conference\textsuperscript{48}. Sheikh Abdullah, the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir started campaigning for maximum autonomy, resulting in his arrest on August 9, 1953. Immediately after the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah, a war council was formed to get support for his cause which latter on converted into Plebiscite Front \textsuperscript{49}

The Plebiscite Front played a vital role in infusing the separatist sentiments among Kashmiri people. The Plebiscite Front movement was spearheaded by Kashmiri youths who organised themselves under Al-Fateh, an underground separatist organisation and Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front to fight for the right of self-determination.\textsuperscript{50} The objective of its formation was to hold plebiscite in Kashmir regarding the accession of Jammu and Kashmir state to Indian Union. This group since its formation supported number of separatist outfits in the state and finally in 1976 it was dissolved and revived as National Conference\textsuperscript{51}. In fact between January 1965 to January 1971, there functioned about eighty separatist organisations. Of all most active were Al-Fateh, Al-Baro and

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{48} Sati Sahni, \textit{Kashmir Underground}, Har Anand, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 18-19 \\
\textsuperscript{49} V.K. Nayar, \textit{Crossing The Frontiers of Conflict in the North-East and Jammu and Kashmir, From Real Politics to Ideal Politics}, Shipra, New Delhi, 2005, p. 170 \\
\end{flushright}
Al-Kashmir. In 1963, the Holy Relic agitation and its aftermath further strengthened the feelings of separatism among the people.

Meanwhile, the merger of NC into Congress in 1965 followed by the adoption of sixth amendment act by the state legislature in April 1965, changing the nomenclature of Sadar-i-Riyasat and Wazir-e-Azam to Governor and Chief-Minister resulted in greater opposition to Indian state and cemented sentiments of separatism among the people of Kashmir. The feelings of separatism among the people of Kashmir provided impetus to infiltration by Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan got excellent opportunity to instigate the young generation of Kashmir to resort to violence. In the meantime in Pakistan, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front decided to hijack an Indian plane and finally on January 31, 1971, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front activist Hashim Qureshi along with his brothers Iqbal and Altaf hijacked Indian Airline fokker friendship plane ‘Ganga’ to Lahore with thirty two passengers. Later all passengers were sent to India and plane was blown at Lahore Airport. The kidnapping of Rubya Sayed, daughter of Mufti Sayeed, the then Union Home Minister, by Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front

52 Sati Sahni n.48.
53 Y.R. Sharma, n. 50, p.475.
54 B.P. Saha, Cross-Border Terrorism, Internationalization of Kashmir Tangle, Har Anand, New Delhi, 1996, p-54
activists and latter her release in exchange of five militants from the custody further enhanced the morale of separatist movement in Kashmir. Thereafter Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front started propagating the goal of Azad Kashmir. This separatist organisation was supported across the border by training and inciting them against India. However, the creation of Bangladesh and the victory of India in the 1971 war left fundamental impact on the separatist movement. Initially, Sheikh Abdullah fully supported the Plebscite Front of Mirza Afzal Beg, a pro-Pakistani organization so as to safeguard the identity of Kashmiri people and was of the belief that self determination was the only solution to the Kashmir issue, but after the defeat of Pakistan in 1971 war, Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg realised the incapability of Pakistan to grab Kashmir by force.

Thus, their enthusiasm for Pakistan or Independent Kashmir diminished. In the changing circumstances, Indira Gandhi also found it expedient to enter into an agreement with Sheikh Abdullah which later came to be known as Indira-Shiekh Accord of February 24, 1974. As a result of this Accord, Mir Qasim had to stepdown and Sheikh Abdullah

56 B.P. Saha, n. 54.
57 Salman Khurshid, Beyond Terrorism, New Hope For Kashmir UBS, New Delhi, 1994, P. 104
58 Aditya Sinha, Farooq Abdullah-Kashmir’s Prodigal Son, UBS,New Delhi, 1996, pp. 79-80
59 Jagmohan, n. 45, p.105.
was appointed as Chief Minister.\textsuperscript{60} However, separatist organizations opposed the Indira Sheikh Accord which culminated into formation of another separatist organization viz. Peoples League and its activities were supported by Al-Fateh and Islamic Student Organization.\textsuperscript{61}

However, after coming into power in 1977 elections lots of funds were reported to be flowing for Jamaat-e-Islami schools from various sources. All this was done in order to undermine the authority of the Indian Union over Jammu and Kashmir.\textsuperscript{62} It was under the Sheikh Abdullah’s rule that in 1980, Jamaat-e-Islami hosted a delegation from Madina University, infact, Sheikh Abdullah apparently was trying to interpret himself as a true Muslim.\textsuperscript{63} Subsequently, on March 26, 1981, Farooq Abdullah was elected as President of National Conference ignoring the G.M. Shah, the son-in-law of Sheikh Abdullah, who was the senior most member of National Conference\textsuperscript{64}. After the death of the Sheikh Abdullah in 1982, Farooq Abdullah adopted the policy of appeasing separatist tendencies. He stated that Kashmiri Muslims, apparently are not safe in India and that he would never compromise, the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item[\textsuperscript{60}] For details of Indira Sheikh Accord, see Appendix (iv).
\item[\textsuperscript{62}] Aditya Sinha, n. 58, P. 93
\item[\textsuperscript{63}] Anil Maheswari, \textit{Crescent Over Kashmir, The Politics of Mullaism}. Rupa 1993, pp. 40-42
\item[\textsuperscript{64}] Hari Jai Singh, \textit{Kashmir, A Tale of Shame}, UBS, New Delhi, 1996, p. 91.
\end{itemize}
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dignity and honour of Kashmiris, even if it meant fighting the mighty India.\textsuperscript{65}

With the intention of presenting National Conference as the champion of Kashmiri Muslim identity in Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah again got the Resettlement Bill passed in the Legislature.\textsuperscript{66} Thus the religious and regional sentiments of the people were exploited which strengthened the separatist feelings in Kashmir.\textsuperscript{67} During the Assembly election of 1983, Farooq Abdullah in order to muster support of people of Kashmir joined hands with Mirwaiz Moulvi Farooq, the founder of Awami Action Committee, entered into a pact called ‘Double Farooq Accord.’\textsuperscript{68} and brought an end to the Sher-Bakra rivalry.\textsuperscript{69} Slogans like ‘Sher-bakra bhai bhai, Indira Gandhi kahan se aayi’ (the lion and goat are brothers, where does Indira Gandhi came in) were raised\textsuperscript{70}. This also indicates how ruling party had been responsible for appeasing and strengthening separatist feelings among the people of Kashmir.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{65} Anil Maheshwari, n. 63, pp. 42-43 \\
\textsuperscript{66} Resettlement Bill was introduced by Sheikh Abdullah with the intention of providing resettlement to Kashmiris who migrated to POK and Pakistan and to unite the Kashmiri families who have separated from their relations in 1947. \\
\textsuperscript{67} Harish K. Thakur, \textit{n. I.}, p.11. \\
\textsuperscript{68} Jagmohan, n.45, p. 269 \\
\textsuperscript{69} The supporters of Sheikh Abdullah were described as Shers (Lion) and those of Mirwaiz Moulvi Farooq called Bakras (Goat). \\
\textsuperscript{70} Aditya Sinha, n. 58, p-151
\end{flushleft}
However, if ruling parties rise above personal and partisan interests and subdue their petty vested interests over national interests, separatist politics can be contained. Subsequently the central government dubbed Farooq Abdullah anti-national for his alliance with Akali Dal, Plebiscite Front, Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamaat-e-Tulba, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation front (JKLF) and alignment with Moulvi Farooq who did not believe in states accession to India.\(^71\) Consequently, Farooq Abdullah was dismissed from Chief Ministership and his brother-in-law G.M. Shah was appointed the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.\(^72\) The dismissal of Farooq Abdullah however gave a big boost to separatist feelings and many dissatisfied youths turned against Indian democracy and joined Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front.\(^73\) Even Farooq Abdullah himself admitted that thousands of Kashmiri youths crossed Line of Control for getting training after his ouster from power.\(^74\) The state government headed by G.M. Shah too was dismissed on March 7, 1986 and state was brought under Governor rule. Subsequently Farooq Abdullah was again brought into power following the Rajiv-Farooq Accord of November 7, 1986.\(^75\)

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71 Jagmohan, n. 45, p.171.
72 Ibid, p. 172
73 JB Das Gupta, n. 13 p. 115.
74 Anil Maheshwari, n. 63. p. 30
75 For details of Rajiv-Farooq Accord see Appendix (v).
Meanwhile, an alternative political mainstream element like Muslim United Front (MUF) came into being. The members of Muslim United Front as a conglomeration of Jamaat-e-islami, Jamaat-e-Tuba, Jamaat-e-Ahle-Hadis and Muslim Employees Front were of the opinion that by signing the Rajiv-Farooq Accord, Farooq Abdullah had sold himself to Rajiv Gandhi. Ahead of 1987 Assembly elections, Muslim United Front decided to contest elections and was supported by People League and Islamic Student League.\textsuperscript{76} Moreover the 1987 Assembly elections witnessed a large number of rigging which strengthened the politics of Muslim United Front.\textsuperscript{77} In terms of its origin, the Muslim United Front came into existence on the first day of Muharram\textsuperscript{78} in the September 1986. Prior to this the separatist groups which joined the Front had operated separately and had never projected collectively as an alternative to the National Conference in the Muslim dominated constituencies. As regards the composition of the Front, the major separatist groups were Jamaat-e-Islami, Ummat-e-Islamia and Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen. The other constituents of the Muslim United Front were the Tahafuz-e-Islam units of different districts in the valley. It concerns with the affairs of the Muslims community of Kashmir and has nothing to do

\textsuperscript{76} Aditya Sinha, n. 58, pp. 180-181.
\textsuperscript{77} Hari Om, \textit{Beyond the Kashmir valley}, Har Anand, New Delhi, 1998, p. 150
\textsuperscript{78} Muharam is the first month of Islamic calendar. It is held to be the most sacred of all the months, excluding Ramadan. The tenth day of Muharam is called ‘Yaumu-Ashurah which is known by Shia Muslims as the day of grief.
with the problems of other sections. Basically, it was founded to safeguard the identity and rights of the Muslim community and also the culture and civilization of Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir. So far as it has been dominated by the Jamaat-e-Islami which stands for the rights and identity of the Muslims in the Jammu and Kashmir state. It entails strong pro-Pak feelings and regards the accession of state to India as controversial.

A large number of Muslim United Front candidates were frustrated and disappointed after the 1987 Assembly elections and the victims of this electoral fraud became leaders of separatist movement\(^79\). In fact in 1987 elections people of Kashmir were looking for a party that would redress their grievances and fulfil their aspirations.\(^80\) In this election, Kashmiri Muslim identity was mobilized by coalition of Islamic groups called Muslim United Front.\(^81\) The rigging in this election strengthened separatist feelings among the Kashmiri youths whose common refrain was, “we were left with no option but to pick up the gun”\(^82\). Thus, many disappointed youths who contested 1987 elections latter became leaders of separatist groups, a glaring example being Syed Salahuddin supreme

\(^{79}\) Anil Maheswari, n. 63, p.15.
\(^{81}\) J.B. Das Gupta, n. 13, p.45.
\(^{82}\) *Ibid.*
commander of Hizbul-Mujahideen. A large number of Kashmiri youths extended their support to Muslim United Front which was emphasizing the promotion of Kashmiri nationalism and Kashmiri culture. Apart from the promotion of Kashmiri nationalism and culture, Muslim United Front also committed itself towards Islamic unity. But large scale rigging and booth capturing in favour of Congress-National Conference alliance resulted into distrust and feeling of alienation among the youths. They were expecting to win approximately ten seats but got only four causing frustration and ill will against government. This strengthened the already existing separatist feelings.

Consequently, Pakistan took full advantage of the then prevailing conditions in Kashmir and created pro-Pakistani feelings among the people by instigating them against India. The frustrated youths went to the extent of joining hands with separatist groups. In Kashmir valley, the anti-Farooq government agitation broke out and the separatists burnt the Indian Flag. The separatist movement that came to assert itself in Kashmir manifested itself towards the Islamisation of the Kashmiri

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84 Ibid.
86 Hari Om, n. 77, p. 151
87 Y.R. Sharma, n.50, p.193
society.\textsuperscript{88} As far as Kashmir is concerned, the developments in Pakistan like Islamisation policy shed a long shadow on it which gave separatist movement of Kashmir a communal colour resulting into serial killings of non-Muslims in the valley.\textsuperscript{89} The agenda of Islamic society was pursued by number of separatist organizations. These organizations banned all those practices which were considered to be un-Islamic with the result like bars, video parlours, cinema halls, liquor shops were forced to closed.\textsuperscript{90} Consequently, the non-Muslims in the valley were forced to leave valley further augmenting separatist tendencies.

Subsequently, the separatist organizations carried out acts of aggression to massacre the minorities and made them leave the Kashmir valley.\textsuperscript{91} These threats were followed by bomb blasts in their homes, their shops and residential quarters were set on fire and were forced to abandon their religion, their homes and hearths. The separatists objective was the total cleansing of minorities from the valley.\textsuperscript{92} Thus, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir seemed total reverse to 1947 period when Pakistani raiders attacked Jammu and Kashmir and when people of Kashmir

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{88} Balraj Puri, \textit{Kashmiriyat; The Validity of Kashmiri Identity, Contemporary South Asia}, Sage, New Delhi 1995, p. 55
\bibitem{89} JB Das Gupta, n.13, p.63
\bibitem{90} Balraj Puri, n.88, p.57.
\bibitem{91} Jagmohan, n. 45, pp. 457-458
\bibitem{92} Ibid, p. 492
\end{thebibliography}
irrespective of their religious differences gave a slogan, “Hamlawar Hoshiar, Hum Kashmiri Muslim, Sikh, Hindu Hai Tayar,” (Beware raiders, we Kashmir Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus are ready to retreat) and there was no communal violence. But under the influence of separatists, Kashmir which was initially governed by concept of Kashmiriyat seemed declining when religion was given preference over language which in turn consolidated the gulf between Kashmiri Hindus and Kashmir Muslims despite having same language, habits and way of life. Meanwhile Pakistan in order to make an adventure in Kashmir, drew a plan called Operation Topac. The basic aim behind this was to recruit Kashmir youths, train them and to provide them arms and ammunition to create chaos in Kashmir. Thereafter, Pakistan began to use Jamaat-e-Islami and other separatist organisations for infiltrating Afghans, Sudanis and Pak youths in Kashmir.

Since 1990, the underground separatist movement burst into mass procession with a view to mobilise public support. Popular slogans like, “Hum kya Chahte –Hain Nizem-e-Mustafa (what do we want –Islamic

93 S.K. Sinha, n. 21, p. 92.
94 Kashmiriyat is the feelings of oneness because of common cultural traits of all the people of Kashmir despite their religious or political differences.
96 J.N. Dixit, n. 15, p. 276
97 Navnit Chadha Bahera n. 83, p.167.
Law) that is Islam and independence began to be changed interchangeably. Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front demanded for independent state and not accession to Pakistan. The upshot was that Pakistan raised several pro-Pakistani separatist outfits to curb the Independence sentiment in the valley. With the emergence of these separatist organizations, Islam not Kashmiri nationalism, not an independent Kashmir but accession to Pakistan were regarded as the only solutions. These separatist organisations had nothing acceptable short of merger with Pakistan. All those leaders who proved to be barrier in their policy of Islamisation had to face severe consequences and perhaps as a part of separatist’s harsh policy, on May 21, 1990, Mirwaiz Mouli Farooq was reportedly slayed at the hands of separatist organisation for his attempt to start political dialogue with George Fernandes the then Union Minister for Kashmir Affairs. Similarly, Abdul Gani Guru, an ideologue of moderate Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front was reportedly killed on March 31, 1993 for his pro-independence sympathies.  

Meanwhile, a new alliance known as All Party Hurriyat Conference was formed in 1993. The leaders of All Party Hurriyat

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99 Hashim Qureshi, n. 55, p-204.
Conference started demanding right of self-determination\textsuperscript{100}. In the initial years of separatist movement, Pakistan provided covert military support to both pro-independent organizations such as Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front and pro-Pakistani organization like Hizbul-Mujahideen. However, with the emergence of pro-Pakistani separatist groups such as Harkat-ul-Ansar and All Party Hurriyat Conference, an umbrella organization of all pro-Pakistani separatist organisations\textsuperscript{101}, Pakistan stopped funding the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front.

The changed ideology of Pakistan generated tension within the separatist movement between those who regard Kashmir issue as an indigenous problem to be solved by Kashmiris themselves and those perceiving it as a part of international jihad\textsuperscript{102}. As per Syed Ali Shah Geelani, chairman of hardline Hurriyat faction, Kashmir issue is not a political struggle of Kashmiris alone rather is a religious issue of Muslims throughout the world\textsuperscript{103}.

However, moderate Hurriyat leader Abdul Gani Lone opposed the statement of Syed Ali Shah Geelani and argued that the issue of Kashmir

\textsuperscript{100} K.R. Gupta, \textit{India Pakistan Relations with Special Reference To Kashmir} Volume-I, Atlantic, New Delhi, 2003, p. 112
\textsuperscript{101} Y.R. Sharma, n.50, p.492.
\textsuperscript{102} The \textit{Economic and Political Weekly} n. 98 (Jihad, an Arabic word meaning struggle that is striving in the way of Allah. Some refer it as sixth pillar of Islam. The other five are faith, prayer, fast pilgrimage and zakat (charity).
\textsuperscript{103} The Kashmir Times, January 4, 2001.
was political not religious. He expressed disgust over the killing of innocents in Kashmir at the hands of separatists and asked them to laydown arms to solve Kashmir issue through dialogue and negotiations\textsuperscript{104}. But in a serious blow to the moderate voice in the All Party Hurriyat Conference, Abdul Gani Lone was assassinated by unidentified gunman to prevent any such move.

Meanwhile, Hurriyat Conference itself suffered a setback when it got split into Hurriyat (G) and Hurriyat (M). Moderate faction led by Umer Farooq favour direct dialogue with New Delhi which was opposed by the others leading to killing of Mirwaiz Umar’s uncle Mustaq Ahmed, attacking Umar’s house and burning down one hundred five years old Islamia school run by Mirwaiz, Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam in Srinagar\textsuperscript{105}. Despite Pakistan’s covert support to separatists, government of India has kept open the lines of communication with several Kashmiri separatist groups like All Party Hurriyat Conference and Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front\textsuperscript{106}. The Hurriyat Conference leaders laid down conditions in terms of tri-lateral talks i.e., people of Jammu and Kashmir and India and Pakistan for holding dialogue with the government of India.

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  \item[104] The \textit{Economic and Political Weekly}, n.98.
  \item[105] Navnita Chadha, \textit{Bahera}, n. 83, p.169.
  \item[106] Y.R. Sharma, n.50, p. 492
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
In fact all the South Asian states are beset with numerous separatist movements whose demands range from autonomy to separatism. These demands have endangered the security of not only these states but the entire world. As far as separatist politics is concerned, both India and Pakistan need to compromise. So long as Pakistan’s support is available to separatists, at-least the pro-Pakistani groups will continue to operate with or without some support inside the valley. Thus, an agreement between India and Pakistan is the necessary condition for dealing with separatist politics in Kashmir.

In table 1.1 it has been observed that only fourteen percent of the respondents have expressed their opinion to secede from the union and join the adjacent state while only ten percent have expressed their opinion to secede from both India and Pakistan and form an independent state. Besides sixteen percent of respondents have expressed that they are against the forcible occupation of state by any external power. The largest percentage of respondents have challenged to political hegemony against them. Moreover twenty six percent of respondents have shown their interest in Islamic teachings, while only two percent of respondents are favouring internal autonomy. It therefore can be said that the majority of respondents are convinced that by giving incentives like employment, free and fair elections, removing the
feelings of discrimination or domination and winning them over by providing good governance, a life of dignity and honour, separatist politics can be tackled.