Kashmiri culture is not a miscellany of heterogeneous borrowed items, it is not the patchwork tatter of beggars. Kashmiri culture is the culture of Kashmir people. But a culture that ceases getting influenced by other cultures becomes stagnant, although Kashmir was not following any mainstream of culture in the past, but it was not quite away or deviant from it. Kashmir, in spite of various political vicissitudes, continued commercial relations with her neighbouring countries. Many tribes, communities and sects took asylum in the valley because they faced coercion in their native countries. But it was here that the immigrants became the monarchs.

(Gulshan Majeed: A Study of Iranian Influences)

CHAPTER - IV
Dimensions of Kashmiri Identity
From the discussion already done we may conclude that people belonging to different societies and cultures always perceive for a particular identity. Each class, culture, society or sect strive for this uniqueness. We see that the problem of identity is a phenomenon found throughout the world. Be it Pakistan, Srilanka or India the fight for identity and identity consciousness is found everywhere. Every identity as we have seen has some particular dimensions which ultimately become its base. While some identities are based on race, some on culture, some on religion there are others where all these factors become foundation for the identity of a particular society/community. The identification to a particular group, class or society is sometimes even taking dangerous/ugly turns in some parts of the world. As regards to Kashmir it has been seen that the problem of identification has been part of this society from centuries together. We have seen that people from different parts of the world settled here and all of them had come with their own culture, language, religion and ethics. All these parameters assembled together to give birth to a peculiar new cultural block. This amalgamation then took the shape of what we call Kashmiri Identity with different dimensions.

We found in chapter - 1st and 3rd that the valley of Kashmir throughout the history has carved out peculiar identity for itself. This valley has remained an isolated piece of land for all practical purposes. However, the uniqueness of this land is dependent on many factors which will be discussed in this chapter. The dimensions and factors are:

i. Race and racial dimension;
ii. Regional and geographical dimension;
iii. Social and cultural dimension;
iv. Religious dimension;
v. Economic dimensions; and
vi. Historical and political dimension.
Who has not heard of the vale of Cashmere
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave
Its temples, and grottos, and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave?
Oh! to see it at sunset, - when warm o'ver the Lake,
Its splendour at parting a summer eve throws.
Like a bride, full of blushes, when lingering to take
A last look of her mirror at night ere she goes!
When the shrines through the foliage are gleaming half shown.
And each hallows the hour by some rites of its own.
Here the music of prayer from a minaret swells,
Here the Margian his urn full of perfume is swinging.
Or to see it by moonlight, - when mellowly shrines
The light o'er its palaces, gardens and shines;
When the waterfalls gleam like a quick fall of stars,
And the nightingale's hymn from the Isle of Chenars
Is broken by laughs and light echoes of feet
From the cool, shining walks where the young people meet.
Or at morn, when the magic of daylight awakes
A new wonder each minute, as slowly it breaks,
Hills, cupolas, fountains, call'd forth every one.
Out of darkness, as they were just born of the Sun
When the spirit of Fragrance is up with the day.

(Thomas Moore : Lalla Rukh)
4.1 Race and racial Dimension

The concept 'race' has multiple implications, for there are different meanings attached to it. In general usage 'race' may mean all of humanity (The human race), a nationality (The French race), or even a group which is mixed in nearly all respects but socially designated as different (the Jewish race). Sociologists use the term ethnic group to refer to any kind of group, racial or otherwise, which is socially identified as different and has developed its own subcultures.

The case of Kashmiri society is identical as discussed above. However, social scientists and travellers have been debating about the racial factor of Kashmiri people. There are different theories which are being debated to ascertain the origin of the people of valley. Theoretically the debate will continue but one thing which is quite evident is that racial and ethnic features of Kashmiris are quite distinct from even their neighbours. The people living in the valley seem to be a totally isolated lot when compared to even those living in other parts of the state and the country. "Their physique, their character and their language is so marked as to produce a nationality all together different from their neighbours as their country is geographically separated".

4.1.1 Physical Features

Kashmiris are well-built, handsome and of medium height. The women are good looking if not very beautiful. "Their complexion is fair as compared with their Indian neighbours, those living in the towns are fairer than the country folk. Some of them might easily pass for Europeans." However Tyndale Bisco feels that Hindu (Kashmiri Pandits) boys and girls are more refined. "Many have rosy cheeks and pink complexions, and a few have blue eyes and auburn hair". Some travellers who studied different societies have gone out of way to praise the Kashmiri race. "I have not much hesitation in saying that in size and in features they are the finest race on the whole continent of India, and the Kashmiri people are doubtless physically the finest of all the races that inhabit the territories of Jammu and Kashmir". Describing the features of Kashmiris Frederic Drew writes that in figure they (Kashmiris) are of middle height; a robust race, broad-
shouldered and large framed and of great muscular power. Their complexion is somewhat lighter than those of Dogras*. Regarding the beauty of women, Kashmir is known in India. The women mostly are of medium height, fair complexion and have good physique. However, there are people who do not support the argument that the women in Kashmir are very beautiful. The theory put forward by them is that the kings, nobles and ministers who came here and married took beautiful women only. This created the impression of beauty of Kashmiri women. Sir Walter Lawrence* believes that Kashmiris are not handsome than Pathans.10 Commenting on the beauty of women, Lawrence writes that he has not seen many beautiful women here. "They seem to be very quick; the children are often lovely the average peasant women is plain".11 The people of Kashmir are renowned for their clear complexion and fine figures. They are as well made as Europeans and their faces have neither the tartar flat nose nor the small pig eyes that distinguish the natives of Kashgarh.

4.1.2 Origin

Sociologists, Kashmiriologists and researchers are divided on the issue of the origin of Kashmiris. However, two important theories trace the origin of the people of valley to Jews and Aryans:

4.1.2.1 Jewish Origin

The Jewish or Hebraic origin of Kashmiris is being accepted by a large number of people. There are some peculiar features and characteristics which account for such an argument. "On entering this kingdom after crossing the Pir Panchal mountains, inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jewish. Their countenance and manner - that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations - all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Jesuit fathers and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Kashmir"13 Some of the writers support this theory on the grounds that the nose of Kashmiris resembles the Jewish. "Many people think that the Kashmiris belong to the lost tribes of
Israel as many of them have Jewish noses; also their love for money and getting the better of their neighbours is very strong." This argument is also supported by Sir Walter Lawrence who considers the hooked nose of Kashmiris as a prominent feature which is also found distinctly among Hebrews. G.M.D. Sufi in his well-known book ‘Kasheer’ supported this view. For him the physical and ethnic characteristics which mark off Kashmiri from all surrounding races are debatable but they are connected to Jewish. Shah Hamdan, the Muslim saint - who is responsible for spreading Islam in Kashmir named the valley as Bagh - I - Sulaiman (Garden of Soloman). Similarly Al- Beruni, the great historian, who came to Kashmir with Muhammed of Ghazni wrote that “They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and therefore take always much care to keep a stronghold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly the Jewish. The Jewish origin of Kashmiris has also been supported by Sir Frances, Muhammad Din Fauq, Baron C. H. Hugel and others.

4.1.2.2 Aryan origin

Another school of thought places them in the category of Aryan settlers. Their physical features are compared with Aryans. “The face of the Kashmiri, as Sir George Camphell has observed with regard especially to one class of them (Brahmans), is of pure high Aryan type. It is also true of the cultivating class, the peasantry who have kept their breed unmixed. They have a wide, straight and high forehead and a fine shaped head, as well - cut square brow and their eyes are not dark brown. With middle - aged and older people the nose acquires a decided hook of handsome outline, the mouth is often prettily curved as with young people, but it is apt to get straight and thin lipped as they grow up.” Sir Herbert Risley has reported that the inhabitants of Rajputana, nearly the whole of the Punjab, and a large part of Kashmir not withstanding the caste and social status belonged with few exceptions to a single racial type, which is called Indo-Aryan. Similarly Tyndale Bisco while talking about the beauty of Kashmiris says that “They (Kashmiris) are of the Aryan stock and are as a rule quite good looking.”
However, another school of thought believes that Kashmiris are a mixture of different races. This argument seems to be sound due to the fact that historical evidences clearly indicate that Kashmir has been a place where people belonging to different countries, castes and religions settled. This race could therefore be an amalgam of more than one particular race. There is also a possibility of having aborigines as first settlers.” A wide prevalence of Naga worshippers before and even after the Buddhist period indicates that the first settlers in Kashmir valley must have been the people known as aborigines who had spread over whole of India before the advent of Aryans. There is no evidence as to the stage of civilization these early inhabitants had attained when they entered Kashmir.”

We also have to discuss another possibility, that is, a mixture of Aryan race must have settled here. This is because Aryans were always on the move and the evidence of Aryans mixing with others is available with us. “As in Punjab and Northern India they (Aryans) mixed with the aborigines and formed one people. They must have come in numbers large enough to put their own racial stamp on the people here.”

There is no doubt that the people living in the valley are mostly its original inhabitants. However, Kashmir as we have discussed earlier has always remained an attraction for people of different places and countries. A good number of them stayed here and thus inter marriages have been a usual affair. Thus the crop of people which we have in Kashmir to-day does not in any case have a single origin. This race is a mixture of different races. As discussed above some experts trace the origin of Kashmiris to jews because of their nose and some manners. It is important to note here that these people have generalised their argument after noticing few people and thus taking it as applicable to all. This can not be true of all Kashmiris. Secondly the make-up of a nose identity to jews cannot be a guarantee that they belong to jews only. Infact the Jewish nose does resemble to people of other races also. Secondly the proponents of the theory that Kashmiris belong to Aryan origin have taken into account only few classes of Kashmiris and thus their argument can not be generalised in any case.
REFERENCES


2) Ibid. P.389


5) Ibid. P.60

6) Drew, loc. Cit

7) Frederic Drew spent ten years exploring the whole territory of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh, Baltistan and other hitherto unvisited corners of this region. He was basically appointed by the sovereign of Jammu and Kashmir to survey and report on the geological features of the state. He performed the duties of Governor of Ladakh in 1871, where he was sent by then Maharaja of the state. During this period he made a detailed study of geographical, geological, historical, tribal and linguistic aspects of this country.

8) Drew, loc. Cit.

9) Sir Walter R. Lawrence was land settlement commissioner here in 1887. His book ‘The valley of Kashmir’ is used as a reference work even today. As a land commissioner Lawrance identified himself with the locals and talked about the miseries and problems of the peasant community of the valley. He highlighted their problems and the exploitations they were passing through. A friend of the agricultural community he made a commendable contribution in revolutionizing the land disputes and other related issues.

10) Pathans are the people who are considered to be very brave and courageous. They are Muslims and are having peculiar dress. They are given the title of Khan.

12) Travells (smith edition) Page 40 reproduced from Kasheer by G.M.D.Sufi

13) Bisco, loc. cit

14) Kitabbul Hind and Al - Berunis' India, translated by Dr. Edward C. Sachou, vol 1. P.206

15) Drew, loc. Cit


17) Bisco, loci. Cit.


19) Ibid.
Geography plays a dominant role in the evolution of social, cultural and religious patterns of a country. It is equally true about the racial evolution of a land. A survey of the origin of the people of Kashmir Valley must, therefore, take into consideration this geographical factor. It is evident in this regard in the natural movements of the people, and on occasions in fact entire races, in search of food water as in the pre-historic times in the development of great international caravan routes. This geographical factor is also contributory to the religious & military cum political upheavals which in their turn enrich racial synthesis of a people.

(H. N. Koul: A Survey of the Origin of the People of Kashmir)

CHAPTER - IV (Part II)
Regional & Geographical Dimension
4.2 Regional and Geographical Dimension

4.2.1 Overview

The valley of Kashmir is created in such a manner that it seems the nature wishes it to remain unique and magical in appeal. "Its position and form together are such that there is no parallel to it in the whole of the Himalayas. It is a plain, wide vale enclosed by mountain ranges, whose height above the sea level is awful. Its climate is entirely different from that of India. Heat is not scorching and cold is not as severe as that of lofty plateaus of wide valleys that are found at the centre of the mass of mountains."

The mountains which encircle the valley have shaped it like a bowl leaving little room for outsiders to enter. The high mountain peaks, difficult passes virtually guard it from external threats. That is why the historians feel that the influence of geography on the social and political history of Kashmir has been very powerful. The valley is a longitudinal depression in the great north-western Himalayan ranges, and is carved out tectonically. It has a strong genetic relationship with the Himalayan complex which exercises an all-pervasive influence on its geographical structure. It has a peculiar physical shape. A distinctive feature is its asymmetrical extent; on the southern side it rises gently from the floor to the peak of the Pir Panchal; the northern side is too narrow, and it is marked by abrupt changes in gradient, accompanied with faceted spurs suggestive of a recent faulting.

4.2.2 Position, Size and Boundary

Kashmir is situated about 6000 feet above sea level in the western Himalayas. With an area of 3900 sq. kms., it resembles a great irregular oval having a similarly shaped level vale in the centre with a ring of mountains around it. Although it is not having a significant area, the beauty and variability of the valley are unique for air, soil and picturesque landscape. Its remoteness hides its strategic importance. The World map depicts the valley as remote and landlocked, isolated by successive ranges of mountains high above the plains of the sub-continent. Over time Kashmir's political borders have expanded and shrunk, sometimes
forming part of a great empire and at others being a kingdom in its own right. However, at the movement the valley of Kashmir in question is surrounded by India and Pakistan and comprises six districts of administration of Srinagar, Budgam, Anantnag, Pulwama, Baramulla and Kupwara.

4.2.3 Beauty

The valley of Kashmir is considered to be the most beautiful place on earth. It's high mountains, streams, green meadows, gardens and trekking places have their own unique beauty "and Kashmir is a theme well worthy of a poet. Nowhere in Asia nor even perhaps in the remaining quarters of the globe, can the parallel be found of such an earthly paradise, a paradise in itself as formed by nature, and made doubly beautiful by its surroundings." The most important aspect of the beauty of Kashmir is that it is natural and there is no artificial hand in it. "The valley is an emerald set in pearls, a land of lakes, clear streams, green turf, magnificent trees and mighty mountains where the air is cool and the water sweet." It is a valley of brilliant contrasts gathered together in a confined space. Its beauty is legendary and is really a specimen of eternal beauty. Praised and adored by one and all. Surrounded on all sides by a majestic belt of mountains, the peaks of which are covered in eternal snow, the valley is spread out under a limpid sky with smiling countryside, wooded slopes and fine plains. The fairy land of colours assumed by the mountains is mirrored in the lakes. "Each spot in Kashmir, one is inclined to think is the most beautiful of all" wrote Sir Francis Younghusband who was a British resident in Srinagar in the beginning of the twentieth century. Similarly Mughal king Shahjahan was so impressed by the beauty of this valley that he said:

(If there is a paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here)

Jawahar Lal Nehru loved Kashmir so much that in the Discovery of India he accepts his attachment to Kashmir. He therefore played a vital part in handling
of the Kashmir dispute. In a letter to Edwina Mountbatten on 23-6-1947, he wrote:

"Kashmir affects me in a particular way; it is a kind of mildintoxication, like music sometimes or the company of a beloved person. For years and years I could not visit Kashmir because of (the threat of) prison etc., and desire to come here again became a passion and an obsession. It is not just the beauty of the scene, though I love beauty and beautiful things, but even more is every season of Kashmir which has something mysterious and compelling about it."

4.2.4 Mountains and passes

The mountainous ring around Kashmir consists of three main ranges. To the north of it is Nanga Parbat. The most important mountain range is that of the Pir Panjal with a width of fifty to sixty miles. It forms the southern and south western boundary of the valley. It begins from the southern most part of the country where the Banihal pass which is 9200 ft. above sea level, is the lowest depression in the chain of mountains. After stretching for about thirty miles from east to west, the range turns to the north - northwest. In this direction it continues for about fifty miles more, and after attaining its greatest elevation in the Tatakuti Peak (15,524 ft.) it gradually descends towards the Jhelum valley. "To the east stands Haramukh, the grim mountain which guards the valley against the Sind river. Further, there is the Mahadev, sacred to Hindus." Due to this ring of mountains around it Kashmir could save itself from foreign invasions for a long time. It also helped the place to have "a historical existence of marked individuality." These mountains are bare and rugged. Frowning rocks, wild crags and mountains whose lofty summits tower to the sky in their cold and barren grandeur. These mountains are mostly uninhabited. However, they are neighbours of a wide expanse of verdant plain, a smiling valley, a veritable jewel in nature's own setting of rightful precipices, ever lasting snows, vast glaciers which make it beautiful and also serve as its protector. There are over 20 passes which provide points of entry to the valley of Kashmir. Three major routes open the valley to outside world. The entrance in the west connects Baramulla to
Peshawar and Rawalpindi, a route favoured by the Afghans in the 18th century. The second route used by the Mughals leads through the pass over the Pir Panchal which connects Srinagar to Punjab via Shopian. However, later in the 19th century the route over the Banihal pass via Jammu became more important.

M.A. Stein wrote that the great mountain barriers around the valley until modern times isolated its population from the countries of the sub-continent. Kashmir therefore is united and isolated due to its geographical position. This also gives it a distinct and in some respects almost a unique character. Stein writes that “we find here a fertile plain embedded among high mountain ranges, a valley large enough to form a kingdom for itself and capable of supporting a highly developed civilization.”

4.2.5 Weather

Kashmiri weather has a marked seasonality. The valley enjoys a longish spring, fairly cold and showery, extending from March through April into half of May. Summers are less rainy than spring and quite warm. The four or five months from May to September are a good time for all. The seasons may be described as follows:

i. Winter - November to February
ii. Spring - March to Mid May
iii. Summer - Mid May to Mid September
iv. Autumn - Mid September to October

However, according to Moonis Raza and others Kashmir experiences six seasons of a duration of a two months each.

i. *Sonth* (Spring) - Mid March to Mid May
ii. *Garm* (Summer) - Mid May to Mid July
iii. *Wahrat* (Rains) - Mid July to Mid September
iv. *Harud* (Autumn) - Mid September to Mid November
v. *Wanda* (Winter) - Mid November to Mid January
v. *Sheshur* (Severe cold) - Mid January to Mid March
REFERENCES

(Regional and Geographical Dimensions)


7. Nehrus’ letter to Edwina Mountbatten, on 27 June 948 quoted in Ziegler's, Mountbatten p. 445. (Taken from Mushtaq-ul-Rehman's Divided Kashmir)

8. Lawrence, op. Cit., P.14

9. Hasan, op. Cit., P.17


Notwithstanding the fact that Kashmiris have always remained responsive to the civilizational changes that occurred in the world from time to time, it is also significant to observe that they never completely parted their ways with the past. The continual process of the amalgam of old - new cultures is a fact of Kashmir history with which even the radical revolutionaries had to compromise and learn to live. This is truer in the case of Islam in Kashmir. Though mass conversation from Hinduism to Islam took place during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the conversion from Hindu to Islamic way of life could never be fully accomplished even after the persistent efforts of the revivalists. The indelible impact of local beliefs and practices upon Kashmiri Muslims was so marked even after many centuries of their conversion of many political vicissitudes and cultural revolutions, that the foreign travellers were amazed to notice it.

(M. Ashraf Wani : Islam in the Kashmir Environment)

CHAPTER IV (Part III)

Religious Dimension
4.3. Religious Dimension

Kashmir, as we have already seen in the earlier part of this chapter, is a place where all the important religions flourished. In fact, it is said about Kashmir that people of various religions, castes, creeds and nations came here and found it as the best place for worship. The clear/clean atmosphere, high mountains and lush green fields provide a situation where worshipping God and urge to know more about him becomes somewhat exciting. The earliest history of Kashmir shows that Hinduism was probably the first religion which had been professed by Kashmiris.

4.3.1. Earliest Religion

When we trace the origin of the Kashmir Valley, the strongest theory that is accepted because of geological and geographical evidence is that it was a big lake where demons were living. It was Kashyap Rishi, a Hindu saint, who with the help of Hindu gods like Brahma, Vishnu and Rucha, cleared this place of water and the demons who were living here. The shape as it acquires today came only after that. Thus the first probable religion of this place has been Hinduism. The historical accounts like Nilmatpurana and Rajtaran also hint to this argument.

According to the geographers, Kashmir has remained isolated and unique in terms of its location and topography. That is why, this perfect and isolated geographical entity of Kashmir itself has been attracting most of the people within and outside for a source of spiritual inspiration. A geographical or physical entity manifests itself in its religious matrix which is usually as distinct as that of the former. Prof. Manzoor Fazili argues that because of uniqueness of this place since times immemorial, people were guided and are guided to believe in the theory of Monism - the existence of one God. However, Hinduism, according to historical records, dominated the valley for centuries together, with Buddhism also showing its mark for a brief period.
4.3.2. Hinduism in Kashmir

The Kashmiris have all along been religious and God fearing. Hinduism is a complicated religion with a large number of rites and rituals. Due to these rituals, Hinduism in Kashmir became a complicated religion but people taking part in these rituals because they became conscious about their future world:

"Kashmir is studded with high Cliffs, and cannot be conquered even by the strength of a good army and the people are afraid of nothing but of the future World".

At the same time, the gods and holy things which according to Kalhan's RajaRangni existed in Kashmir from the earliest times, clearly depicted that Hinduism dominated the scene in the valley. Some of the things present even up to the time of Kalhana were:

(i) A wooden image of Shiva, the destroyer (Hindu God);
(ii) A current of water which glowed at evening over a hill. This could be seen by the virtuous, but not by the vicious, Brahma in the shape of fire, rising from the earth burnt the forest;
(iii) The goddess Sarasvati in the form of a swan in a tank on the top of the Devibheng rock, fount of the Ganges;
(iv) The Shrine of Nandi Kishetra where the spots of sandal, with which the gods performed worship, were visible; and
(v) At Nandi was also Sarada or Durga, by seeing whom one could get immediate salvation and the gift of the flowing and sweet speech of a poet.

The earliest historical records available with us indicate that way back in 2448 B.C, Kashmir was ruled by the Hindu dynasty of Suraj Banies. During this period, Krishna, a historical and spiritual personality of Hindu history, was ruling Mathura. There was a close contact between these two places. A number of Vihars and temples were erected during this period and Hinduism flourished in all directions. The Hindu domination continued till the time of Ashoka who laid the foundation of the Budhist regime in Kashmir.
4.3.3 Budhism in Kashmir

Budhism in Kashmir came during the Hindu rule itself but it received prominence when great Maurya king, Ashoka (274 - 237 B.C) came to power. Ashoka encouraged Budhism in the valley by constructing Viharas and stupas. During this period, there was peace all round and great interest was shown by the rulers to spread Budhism. The presence of extraordinary patience among Kashmiris at the time of natural calamities is considered to be the influence of Budhism. Ashok’s son, Jaloka, although consolidated his kingdom but it was during his time that Hinduism started reviving in northern areas of India. Jaloka became a Shivaite. However, Budhism continued to dominate the religious scenario. After Jaloka, Kushans ruled Kashmir and Budhism found itself in its golden age. The Kushans decorated the valley with monasteries, caityas and other Budhist foundations. Their magnificent patronage of the faith gave it a great fillip. It was during the period of Kanishka, a brave Kushan king, that the fourth Budhist council was held in Kashmir. It was attended by thousands of people from in and outside Kashmir. Holding of such a big religious conclave gave great prestige to Kashmir which also shows that the valley was an important Budhist place of learning and culture. During the period of latter Kushans, Najarajuna a great saint and philosopher of Budhism tried to consolidate the fading Budhism in the Valley:

“'The Buddhists under their great leader, Nagarjuna, continued to gain strength in the country. They not only defeated in argument the Pandits who upheld the worship of Shiva and rejected the duties prescribed in the Nilmatpurana but had the influence to discontinue the ceremonies and worship enjoyed by it”

The Nagas then took on Budhist monks and with the intellectual help they got from Hindu Brahmans, they were able to revive Hinduism in Kashmir.

4.3.4 Revival of Hinduism

The Kushans were followed by Gondas and it was Abhimanya I who was responsible for reviving Hinduism in Kashmir. Hinduism thus continued to dominate the religious scenario of the valley for a pretty long time. Some of the great kings of this period have been Lalitdatya, Awanivrmn and others. A strong
patronage from the government helped Hinduism to flourish in a big way. There were temples all around. During the period between 825 A.D to 625 A.D, the Huns ruled Kashmir and made the Buddhists the target of their repression. However, after the Huns the Karkuta dynasty which came to power did not impose their own religion on people. There were thousands of Buddhist monks and monasteries in Kashmir during that period. Well known Chinese traveller, Huiven Tsang, who stayed in Kashmir during this period found peace all round but a mild patronage of Hinduism from government side continued. The Lohara dynasty which succeeded the Utpala dynasty around 1000 A.D was responsible for allowing the Islamic influence on Kashmir. It was during this period that Muslims started coming to Kashmir, thus the fall of Hinduism and the Hindu rule took its roots. However, before we proceed further it is important to note here that Hinduism in Kashmir has been unique in its character and practice. It is virtually different from the Hinduism which is practised in other parts of the world.

In fact, the Hinduism in practice here can be called Kashmirised Hinduism. The hallmark of the Hinduism here was that it developed its own philosophy of religion. Most of the Hindus commonly called Pandits or Bhatas have been followers of Shiva and Vishnu. Raja Awantivarmman was the first Vaishnavite king of Kashmir and it was during his time that temples were dedicated to Vishnu. However, Hinduism had become an amalgam of rituals and practices. In fact, these things had made this religion a complicated affair for people and that could be a reason why people during that period started embracing other religions. However, the Hinduism of Kashmir popularly called Kashmir Shavism which is in practice here is of great interest.

4.3.5 Kashmiri Shavism

This philosophy was developed in Kashmir between the seventh and the twelfth centuries after the death of Lord Christ. However, its history could be traced to the ancient times when there was pre-dominance of the worship of Shiva and Shakti in Kashmir. It is a pluralistic school of thought believing in a mutually distinct existence of God, soul and matter. Kashmir Shavism is a philosophy which is quite different in many respects from other schools of Shavism.
It adopts a pragmatic approach towards all the problems of philosophy on both its sides of theory and practice. Kashmir Shavism is monastic in outlook and it believes in the real existence of only one absolute God in his transcendental and universal aspects. It also considers the liberation of the soul from the bondage of the cycle of births and deaths as the final goal and the final aim of human life. Kashmir Shavism accepts no restrictions based on caste, creed, sex, etc. Every curious and devout aspirant can have access to it both theoretically and practically. It also avoids suppression of one's emotions and instincts and advocates a path of their sublimation. It does not ignore the worldly and heavenly aims of life consisting of objective enjoyments. It basically advocates a path aimed at both enjoyment and liberation (bhakti and Muki).

The people who believed and practised this type of religion are called Kashmiri Pandits or Battas. They are scattered throughout the Valley and dominate all sectors of social life. Apart from getting the patronage of the rulers of the time, this religion had also made deep roots in the social, economic and cultural life of the people here.

Historical records available do indicate that from ancient times, the Kashmiri pandits or Brahmans were a quite distinct race from the aboriginal tribes and immigrants. They always retained a separate and unique life. These people were and are followers of Hindu god Shiva. That is why it has been given the name of Kashmir Shavism. It is also called Trika philosophy (The three fold science). The three fold science is based on three energies of lord Shiva. These three energies are called para, parapara and Apara (Supreme, intermediate and inferior). The main teachings of Trika philosophy of Kashmir Shavism teaches how an individual immersed in inferior objective energy can be carried towards the supreme, subjective energy of Lord Shiva through his cognitive, intermediate energy. In this context, the purpose of studying this philosophy is basically to rise from objective energy through cognitive energy and finally be one with the subjective energy of Lord Shiva. According to this system, as long as one is in objective energy, one is the victim of sadness and sorrow and he/she is virtually punished by repeating them in births and deaths. Therefore one has to emerge
from objective energy and enter into subjective energy, in which one is liberated from all the sadness, and becomes absolute in the attainment of final beatitude. The history of Shavism however, dates back to the origin of Kashmir when the Nagas were living here. The religious beliefs of Shavism are mostly mythological in character. According to it, Shiva is the greatest of all Gods and his abode is a superior heaven and lives with his spouse Parvati on the Kailasa hill. In fact, Kashmir Shavism is a philosophy which is quite different in many respects from all the other schools of Shavism. The most important aspect of Kashmir Shavism is that it does not accept any restrictions based on caste, creed, sex etc. Every curious and devout aspirant can have access to it both theoretically and practically.\footnote{13}

The unique and separate culture which the Kashmiri Hindus have is being maintained throughout. Even today, we see the continuity of this uniqueness. Whereever they (Kashmiri Pandits) go, they remain as a close well knit community with separate temples and ways of worship. In fact, till recently they were not even going for marriage with other Hindus. After 1989, when most of them left Valley in very difficult times, they continued to maintain that separate identity wherever they went.

4.3.6 Decline of Hinduism prior to the spread of Islam.

There were a number of causes for the decline of Hinduism in Kashmir. Apart from the influence and the missionary zeal of other religions, some of the rigid customs and practices among Hindus did not allow it to flourish like other religions. At the same time, we do not find the original Hinduism in Kashmir. The Hinduism which is in practice here is entirely different from what we find in other parts of the world. According to scholars, the confluence between Buddhism and Hinduism in the eighth century AD resulted in the emergence of Shavism.\footnote{16} Although Shaivites are purely Hindus, their way of worship, faith, practices and rituals are entirely different from those of other Hindus.

Kashmir was governed by Hindus Kings for centuries. Some of the Kings were good, honest and dedicated, while a few of them had absolutely no interest in administration and their people but were mostly interested in their own affairs
and spent their time and resources in unsocial and unethical activities like hunting, dancing with singing girls, taking wine and other such activities. On the other hand, the Hindu religion which is a social system, bristles with minute ceremonial observances, binding on each individual.

"They come into force at birth and only cease when his body has been consumed to ashes". In olden days sutte (sati) was common and wives showed their devotion by sacrificing their lives at the same time. Every detail of family life is regulated by elaborate rites in connection with which the priest has great preponderating influence. During pre-Islamic period in Kashmir, the condition and social status of women was disappointing. There was a general deterioration in their social and religious status. Their education was neglected. They could neither inherit nor claim the right to property. Women were not consulted in decision making and they were only child producing machines and 'labourers'. Similarly, caste system was deep rooted in Kashmir and it was practised in a rigid manner. The Brahmans were held in high esteem and they enjoyed all they required like honour, status, money etc. In fact, they used their position as a tool of exploitation. Apart from what we can call religious exploitation, there was total misrule in Kashmir and as the country was being ruled by Hindu kings, the unrest and lawlessness was also attributed to the religion of that time. As Lawrence points out: “All things point to a breaking up of the Hindu kingdom which had lasted for so many centuries, and in 1305 AD when Raja Simha Deva was king, Kashmir was a country of drunkards and gamblers” At the same time, Ishaq Khan points out that Brahmanic order had failed to create institutions based on sound religious philosophy which could have served as a bulwark against the forces of Islamic acculturation.

In this situation, there were better prospects for any system which could be more realistic and open. The masses were plunged in extremely miserable conditions and any change therefore which had the prospect of emancipating them from the shackles of outdated social customs and political setup was therefore sure to be welcomed. The Islam thus provided the required guidance to the masses and thus gradual conversion started in Kashmir. M. L. Kapoor even points out the irrational taxation system, dishonest means employed by royal
officers to extort money from masses, natural calamities and immoral activities of people at the helm of affairs as other reasons for the decline of Hinduism and Hindu rule in Kashmir.

4.3.7 The Spread of Islam

Kashmir, as we have already discussed in the historical aspect of Kashmir, has remained an important seat of learning of different religions and philosophies. People belonging to different schools of thought found not only audience and followers but also the overall environment as most feasible and up to their expectations. The spread of Islam or conversion of the Kashmiris to Islam has also taken place on this pattern. Missionary work of the Muslims, who came from other countries and those who were locals (like Sheikh Nur-Din-Noorani RA), helped Islam to grow in the Valley. As we have already said, the social and religious conditions of Kashmir helped Islam to spread in the Valley.

4.3.8 Conversion Starts

Historical works and folklore indicate that Islam started flourishing in the valley when Rinchanna later Sultan Sadru-d-din became king of Kashmir. Rinchanna was fond of learned men. He, it is said, discussed with Hindu and Buddhist priests about truth but was not satisfied with the response of these people. He then met Sayyad Sharaftu-ud-din, commonly known as Bulbul Shah, who was probably the first Sufi to enter Kashmir from Turkistan. Bulbul Shah, influenced Rinchanna and taught him Islam. Rinchanna was impressed by his teachings which were simple, free of ceremonies, caste and priesthood and thus became a Muslim. Next important person to embrace Islam was Rinchanna's brother-in-law Rawan Candra. The patronage of the ruling class definitely attracted new people to Islam. However, before these developments it is worthwhile to mention here that Kasunir was in contact with Islam and Muslims much before this. Islam, according to Ishaq Khan, was known to Kashmir six centuries before the establishment of the Muslim Sultanate around 1320 AD through traders, travellers, scholars, artists and adventures.
According to the historical chronicle, Rajatarangni, Islam was even known to its writer Kalhana. Kalhana has referred to many events wherein he gives us the indication of presence of Muslims. “Raja Harsh Dev (1089 to 1101 AD), while combating the uprising from the Lore dynasty, took shelter in the house of Muleechies where he ate flesh of cow.” Muleechies were Muslims according to the historians. Mahmud of Ghazni also tried to invade Kashmir twice but could not do so because of difficult weather conditions. However, there is absolutely no doubt that Muslims had been settling in the valley.

Later when missionary work was at its best in the valley and rulers also embraced Islam, it quite naturally flourished. Some people have been alleging that Islam spread in the valley because of official patronage and force. However, more authentic sources indicate that there was absolutely no force used to spread the faith of Islam. While introducing the English translation of Rajatarangni, M.A. Stein writes: “Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquest but by gradual conversion, for which the influx of foreign adventurers both from the south and from central Asia had prepared the ground. The adoption of Islam by the great mass of the population which became an accomplished fact during the latter half of the fourteenth century but which had probably already begun towards the close of Hindu rule did neither affect the independence of the country nor change its political cultural conditions.” However, some cases of violence at the hands of few officials could not be ruled out. The spread of Islam in Kashmir was actually the outcome of the hard labour put in by Sufis and Rishis. The Sufis who entered Kashmir from different parts of the world individually and in groups laid greater impression of this faith on Kashmiris. The first Sufi to enter Kashmir was Bulbul Shah who came from Turkistan along with one thousand followers in the time of king Suhadva. Bulbul Shah was a disciple of Shah Niamatullah Farsi, who belonged to the Suhrawandi order of the Sufis. He was full of warmth of love and exercised great influence on those among whom he worked and lived and converted a number of Hindus.

4.3.9 Conversion and Syed Ali Hamdani

We have already noted that before the mass conversion of Kashmiris to Islam, a good number of Muslims visited Kashmir. Among them were people
who visited this place as missionaries of Islam and are commonly called Sufis. Their number was in thousands. One of the important Sufi who is considered to have converted thousands of non-Muslims to the fold of Islam was Mir Syed Ali Hamadani or Shah-I-Hamdan or Amir -I-Kabir (Great Amir) or Ali-I-Sani (the second Ali). After he completed his education, Sayyid Ali set out on his travels to acquire more knowledge. He visited many parts of the world for this purpose. Historical accounts indicate that Syed Ali arrived in Kashmir first time in Sep 1372 A.D. He stayed here for about four months and then proceeded to Mecca on a pilgrimage; later, he visited the valley in 1379 A.D, when Qutbu-d-din was ruling Kashmir. He stayed here for about two and a half years, and then returned to Turkistan. Finally, he visited this place in 1383 A.D and left after a year or so. The number of Muslims in the valley was very less when Shah Hamdan visited Kashmir. Those who had become Muslims were in actuality only 'half Muslims' because they were practising some rituals and practices of Hindus also. "In manners, dress and customs there was nothing to distinguish them from the Hindus" Syed Ali denounced these practices and started the campaign from the king itself. Syed Ali converted a number of Brahmins to Islam after convincing them in discussions about religion. There was hardly any official patronage given to Islam during this period as is being alleged by some people. "Anxious not to antagonise his non-Muslim subjects, Qutub-d-din did not follow every advice of Syed Ali but he held him in great reverence and visited him everyday" Syed Ali was a great scholar in Arabic and Persian. He is said to have been the author of more than one hundred works on logic, jurisprudence, philosophy, political science, ethics, sufism and commentaries. Syed Ali, it is said, converted a good number of Hindus to Islam by showing miracles also. He travelled widely in the valley. He spread his followers across the valley who established Khanqahs, and the network of branches which gradually emerged centres of preaching and proselytisation. In fact, Syed Ali's contribution in spreading Islam is such that even foreign authors accepted that "the saint who has exercised the most direct influence on the religion of Kashmir was Mir Syed Ali of Hamdan. He visited the valley in the time of Qutub-uddin and practically established Islam here". Syed Ali's mosque known as the Shah-I-Hamdan mosque in Srinagar, is one of the most sacred places in Kashmir and is a worthy memorial of a man who in his time exercised an enormous influence.
over the country. Shah Hamdan’s approach was more reformatory. In fact, he reformed the society to the extent that people belonging to different faiths, castes and creeds virtually worshipped him. This way he was able to convince more and more people to accept the faith of Islam as their religion. The hallmark of his work was that on one hand he based his reformation on Sharia, but on the other he employed a native idiom so that the masses understood and practised Islam. Use of bells in mosques as in temples and reciting Quranic verses loudly in mosques continues in Kashmir and Shah Hamdan did not object to these practices. In fact, his approach was to spread Islam and Islamic practices through the existing social set up and religious practices. While he was tolerant towards Kashmiris for singing hymns aloud in temples, he created an alternative expression to this by composing *Aurad-I-fathiya.* Thus the actions and measures taken by Shah Hamdan enabled him to set an example and proved like a beacon for those who had not embraced Islam till that time. Mir Syed Ali Hamdani framed a code of conduct for rulers so that they could perform their duties with justice and kindness. In his famous and well-known book *Zakiratul-Muluk,* he lists rules for rulers. Some of them are as under:

1. When a case is brought to him, he should place himself in the position of the subject and whatever he does not like to be done for himself; he should not order others;
2. In matters of food and dress, he should follow the tradition of the pious *Caliphs,* and should not get used to eating delicious food and putting on elaborate garments;
3. He should be polite and should not be unnecessarily harsh. He should not be vexed with lengthy discussions and should not feel annoyed in talking to the poor and weak;
4. He should not hesitate to implement the religious law. Under every rule half of the people remain unhappy with their rulers, because two contradictory interests cannot be reconciled. As it is not possible for a just ruler to please everybody, he should sacrifice his personal interests and should not care for the dissatisfaction of the people and should give only such orders as are necessary to please God.
(V) He should not frighten his subjects through ostentatious display of pride and arrogance, but should win the hearts of the submissive and the weak through justice, benevolence and kindness; and

(VI) He should always make enquiries about the activities of his officers and should not appoint cruel officers. If any of them commits acts of dishonesty or shows cruelty, he should be given exemplary punishment so that others take warning.

After Mir Syed Hamdani, his son Mir Mohammad is considered to be an important person who converted thousands of non-Muslims to Islam. He was, like his father, a great social reformer. "Mohammad Hamdani" has left a legacy of happy remembrances for having brought about a number of social reforms in Kashmir. It was on his insistence that the Sultan banned the distillation, sale and use of wine. The Hindu practices of sati, gambling, playing of musical instruments and dancing women were also forbidden. Some historians are of the opinion that Mir Mohammad Hamdani received the patronage of the Sultan of that time Sikander to convert non-Muslims to the fold of Islam. It is also alleged that Sultan Sikander demolished many temples in the valley. "Sikander equalled the most blood thirsty and iconoclastic Muslim conquerors anywhere in his zeal to obliterate all traces of the Hindu religion and convert its followers to Islam on pain of death. Temples were levelled and some of the grandest monuments of old damaged and disfigured. Archaeologists agree that the scale of destruction wreaked on the monumental structures at Martand and Avantipur suggest the use of gunpowder." However, experts are of the opinion that there was no gunpowder available in Kashmir at that time. This aspect has also been dealt in detail in the historical chapter. At the same time some historians have described Sikander as a 'good' ruler. Quoting authentic historical sources, Mohibbul Hasan says that Sikander was an able, generous and brave ruler and looked after the welfare of his subjects. He is reported to have put an end to many oppressive taxes. However, there is no doubt that Sikander was a great patron of learned men and Sufis and in case of Mohammad Hamdani, Sikander respected him like anything. In fact, it is said that he (Sikander) virtually acted as a servant to Mohammad Hamdani. Therefore, the influence of Hamdani on the actions and governance of Sikander has been
enormous. It is also reported that Sultan had virtually become a puppet in the hands of Mohammad Hamdani and other Sufis. "Their position was further strengthened when Suha Bhatt became a Muslim." Suha Bhatt, a Hindu, was Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the army of Sikander. Bhatt, later Malik Saif-ud-din used all means to convert more and more people to the fold of Islam. It is possible that Bhatt may have done all this to remain in power and show to the king his concern for Islam. This must have definitely been cashed in by Bhatt for himself and for the members of his family. In any way, the contribution of foreign Sufis and missionaries in conversion has been much bigger. Most of the contemporary pro-Hindu historians have attacked the ways and means used by Malik Saif-ud-din (Suha Bhat). "The zeal of this newly converted minister knew no bounds. He unleashed a reign of terror against those who resisted conversion. It is believed that the Sultan and his Chief Minister threw into the Dal lake all the sacred books of the Hindus that they could lay their hands on, and seven mounds of sacred thread of Brahmans were burnt." Although many historians accept this incident but their version is totally different. What I have been able to gather from the historical records and folklore which is considered to be an authentic source of history is that people who converted to the new fold did exactly the same which has been referred to above. It is said that the new converts burnt their sacred thread themselves. There are instances where they brought down their own temples to construct the religious places of the new faith.

4.3.10 Sheikh Noor-ud-din Noorani and Islam in Kashmir

Sheikh Noor-ud-din Noorani, **Nunda Rishi**, (the pious Rishi) *Alamdar-l-Kashmir* (the upholder of the banner of Kashmir), *Sheikh-ul-Alam* (the leader of the world) is considered to be the national saint of Kashmir. He is undoubtedly the person who Kashmirised Islam and made people understand this religion through local dialect and culture. Born sometime around or in 1378 AD in south Kashmir, his parents belonged to the tribe of watchmen. He was a different person from the day he was born. He would not take milk from his mother's breast just after his birth. After some days, the great Shivite, a sciatic of that time, Lal Ded or Lalla Arifa went to him and said:
Immediately after this the baby started sucking milk. In fact, the association of Lal Ded and Nund Rishi has had a greater impact on Kashmiri society. The popularity of Nund Rishi among Kashmiri masses in general and the Kashmiri Muslims in particular, as well as the impact of his teachings upon the religious attitude of Kashmiris can hardly be underestimated. In fact, as some writers point out, a number of kings, rulers and politicians have sought refuge in him in order to popularize themselves and strengthen their grip upon the noble and innocent Kashmiri people. It is true that whenever politicians needed to boost themselves they used the platform of Charar-e-Sharief. The militant movement in late eighties was virtually launched from this place. The siege of the holy town in which the Mausoleum of this great saint was burnt down became the biggest political development of the decade. Sheikh Nund Din's poetry is practically Quran in Kashmiri for the masses. His poetry is so popular and common among the masses that it has virtually became an important part of the religious life of Kashmiri Muslims. Nund Rishi demonstrated practically the way of life of a Muslim. He remained in caves but also spent life as a common man to demonstrate the two sides of the same coin. In fact, before coming of Islam to Kashmir Rishis (Nund Rishi was a Rishi) were not socially active. Since they led a secluded life either in caves or on top of mountains, it was not until the emergence of Nur-ud-din as the founder of an indigenous order of Muslim mystics (Rishi Silsilah) that the social significance of the Rishi tradition came to be established for the first time in Kashmir's history. In fact, he denounced those who leave home and do not take care of their families. It is important to note here that Sheikh Nur Din laid greater emphasis on social aspect of the Rishi movement. He fought against the social evils and social problems through his teachings and poetry. Ishaq Khan writes that "Nur-ud-din defended the social authenticity of the Rishi tradition and its continued capacity to make sense of the world in the face of the challenges posed to it by the great tradition of Islam as represented by the "Ulama". In order to
save the local tradition from going into oblivian he sought to revive it by giving it an Islamic content. As a result, the essential elements of ancient popular Kashmiri religious culture, like meditation in the caves, celibacy, vegetarianism, etc were retained by the Hindu ascetics even after their conversion to Islam. He spread Islam through local language by composing poetry on themes of social and religious content. He revolted against the institution of priesthood that had created a division between the clergy and the common people on the basis of caste. His argument was that nobility of birth did not guarantee the nobility of mind. Commenting on casteism he said:

*Hazrat Bu.bu - A: dam mo: lu:*
*Ma:ma Hiava totuy a:vni:
Ada Kat vapun Du.mib, Va.tul, tsalu
Kvalas hamkval Ky:sh heduy.*

(Adam came as the first ancestor of man: Mother Eve followed suit.
Where From came the low castes then?
How can members of the same family jeer at one another?)

While condemning those who are proud of their high castes he said that such people sell their *Eman* at cheap rates. According to Sheikh, man is knit into the fabrics of the human family and the difference of castes, creed and colour are due to an error of judgement and ignorance. To quote him:

One who harps proudly upon ones own caste,
Is totally bereft of reason and wisdom;
Here the good alone can claim noble descent.
And in hereafter 'caste' itself will be non-existent.

Were you to imbibe the essence of Islam,

Then you will never boast of your own caste. 53

His tirade against caste must have definitely attracted a large number of Hindus, especially of lower castes to the fold of Islam. As Tak puts it : “Nooruddin’s denunciation of the caste system must have prompted the low caste Hindus and the weaker sections to break off their ties with a caste ridden social structure and embrace Islam that proclaimed equality of all men. He is more concerned with those poor and innocent people who always grew under the weight of rituals and do not understand the true meaning or spirit of religion. 54 His simple teachings definitely attracted non-Muslims towards Islam for they got social status, equality and rights which had been denied to them by their former religious ‘leaders’. Sheikh did not get nor did he try to get any kind of official patronage to convert people to Islam.

He laid greater stress to control Nafs. 55 Nafs, he believed is the root cause of all social evils and a barrier to separate man from God. The belly tempts the mind with dainty and delicious things in this world which automatically destroys the next world. This was again an advice which must have won a number of admirers for Sheikh. It must have laid greater impact on poor people who could not afford all that was available to the rich. To quote him :

Nafsan Koudus Aet Aet
Nafsan Kaurus Pashayman
Nafsus Chu Mad Hous Hankal Chatti
Nufus yam Rout su wovt La Makan 56

(My Nafs defamed me and made me notorious and gave me nothing but mere ignomy. Nafs is like a mad and uncontrolled elephant, one who controls Nafs can reach infinity)
In fact, caste ridden Kashmiri society needed a guide and preacher to come out of the clutches of the inhuman treatment meted to lower castes. Sheikh Noorud-din proved to be a light in that darkness whose teachings not only destroyed the institutions of caste but outlined the negative aspects of not controlling *Nafs*. *Nafs* is also related to caste in some ways. Although *Nafs* can be anybody's cup of tea, but as we know Brahman society was exploiting the lower castes to a great extent and even barring them from some food stuffs, and enjoyments of life. This attitude caused disappointment among the lower castes. In order to outline the temporary taste of these things Sheikh said:

Alas! I have been destroyed by my *Nafs*,
It conceals itself in utter darkness.
Could I but catch hold of him!
I will slash his throat with a scimitar.
My *Nafs* is an elephant ran amuck,
It has played various tricks with me.
Out of a thousand one handly escapes from its pranks,
Otherwise, all have been crushed by its strength.
To be carried away by *Nafs* is like going a mote into the eyes
Due to which the eye can not see very clearly.
To be carried away by *Nafs* is like drifting away in pebbled stream,
Which can break the limbs of a person.
Your *Nafs* will prompt you for worldly riches,
It will ask you to procure all riches and pleasures.
Make you loose your piety and religiousness
Without making you feel that you have lost everything.
O *Nafs*! you are in jubilation like a young deer.
What will you do at the time of your death.  
You will be buried in the grave, your  
happiness is of no avail.  
For what purpose have you constructed  
palatial houses.  
You will be accountable for your actions  
(on the judgement day)  
With what a shameless face you will  
render account.  
O Nafs! where will you end up with your deeds?  
When I have already attempted to quench your thirst!  
My Nafs is laying an ambush like an enemy.  
And it always is aspiring for sensual pleasures.  
What Nafs did to me cannot be rendered in words,  
It always ran amuck after scents and perfumes.  

This great Sufi condemned anger, jealousy, intolerance and vindictiveness.  
He gives mercy and kindness the place of supremacy in the ethical system of the  
Quran. He also disliked tyranny and violence to follow human beings for one's  
own gain. The Sheikh says:  

One who does not neglect one's daily duties,  
Who longs to live by the sweat of one's brow,  
Who controls the bestial anger of one's mind,  
Who shows fortitude in provocation,  
May truly be called a Muslim.  

Nund Rishi has no love for the priestly class and those Mullahs who make it  
their profession to recite the Quran and get money in return. He considers them  
hypocrites. They, according to Sheikh, pursue knowledge for purely selfish reasons  
and pretend to be the learned but such people easily get mixed up with the devil.  
"They wear big turbans and long garments. They carry sticks in their hands, they  
go from place to place and sell their prayers, and fasts in return for food."  

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Sheikh says:

"Malah Duntum Mousha Khawan
Hakas Dapan Yeh Chu Kach
Bakar Khewan Dakar Trawan
Masheedan Dapan Yatech Chi Yech"

(I saw a Mullaha eating balallu
Calls Hak (a vegetable) unwanted grass
Eating Bakirkhani (a delicious Kashmiri bread)
Says there are devils in mosques.

At that time, the priestly class was exploiting the general masses in all fields of life. They were in reality keeping them away from religion. The Quran and Islamic literature were kept away from the masses. People were virtually working on the policy of 'do as directed' by the priestly class. In fact, they were responsible for spreading more and more superstitions, rituals and practices which had practically made Islam a difficult religion like that of Hinduism. Sheikh Nur-ud-din in fact tried to clean the system, so that people find this faith quite easy. This needed a tirade against the priestly class who had very strong roots of their 'religious monopoly' deep in the social set up. Thus said he:

Thy rosary is like a snake,
Thou bendest it on seeing the disciples,
Thou hast eaten six platefuls,
One after another,
If thou art a priest, then who are the robbers?"

Thus Nur-ud-din virtually started a movement against the exploiters of the society. This must have cleared many doubts in the minds of people about Islam as a religion. The local language used by Nur-ud-din acted as a catalyst in this situation.
The most important feature of the teachings of Nur-ud-din was describing a Muslim. In fact, his mission was not only to add the number of persons to the fold of Islam but he wanted them to be perfect Muslims, according to the Quran and the dictates of the prophet of Islam (pbuh). He describes a Muslim in following verses:

"One whose body emits fragrance and mind incense,
Who attends with reverence the wise discourses of the wakeful,
Full of pious deeds and free from anger,
May verily be called a Mussalman."

"One who does (not) shun his daily duties
Who has a genuine desire to earn his livelihood,
Who tames down the lion of his mind,
Who puts up with a harsh word or insult.
Who preaches what he practices,
May verily be called a Mussalman."

"That man will attain heaven
Who shares his meal with others.
One who fasts on holy days,
Who bows low in prayer, in all truthfulness,
Who gives up anger, greed, attachment,
Arrogance and egotism,
May verily be called a Mussalman."

The fact is that Nur-ud-din spread the true message of Islam in a society which was full of evils, problems and religious ignorance and rigidness. He did not use sword nor did he use any means which would have kept people in darkness about the basic duties, obligations and practices which Islam expects from a Muslim. His message in this regard was crystal clear:

"One who gives least importance to himself,
Does not vie with others in gaining worldly respect,
Ferries himself and others across the ocean,
May verily be called a true Muslim.
One who has a genuine desire to learn from others,
And achieves piety and righteousness for himself,
Keeps the company of good and abandons wicked,
May verily be called a true Muslim.
One who eats less and controls his carnal desires,
And realizes, completely that his body is mortal,
Who prays in solitude and searches for the absolute,
May verily called a true Muslim.  

The Sheikh also addressed himself to the non-Muslims of this place to embrace Islam. He used his simple method of conversion and discussions with the Brahmans, where he argued with them on concrete grounds. For common non-Muslims, he did not leave his poetry. In fact, through his poems and poetry, he made inroads into this highly conservative society. It was basically the magic of his words and actions that he attracted many non-Muslims towards Islam. His language was simple and friendly. He addressed to Hindus (Kashmiri Pandits) and said:

"O Pandit, the brother: O Pandit:
How long will you remain wedded to the worship of stones and springs?
Your thoughtless search did not bear any fruit,
Submit yourself to the Lord and his messenger;
Aren't you solicitous of (spiritual and worldly) success?"

4.3.11 The Great Association - Lalla Ded and Sheikh Nur-ud-din

The association of Lal Ded and Nur-ud-din developed from the birth of Sheikh itself. He was under the spiritual influence of this great yogni from his childhood. Sayyed Hussain Simnani, a great Sufi of that time, commanded Lalla Ded to take the spiritual charge of Nur-ud-din. Lalla's personality and faith have remained a sort of hidden secret. Muslim historians present her as a contemporary of Sayyid Hussain Simnani and Sayyid Ali Hamandi. Because of the strong bond of her relationship and association with these two Sufis and later with Nur-ud-din,
she is not only remembered as a Muslim but even as a great apostle of Islam by Kashmiri Muslims. In fact, Muslims call her Lalla Arifa. The debate about her faith continues. While scholars like Rafiqui feel that "There is in fact no trace of Islamic influence on Lalla's teachings" some others call her a Muslim. However, there is no doubt that there was greater influence of Islam on her life and teachings. She fought a war against the unrealistic and abuses of the caste ridden social order of Hinduism. "Lalla's verses against Brahmanic supremacy in particular uttered under conditions ripe for resistance as well as for emulative movement seem to have been taken as her 'conversion' to Islam by the Hindu masses who were undergoing a process of Islamic acculturation" that Sheikh Nur-ud-din was influenced by Lalla's personality is quite clear from his sayings in which he declares Lalla a great soul.

"That lalla of Padmanpur
who had drunk nectar
Is the Avatar and yogini
Oh! God bestow the same
(spiritual power) on me."

Whether she was a Hindu or a Muslim, her tirade against the idolworship and ritualistic practices of the Brahmans must have helped a lot of non-Muslims to convert to the fold of Islam. The worship of idols, for example, was vehemently criticised by her

"The idol is but stone,
the temple is but stone,
from top to bottom all is stone."

Lalla criticised the hypocrisy of the Brahmans by saying.

"The thoughtless read the holy books
As parrots, in their cage, recite Ram, Ram;
Their reading is like churning water,
Fruitless effort, ridiculous conceit."
Self-denial and purity of life are the keynote of her sayings. She gave a unique orientation to the evolution of a new cultural pattern in Kashmir. The impact of her revolt against social and religious discrimination was tremendous. That her attitude and concern for the oppressed and exploited helped in peaceful conversion of Hindus to Islam is beyond any doubt. As P. N. Bazaz writes:

"The peaceful and rapid conversion of the large masses of the people in Kashmir to Islam, which has been the source of wonder and astonishment for many students of history and religion, was facilitated and made possible by the spread of the cult of religious humanism taught by Lal Ded and Nund Rishi and their followers."

As we have already said that the influence of Lalla on Nur-ud-din was tremendous, but it did not make him a Hindu saint in the guise of a Muslim Rishi because he believed in the fundamental principals of Islam. However, their personalities are so mixed up that it is impossible to separate them. The similarity of their sayings and teachings would suggest that this was more than mere association and that Lalla was in fact an initial and important source of inspiration for Nund Rishi. Referring to the future Lalla has said:
"In these evil times doth nature bow them that walk in wrongful ways;
   Autumn pears and apples ripen now with the apricots of summer days;
   In the coming days of shame and wrath,
   Mother and her daughter hand in hand,
   strangers to accost, shall wonder for
   men and women in an evil band." 72

Nund-Rishi with perspicacity said with vehmence and authority:
   "The times will become more and more evil;
   Human nature itself will change for the worse;
   Pears and apples whose ripening time is late autumn
   Will change and ripen with apricots in the height of the raining season;
   mother and daughter hand in hand;
   Will enjoy their days with strangers." 73

Similarly Lalla while pleading for spiritual as against formal worship said:
   "Who are they that wreaths of flowers bring?
   What are the flowers that at the feet they lay?
   Water that they on the image fling?
   What the spell that Shankar's self shall take away."

The reponse of Sheikh Nun-ud-din is almost similar:
   "By bowing down thou shalt not become a Rishi,
   The pounder in the rice-mill did never lift its head.
   By bathing the mind will not be cleaned.
   The fish and other creatures of water never ascend the bank." 75

The immediate impact of the assocatiion of these two great personalities was that the socially oppressed people used these teachings practically in their day-to-day life. This attracted people to Islam as these were close to the Islamic code of life and rituals and practices. Their teachings depicted that Islam was a simple religion and it was not only concerned about the prayers but was a complete way of life touching every aspect of society, its social development and human
development. Thus these two people were able to carve out a separate regional culture where the Kashmiri language, local tradition, local customs, local practices dominated the social scenario. They thus strengthened the Kashmir’s unique and separate identity.

4.3.12 Kashmirised Islam

There is absolutely no doubt that Islam is practised in Kashmir in accordance with its basic tenants and principles. It as a religion is being observed as per Quranic instructions and dictates. However, there is a strong impact of local tradition and old culture and practices on Islam. Some of the practices and rituals practised are even considered un-Islamic by some quarters both inside and outside Kashmir. Muslims in Kashmir have a strong faith in Pir and Asthans (places of religious importance) and there is a strong impact of other religions and cultures on rituals and practices of Islam. As we have already said that the Sufis and Rishis who worked here for the propagation of Islam did not try to disturb the existing social and cultural set up of the valley. In fact, they preached Islam through the existing practices, so that the people faced no difficulty in understanding and practising the new faith. Our preceding discussion has shown that Hinduism was full of ritual and practices, and being an old religion, it was not possible for people to get away soon from their age old procedure and actions. Therefore, a need for a strategy emerged, which would help to spread the new faith without disturbing the old customs. The Rishis and Sufis allowed the new converts to continue with some of the practices in an Islamic way. In fact, Muslims after conversion even continued to visit some of the temples. During the time of Syed Ali Hamdani, people who used to visit mosques also visited nearby temples to offer their respects. A Kashmiri by heart is also highly superstitious. He takes every care to satisfy a number of Pir, visits Asthans, although Islam’s teachings are clear and there is no way for superstitions. Then why all this? Sir Walter Lawrence puts forth his point in this regard:

"In their hearts they are Hindus, and the religion of Islam is too abstract to satisfy their superstitious cravings and they turn from the mean priest"
Kashmiris are therefore rightly called Pir Parast (Believers in Pirs) and Asthan Parast (Believer in Asthans). The worshiping of Asthans and the beliefs in Pirs depicts the folk religious tradition of the Kashmiris. The worshiping of Pirs and Asthans was basically a tool of exploitation used by a particular class to continue exploitation of masses on the line and pattern of the Brahmans. "Notwithstanding the popular movement against the Brahmans for turning temples and Idols into agencies of exploitation in the name of faith, the Kashmiris did not totally reject their ancestral belief in the efficacy of temples and Shrines (Asthans). This is the reason why in the newly constructed mosques and Shrines (Ziyarats or asthans) certain features of the Hindu and the Budhist monastic life were retained to a marked degree. Even now one notices bells fastened to the gates of some Ziyarats in the valley belonging to the medieval period." Lawrence for example goes one step further when he says that:

"When one sees the Musalman Shrine with its shady chinars and lofty poplars and elms a little search will discover some old Hindu Asthan. It was only natural that the Musalmans, when they were converted to Islam, should cling with tenderness to the old religious places, and should adopt sacred spots already familiar to the countryside.".

Similarly, in most of the Asthans some relics and things used by the saints of the past have been kept and are exhibited to the people on some important occasions. Such things called Tabrukaat are virtually worshipped by the people and the devotion that people show on seeing these objects is worth seeing. The preservation of the relics of the Sufis, particularly those of the Rishis, in their tombs and their public exhibition on special occasions speak of the assimilation of the local Hindu-Buddhist practices in the Islam of Kashmir. It is also not be wondered at, therefore, that a mere sight of the relics at congregations specially on the eve of Urs causes the devotees to recite munajat in chorus. A special characteristic of the Kashmiri Muslim social behaviour at such gatherings is the
focus on the object of veneration with folded hands, which undoubtedly suggests local influence on their mode of prayer. " From the architectural point of view too, the medieval Zivarts are representative of a curious blending of Hindu, Budhist and Islamic art styles."\*\*

The importance of Asthans in the valley is such that they have been virtually converted into political centres. We have already said about the Shrine of Hazratbal in Srinagar which houses a hair of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The association of general masses with this Shrine is such that almost all the political parties and the people at the helm of the affairs are trying their level best to use this platform for their political and other social propogation. During the period of militancy, different forces used this platform to propogate their message. The same is the case with the Shrine of Sheikh Nur-ud-din$^{\text{R^A}}$ which was finally razed to the ground after confrontation touched its peak between the militants and the security forces.

In fact, the religious tolerance of Kashmiris is also attributed to their old faith: There have hardly been cases of communal violence in Kashmir and people of different religions have even resisted the provocation of different groups and parties at times. It was only at the outset of the militancy in the early nineties when the movement assumed a religious hue that Kashmiri Pandits left the Valley. However, even in the worst kind of violence and provocation, some Kashmiri Pandits continue to live here with their Muslim neighbours. The relations between Hindus and Muslims can also be attributed to the fact that these two communities are dependent on one another for various things. While Hindus are highly educated, a lot of Muslims especially in villages looked after the agricultural activities of Hindus. Apart from agriculture, various occupational services like hair dressing, washing, removing and skinning dead animals, winnowing, slaughtering of animals etc are also done by Muslims. Thus a relation of symbiotic nature which has been existing for centuries has undoubtedly helped in maintaining communal harmony in difficult situations in the Valley. The credit for this even goes to some of the past rulers who were highly secular in their thinking. The example of king Zain-ul-Abdin can be mentioned here for he ruled Kashmir for about half a century and
devoted himself to the development and peaceful measures in all fields of life. It was during his time that even temples were repaired on government expenses and the Hindus who had left the Valley for one or the other reason returned. As P. N. Bazaz writes about this great king. "He Zain-ul-Abidin was essentially a Kashmiri who built a progressive and secular state on the foundations of the composite Kashmiri culture which had been evolved through thousands of years till his own days." At the same time, Srivara, who was the court historian at that time, wrote that on the death of Zain-ul-Abidin no one cooked his food on the day, no smoke arose from the house, all were dumb with grief.

4.3.13 Jammat-e-Islami vis-a-vis Islam in Kashmir.

The Jammat-E-Islami was founded in 1938 by Syed Abul Ala Mawdudi. He was a prolific writer and speaker of excellence who migrated to Pakistan in 1947. Thus there emerged two separate Jammat-e-Islamis, one in India and other in Pakistan. However, the Jammat-e-Islami in Jammu and Kashmir is different from both Indian and Pakistan Jammat. It has a separate constitution which is different from the other two. The world view of Jammat-i-Islami is based on the concept of *Tawhid*. There is no God but Allah. This philosophy not merely proclaims the unity of Allah as the creator of universe or even as the sole object of worship but also proclaims the uniqueness of Allah as the master, sovereign lord and lawmaker. Accordingly, a Kashmiri jammati’s prayer is never a mere individual ritual but has broader socio-political connotations in the sense that one has to surrender his whims and wishes to the rule of Allah.

The Jamat-e-Islami of Kashmir considers Islam a way of life which covers all the socio-economic, political aspects of human life. Its ideology is that the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) provide a complete code of conduct for the political set up of a place.

The Jamat-e-Islami of Jammu and Kashmir was founded in 1942 at Shopian, a town in north Kashmir. The Jammat, according to its view, is a ‘principled movement whose chief purpose is to pave the way for the unity of man. This movement is not for the Muslims alone but also for the entire humanity. Evidently
this noble aim can only be achieved through tolerance and good will and humanity. There is no gain saying that for the achievement of this sublime goal, peaceful and democratic atmosphere is an essential condition and that is the way its achievement, fortitude and persuasion can be justified and not through compulsion and coercion. The Jammat is endeavouring for the welfare not only of the Muslims but of all human beings in this world and in hereafter. It is a solid organisation whose structure is based on real and universally accepted democratic principles. 

The Jammat in Jammu and Kashmir established schools, Maktabas and Darasgahas where both religious and worldly education on social work and participation in political activities of the state was imparted. The work done by the Jammat on educational front and the propagation of Islam among Muslims is of great importance. However, the armed struggle of the last ten years damaged the previous record of the Jammat to a great extent. "If one intends to make a broader analysis of the religious conditions before the emergence of the Jamat-e-Islami in the state, one finds that the Kashmiri Muslims were largely ignorant about the strict monotheistic concept of Islam. This was true, no doubt, in the first place because of the lack of any advanced religious education in the state but at the same time one feels hesitant to hide the fact that the Ulama and religious class of the society in Kashmir were apathetic and indifferent to preaching the said monotheistic concepts to the people from the pulpits of mosques.

The Jammat it is believed brought the Quran and other Islamic literature to the doorsteps of every Muslim in the state. With complete and workable network they were able to spread the message of Islam in a better way. A cadre based organisation with a dedicated work force the Jammat influenced the religious scenario of this place. Because of the Jamaat-e-Islam's operation at social, educational and cultural levels and the growing number of its workers, it had always more strength beneath the surface then above it, and its electoral performances of the past are no indication of its real hold on the people. It contested three elections, first in 1972, then in 1977, and then again in 1983. Subsequently in 1987, it fought elections as a constituent of the Muslim United Front. In 1972, it secured five seats and 7.18% of the votes polled. In 1977, it secured only one seat and 3.59% of the votes polled. In 1983, it did not get any
seat but the percentage of its votes increased to 3.88."

On the religious front the Jammat started facing problems from the beginning itself. "The Jamaat-e-Islami is identified in the valley as Bad Aeqiueed (Non-believers of Sufis), Asthan Dushman (Antagonists of Shrines), Awliya Dushman (Foes of Saints)."

Although the Jammat claims that it is not against any Sufi or Asthan but is trying to cleanse the Muslim society from some of the deep rooted evils, its opponents have used this opportunity to malign them on all fronts. However, their 'anti-Asthan' movement did keep a good number of Kashmiri Muslims away from this organisation. Jammat people feel that it was opposed by selfish Mullas to whom religion was a means of livelihood. As the Jammat was able to educate common masses about Islam, the Mulla's position was threatened. On the political front also, it was opposed because of its growing influence among youth and educated class. However, its support and participation in the militant movement during the last ten years "destroyed us and our image as we could not control those who were working under our command. We could not restrain them from doing wrong things. Infact, some of our own senior workers were carried away with the wind. An unfortunate development for which we need three more decades to cover up the damage done," said a senior Jammat activist to this researcher.
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<td>Sati is a custom among Hindus which demands that a wife burn herself alive if</td>
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<td>her husband dies. This practice was common among Hindus for a very long time</td>
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<td>unethical, activity. There were even some social movements launched by</td>
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are reported from some parts of India.


20. Walter R. Lawrence (1967 R.P) *The Valley of Kashmir* (Srinagar: Kesar), Pg 189


23. Rinchanna’s conversion to Islam was a historical development for the reason that he was a ruler and could influence the masses. However, Rinchanna’s conversion to Islam has other stories to tell. Some Persians chronicles according to historian, Mohibbul Hassan states that when Rinchanna was unable to know the truth from various discussions he had with learned people, he made up his mind to adopt the religion of the person whom he would see first in the morning. The first person he saw from his palace early next morning was Bulbul Shah who was engaged in prayers. He went to him and embraced Islam. Another less credible account about his conversion is that he embraced Islam because missionary work of Muslims was at its peak and people were embracing this new faith. Thus he thought that it was in his interest to embrace Islam.

24. Muslim Sultanate’ in Kashmir started with the rule of Shah Mir in 1352 A.D.


27. M.A. Stein in the Introduction of the translation of Kalhans Rajtargni.

28. *Sufi* - *Sufi* is a word derived from *Sofa* which means purity or *Sophia* (wisdom). Sufism is based on the aspirations of a person's direct approach and to a more intense experience of the supreme being and religious truth. There is another school of thought which believes that *Sufi* word has been derived from *Sufi* (wool) and was applied to those Muslim holy men who wore woolen garments and devoted themselves to a life of self-renunciation, poverty and giving their time to prayer and meditation. The *Sufis* are not a sect, they have no dogmatic system, the *tariqas* or path by which they seek God. The basis of Sufism may be sought in the aspiration of a personal direct approach to and a more intense experience of the supreme being and the religious truth. A strong religious emotion could not be satisfied by any formal approach to the ultimate reality. Secondly, Sufism represents a reaction against overintellectualism, formalism and hair-splitting theology. People who yearned for a direct and natural approach towards Islam turned mainly to its spiritual and devotional aspects.

29. *Rishi* - *Rishi* means a saint or an ascetic. Kashmir history however visualises *Rishism* as a movement of indigenous mystics within the fold of Islam. Kashmir seems to have been the abode of *Rishis* long before the advent of Islam. A strong folk tradition still persists, particularly in a number of villages of Kashmir about the existence of *Rishis* in very ancient times and that some forests in the Valley are even named after them. However, before the coming of Islam to Kashmir, the *Rishis* were not socially active. Since they led a secluded life either in caves or on the tops of mountains, it was only after Nund Rishi (Nur-ud-din of Charar) that the social significance of the Rishi tradition came to be established for the first time in Kashmir's history. Under his influence, Rishis emerged as a vital social force so much so that they were found worthy of description by even outside observers of Kashmiri social reality.

30. M.L.Kapoor, op.cit. page 170. (Among the well known sufi orders, the
first to be introduced in Kashmir in the early fourteenth century was the Suhrawardiya order. It was originally founded by Sheikh Ziya - ud - din Abul Suliarwardi. It was however his nephew and successor Sheikh Shihabu - ud - din Abu Hafs 'Umar Bin Abdullahah (1144-1234 A.D) who made the order popular.


32. Ibid 
33. Ibid 
34. Ibid 


37. Mustaq A. Lone, op.cit page. 51

38. *Aurd-i-Fathiya* is a composition of Quranic verse composed by Syed Ali Hamadani *Aurad* is recited with folded hands in a state of spiritual ecstacy.

39. A.Q.Rafiqui, op.cit, p. 75.


42. Muhibul-Hassan, op.cit page 62.

43. M.L.Kapoor, op.cit, page 176


46. Ibid 
47. M.Ishaq Khan op.cit page 36.

48. Ulam means learned men of Islam 
49. M.Ishaq Khan op.cit, page 47
50. A.H. Tak, op.cit. page 54
    (Srinagar JK Academy) P 154-155
52. Eeeman means to have faith in oneness of Almighty Allah and his last
    messanger, the Prophet of Islam (PBUH).
53. Taken from "Guldasta Kalam-E-Sheikh-ul-Alam" by Qari Saif-ud-din"
    translated by A.H.Tak in Sheikh Nooruddin NooraniRA and his poetry.
54. A.H.Tak, op.cit page 54
55. Nuifs-Inner cravings
56. Taken from Guldasts Kalam-e-Sheikh-Alam by Qari Saif-ud-din.
    translation by A.H.Tak.
57. A.H.Tak , op.cit page 65.
59. Ajit Bhattacharjia, op.cit, 32
60. B.N.Parimoo, op.cit page 162
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66. A.Q. Rasifqi op.cit page 145.
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    (New Delhi : Pamposh) P. 91-92
72. Richard Carnac Temple (1924) The world of Lalla the
    Prophetess.
    (Cambridge : London) P. 18
73. See A life of Nund Rishi by Anand Koul (page 29)
74. R C Temple, op.cit, page 188.
75. Anand Koul op.cit, page 29.
76. *Pirs* - Normally it means a saint.
77. *Asthans* - *Asthan* is a place where an important *Pir* a religious person is buried. In Kashmir, building is then made there which houses the grave of the person. People visit this place to offer their respects.
78. Walter R. Lawrence op.cit, page 286.
80. Walter R. Lawrence, op.cit, page 286.
81. M. Ishaq Khan op.cit, page 82.
82. Bazaz, op.cit, p. 61
83. Bhattarjee op.cit, p.39
85. Ibid
86. Jamat-e-Islami J&K at a glance a pamphlet issued by Jammat-E-Islami page 2
87. Bisati op.cit, page, 14
89. Bisati op.cit, page 38.
The surest key to understand a people is to understand its culture. Culture may mean many things to many people and it may not be possible to define it thoroughly and completely in a few words. But a study of a people's language, its idiom, its folk-lore, its classics, music, architecture and above all a study of its attitude to life, its faith, beliefs, superstitions - may give us an insight into the culture of a people. Kashmir which is known the world over for its natural beauty, is equally famous for its rich culture.

(S. M. Afzal Qadri: Cultural Heritage of Kashmir)

CHAPTER IV (Part IV)

Social & Cultural Dimension
4.4 Social and Cultural dimension

Socio-cultural aspects of a society have direct bearing on its members. Family, marriage, customs, dress and food habits are generally the medium through which these aspects reveal themselves. Sociologically, the term culture differs sharply from the ordinary and literary usage of the term. In conventional usage, the word 'culture' is employed to designate only those particular traits and behavioural patterns that are regarded as refinements such as music, poetry, art etc. The adjective cultured stands close to the cultivated or refined. The sociological use of the term culture does not of course exclude music, painting etc. but it also includes sports like football, beliefs, superstitions, and even crimes. This shows that it includes all activities that are characteristic of a given group of people. In sociological usage culture refers to the totality of what is learned by individuals as members of society. It is a way of life, a mode of thinking, acting and feeling. Thus the social and cultural dimension of Kashmiri identity can be explained by discussing different parameters and constituents of Kashmiri society and culture.

4.4.1. Dress Pattern

The weather condition of Kashmir changes its colours many a time during the year. It ends and starts with severe cold, becomes moderate during spring and then hot in summer. Before winter the autumn comes again with a semi-cold semi-hot atmosphere. It is the seasonal change which actually governs the dress pattern of people here. It is said here that a major portion of one’s income in Kashmir is spent on clothing. Moreover, different communities are marked by slight changes in their respective dresses.

If we go back to the traditional Kashmiri society we find that the dress was very simple then. "Their clothing is simple, that of the poor people is entirely woollen. They wear short *pajamas* and a long loose sleeved gown and a skullcap. Those who have active work like the *shikaris* or professional sportsmen, hitch the gown up and fasten it round the waist with a *Kamarband*". It is also called *houl*. 
In the past there was a minor difference between the dress of rural and urban people, but at the same time the difference was marked between Kashmiri Muslims and Kashmiri Pandits. However, generally dress worn by different classes or communities was the same, with the exceptions in the make-up (form) of the dress.

### 4.4.1.1 Dress Pattern of Men

The men of villages used to wear a long gown called *Pheran*. This is a heavy garment and full of buttons on the neck and falls to the feet. Weight is given to the bottom of the gown by a deep hem. Men in rural areas used to wear drawers underneath the *Pheran*. The winter garments were made of wool while those of summer of cotton. "The ordinary head dress of Kashmiri cultivator when he is at work is a cotton skullcap but on some occasions he dons a white pagri." In city the dress of men was the same, *pheran* with the trousers worn underneath. The headgear was skullcap as well as furcap. *Pagri* as usual was used by men.

There was minor difference of dress among the Muslims and the Hindus. The *Pheran* of Hindus used to be more in length with long sleeves which were normally twice as long as a man's arm. "I have not yet discovered the reason for this length, but they do make use of it when drinking hot tea out of their brass cups, or when taking pots off a fire, as we use a battle holder, or when they are obliged to hold any thing unclean such as; leather, they also use it as a weapon when they are angry they flourish this long sleeve about and beat their adversary with it, and a very amusing performance it always is.".

The *Pheran* is most suitable for using a *Kangri*. "It forms a most excellent tent, in fact a primitive turkish bath." The use of *Pheran* has not been discarded by people here but it continues to remain as an identification mark of Kashmiri society. As remarked above, *Pagri* was part of the dress of men of all communities. However its pattern for wearing was different among different communities and classes. While Brahman (Kashmir Pandits) turban used to be tight like a head bandage, the turban of Muslims used to be somewhat loose with forehead quite
open. "There are some who put the ends of their *pagris* sticking upwards at the back of their heads like a cockade, whilst others like to have a long tail down their backs." Likewise the shoes worn by men were either of rough untainted hide, or of plaited grass and string. The shoes made of grass and strings called *pulhour* were in use till recently in some areas. For long journeys leggings of a peculiar sort, a bandage about six inches wide and four yards long wound around from the ankle up to just below the knee and then fastened by an equally long string, attached to the upper end, which is lightly wound many times round the calf of the leg was used. It is called *Patawe*.

**4.4.1.2 Change of Dress among men**

There have been major changes and new additions and alterations to the dress of Kashmiri people. The changes depict the attitudinal changes and impact of other cultures and societies. The weather conditions of the valley are such that people have been forced to continue with some of the traditional costumes like *Pheran*. Woollen and warm clothes thus continue to dominate the dress of Kashmiri people in one or the other form. English suits, pants, jackets, woollen sweaters, leather made jackets, overcoats, *pathan suits*, *Kurta Pajama* are in use among men. In fact, all types of modern dresses are made use of by the people here. The footwear used starts from local leather made, plastic, and the products of big footwear houses. Using new products is very common among men.

**4.4.1.3 Dress of Women**

The dress of women in olden times of Kashmir is not really known. However, records indicate that the pattern of dress of the Muslim and the Hindu women was almost the same and the only difference which existed was in its form and look. Muslim women would wear a long loose *pheran*. It is said that *Pajama* was not used by most of women may be because of poverty. Heads were covered with a small cap usually surrounded with a fillet of red cloth and the richer females had in addition a *chuddar* or shawl thrown over their heads and shoulders which in most eastern countries is employed to conceal the features from the gaze of strangers but rarely so in Kashmir.
The Muslim women covered their head with a thick turban type cap called Kasab. The Kasab is a thick cap studded with pins. Over this a square of country cloth acts as a veil and covers the back. Kasab was mostly used after marriage while before marriage the usual headdress of little girls was skull cap. The headgear used by pandit women is called Taranga. Taranga, a white round turban was skilfully set on head. It was mostly used by old women. The women also wear a white rolled cloth tied loosely round the waist. They generally remained confined to their family household, thus for them parada became essential. However, rural women had no option but to work in the fields with their men. Their interaction with men folk and the nature of work was such that parada could not be used. At the same time some of these women however used parada when they had to leave their homes. The women belonging to the Syed families strictly used Parda. However, in villages as the women worked with men in fields the parda was absent. For the purpose of Pardah Burka was used. Burka used was mostly black or white coloured. Arabi Burka which was mostly used by old women was a long gown type garment which could cover the whole body. The other type of Burka was made of two different garments, one covered the body and the other covered the head and the face. This type is in use even today.

4.4.1.4 Change of dress among women

As in the case of men there have occurred major changes in the dress pattern of women. Parda had been prescribed for women in Islam and in Kashmir although parada has remained associated with women from very beginning, however it was only a class which used the parada. Women from Syed families of Kashmir would remain in parada both in and out of the family. Most of the Syed families stopped to put on parada after acquiring modern education and even due to the impact of other cultures. Parda has at the same time taken different dimensions and shapes. While Burqa is still used for Parda, some other forms have also been adopted. The Iranian Abaya which covers the body and head but keeps the face exposed is also in use. Most of the women use Kurta - Pajama during summers and cover their head with a dupatta. Some young girls also use Scoraf (Iranian head gear) with the usual Kurta-Pajama. Women in the country side wear Kurta - Pajama
and even a light Pheran during summers. The head is covered with Daej or Pooch during the last decade or so girls have started using jackets, woollen sweaters and even pants (mostly in urban places). The impact of electronic media, print media, cinema and videos on dress pattern of ladies is too pronounced. Urban people especially women and children use latest fashion patterns. However, the element of Kashmiri culture viz-a-viz Islamic culture still continues. Similarly, the pattern of Pheran is fast changing, getting new shape and even becoming popular outside the valley.

4.4.2 House

The construction of houses in Kashmir was not a big deal in earlier times. However, now-a-days it is said that what-ever a Kashmiri earns during his lifetime is spent on construction of house and marriage of his children. Most of the houses were made of sundried bricks and mud. “The houses are made of sundried bricks set in wooden frames of timbers of Cedar, pine and fir.” In village houses were mostly of one, two or three stories with a broad front verandah to the upper story. The lower storey was used as cattle shed. This would help to keep the house warm. The rooms had less windows. “Inner rooms chiefly used in winter are dark and almost unventilated”. The houses were usually lighted by small windows and Panjaras formed of wood instead of glass. Tyndale Bisco could not find the use of glass in windows here except in an old house of a governor. The roofs of the houses were pointed or flat. For pointed roofs dry grass, or wooden planks were used. “Over the roof rafters are placed planks, and upon the planks are spread sheets of birch bark which is most durable and above the birch bark is spread mud three to six inches thick to keep the bark in its place”. This type of roof was called Kotha. It was used as drying place of rice, fruits, etc. sitting and even growing grass and vegetables.

In the city of Srinagar which was the main urban centre some houses were made of virtually half burnt bricks, wood etc. However, the conjunction of houses was such that a small fire could prove to be disastrous. A good proportion of people of the city were also living in house boats.
These days the construction of houses has gone through major changes. The style has changed and new design is employed. In villages people build houses of Kiln bricks with pointed rooftops made of tin sheets. Houses built are huge with about eight or more rooms. Kitchens are either part of the house or are made separately but connected with the main house. Cattle sheds are now constructed at a distance from the main house. There is also separate grain store called Kuth. In some remote villages un-burnt bricks and mud are still used for constructing houses. In urban Kashmir especially Srinagar houses are constructed on modern lines with attached bathrooms, arrangements for heating in winter and other related things. However the size of houses as a rule is big with a number of rooms and hall. Every family wants to have a separate house.

4.4.3 Food Habits

Recorded history shows that rice has all along remained a favourite food for Kashmiris. However, wheat, barely, maize and several other grains were also used. Among vegetables cabbage, turnip, raddish, spinach and cucumber have been in use. In fact there has been no major changes in food habits and food stuff of Kashmir. Hakha Bata\(^7\) is virtually what every Kashmiri talks about and it has become a sort of national food.

At the same time dried vegetables and fruit are an important food item. In summer when the fresh vegetables and fruits are available in abundance the surplus is dried to be used in the winter. Apart from these things meat, fish, chicken, and some water plants are also in use. Some of the food items which have become some sort of identification marks of Kashmiris can be discussed in detail.

4.4.3.1 Wazwan

Wazwan is a number of recipes cooked by a Waza (cook). Most of the preparations are that of meat. Noteworthy are Kabab, Rista, Gushtaba, Shami Kabab, Rogan Joshs, etc.\(^8\) Wazwan, as it is known involves an elaborate making process. Although all these preparations are now-a-days available in hotels. For a special Wazwan the makers spend hours together preparing dishes on fire wood.
The cooking done on gas stoves, kerosene stoves and electric heaters is not considered the ‘real Wazwan’, rather there is a feeling that such preparations are not very tasty.

4.4.3.2 **Hareesa**

*Hareesa* is again a preparation of meat. Meat (bones-less) is mixed with different spices and a small amount of rice. It is then kept in a container with heat given through burning wood. The meat is stirred throughout until a paste of it is formed. It is then served hot by adding hot mustard oil to it.

4.4.3.3 **Noon Chaai**

The weather conditions here are such that people are compelled to take more tea. *Noon Chaai* (Salt Tea) is also called *Sheer Chaai*. It is a green variety of Assam tea boiled with a pinch of baking powder for several minutes. It yields a black-red concentrate which when boiled with plenty of water and milk forms a peach flower coloured beverage. This tea is mainly served in *Samavar* which is kept sizzling by live coal in its inner container. Along with *Noon Chaai*, Kashmiri *Kahwa* is also a part of Kashmiri cultural identity. *Kahwa* is mixture of water, sugar, tea-leaves boiled together. Some times *Kung* (Saffron or Zalzron), almond and other dry fruits are also added to it.

This is not out of place to mention here that although modern bakery has become very popular here but the Kashmiri *Bakirkhani, Shirmal* and *Kulcha* are not less popular and tasty. Almost every Kashmiri family consumes the local bread like *Lavasa, Girda* and *Chuchwur* daily. *Sout* is also in use mostly in villages. Spices are used in large quantity in the preparation of different food stuffs.

Talking about food habits, the common rule here is that food/tea is taken while sitting on floor. The practice continues partly because of weather conditions. However the dining tables have also come into use among some rich families. Use of *Tast Nari* and *Dasterkhani* is again an important symbol of the Kashmiri utensils.
Kashmiris speak *Kashur* (Kashmiri). This is the mother tongue of majority of the people living in the valley of Kashmir. Apart from this it is also spoken by some people living in the Pakistani Kashmir and parts of the Jammu region of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiri is a unique language in the Indian context. The languages of the Kashmiris like their dress are peculiar and are distinct from that spoken in any part of India or in the adjacent countries.

The origin and evolution of the Kashmiri language can be traced to Sanskrit, Dardic, Pishachi, Shina and other languages. The researches of Sir George Grierson show that the Kashmiri language belongs to the Dardic group and not to Sanskrit. He tries to shrug off the predominance of Indo-Aryan vocabulary in Kashmiri by attributing it to a powerful influence of Indian culture and literature for over two thousand years. Grierson also argues that vocabulary alone cannot be the determining factor of the classification of a language. However without any doubt Sanskrit has considerably influenced the present Kashmiri language. It is also believed by some researchers that Kashmiri belongs to the Iranian group or to be more precise, Indo-Iranian group, hence affinity can hardly be denied in the case of Pashto and Kashmiri.

At the same time, there are still some “peculiarities of the Naga tonge”. The presence of some Urdu, Arabic and Persian words in Kashmiri open another debate about its origin. In fact Kashmiris use three scripts for writing their languages; the sharda, the Nagri and the Persian (Urdu Script). The most common script in use is that of Persian (Urdu). It can therefore be said that Kashmiri as a language is an amalgam of different languages and dialects. It has absorbed words from all these languages. Quoting some learned Kashmiris, Sir Walter Lawrence says that “Kashur vocabulary is a polyglot, and that out of every hundred words 25 will be Sanskrit, 40 Persian, 15 Hindustani and 10 Arabic. The remaining 10 will be Tibetan, Turki, Dogri and Punjabi”. This also shows the extent Kashmiris can accept external influence. It is believed that they welcomed who-so-ever came here and borrowed from them whatever they found to be fruitful. Kashmiri
as a language has its own existence. It is unlike any other spoken language. "Philologists have found it one of great interest, for its elaborate inflexions, vocabulary and grammar". Although Kashmiri is difficult to pronounce and difficult to acquire, it is generally incomprehensible to strangers. The Kashmiris on the other hand are good linguists and know other languages also.

Kashmiri has given rise to a number of dialects in its neighbouring areas like Doda, Kishtiwar, Baderwah, Poonch, etc. Apart from this, inside the valley of Kashmir it is said that after every fifteen kilometres the way of speaking and pronouncing of the language changes. Not only in terms of areas but there is also definite difference of way of speaking between different religious groups like Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, etc.

4.4.5 Character

Character is one of the greatest distinguishing features of a nation. In its noblest embodiments it exemplifies human race in its highest forms for it exhibits man at his best. Character personifies a sort of trade mark for a person and a person and society is known by the character they possess. Kashmiris have been described by many historians and travellers as people possessing negative character. In fact to call a man 'Kashmiri' was termed as abuse. However a close study of this unique society throws open two sides of the character of the society as a whole. In character the Kashmiris have many failings and faults but they also have qualities which make one to be interested in and to like them. They are false tongued, ready with a lie and given to various forms of deceit.

4.4.5.1 Courage

Some researchers have described Kashmiri a coward although he has shown in the past as to how to defend his own country. He has also shown his worth as a courageous person. However, a sort of generalization had been made about him till in the recent past when a well managed armed struggle was launched in Jammu and Kashmir against the state. The armed struggle which continues even to-day may have brought problems for Kashmiris but it depicted a different face
of a Kashmiri. Quite a good number took to arms while others faced the hardships and tyranny of different forces with courage. In fact historical evidences clearly indicate that Kashmiri fought like courageous soldiers against foreign forces, when they invaded this valley. Some English travellers who wrote about Kashmir have not taken these facts into consideration and have done injustice to the people of this beautiful valley by generalizing some incidents of cowardliness of some people and thus virtually defaming the image of Kashmiris.

"They are noisy and quarrelsome, ready to wrangle but not to fight, on the least exercise or threat they cry like children. They have, indeed, a wide reputation for fainting easily. Still I must admit that I have sometimes met with Kashmiris who against physical dangers bore themselves well". Lyndle Bisco argues that Kashmiri is a coward with no self respect. "His cowardice is extraordinary, under the slightest fear the poor stay at home. Kashmiri would tremble and quake, weep and howl. It was remarked in Punjab that a Kashmiri would not dare to use a gun". Infact some other writers have taken the soft hearted Kashmiri and his aversion towards crimes as his cowardness, which is not a fact. One reason for armed struggle here according to the people is the after fall of such remarks and comments which developed slowly and slowly in a Kashmiri mind that he came out and fought with different forces and at times even sacrificing his life. Sir Walter Lawrence reports that crime was almost unknown in the villages. In the city also the reports about crimes were on a very low note. "When Kashmiris quarrel they call one another by bad names and will occasionally go as far as to knock off a turban or seize an adversary by his effeminate gown. The sight of blood is abhorrent to them."

Shyness, kindness, soft heart, weakness and other related traits are undoubtedly there but they are outcome of different reasons. They are outcome of some hard facts which history has done with a Kashmiri. The blunt face of history has done some miserable things with a Kashmiri and thus he became coward. Why coward? What could be the reason for it? They, in fact, have been oppressed by their rulers and external masters from time to time. Their rights were suppressed through force by loot, killing and a virtual human slaughter. Above all the chastity of women during this period was never safe. A human being in general and a
Kashmiri in particular may be so because of his old and traditional outlook and a small well knit society is highly sensitive to the chastity of women. When repression continued, it broke all the records that people preferred cowardliness to suffering more and more humiliation. This is true of present times also. In fact many writers have justified this character aspect of Kashmiris: “They (Kashmiris) happen to live in one of the most beautiful countries on earth, and therefore other people have coveted it. Kashmir has been conquered and reconquered by invaders, who have murdered, oppressed and enslaved their ancestors, and so ground the life and heart out of them that their better selves have been crushed. “It is quite possible that if we Britishers had to undergo what the Kashmiris have suffered in the past we might have lost our manhood” However, as history of Kashmiri has exhibited many times and it was the same ‘Coward’ who took kilashankov in his hands to fight mighty India. A person for whom blood was abhorrent practically showed that he could kill people and some times ruthlessly also. The use of bombs, landmines, rockets and other weapons became a common practice here. In fact people from different places (in and outside Kashmir) agree that the violence here was the outcome of a virtual oppression in different fields. It could be political, economic, social or any other. The predication of Tyndale Bisco which he had made about seven decades back proved to be correct. He had written then that, “Gradually the Kashmiris are rising from slavery to manhood, though the growth is naturally very slow at present, but they are on the upward road; I shall later on prove to you that era long they will find themselves, and I trust they will become once more a brave people, as they were in the days of old when their own kings led them forth to battle”.

4.4.5.2. Virtues

Kashmiri was considered to be a snake in his morals and a foul in his manners. Quoting Moorcroft in his own words he describes a Kashmiri as selfish, superstitious, ignorant, supple, intriguing, dishonest; he has great ingenuity as a mechanic and a decided genius for manufactures and commerce; but his transactions are always conducted in a grandiloquent spirit equalled only by the effrontery with which he faces detection.” Although these characteristic features
of Kashmiris cannot be generalised and Moorcraft was referring to only city people and that bad reputation of Kashmiris known in Asia was that of shawl merchants only but even then we cannot rule out the fact that this population may be a small fraction of the population but they represented Kashmiri people.

"In a country where there was practically no justice, the only weapon in the hands of the weak was lying or subterfuge." 43 People here were sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had been taught for many years that they were serfs without any rights, but with many disabilities. They were called Zulim Parasat (worshippers of tyranny) and every facility was afforded to their cult. They were forced by soldiers to plough and sow and the soldiers would at the time of harvest collect more than seventy percent of it. An official would drag them from their houses to carry loads to Gilgit and every official had a right to their property.44 Forced labour (begar) was order of the day. In fact it was not only forced, but apart from it people were made to work like donkeys, beaten, insulted and abused. The condition of people living in cities (Srinagar in fact was the only city of that time) was not much different. They were also maltreated and made to do odd jobs. Hazlitt in Napoleon Bonaparte writes about Kashmiri people that "The peasants were overworked, half-starved, treated with hard words and hard blows, subjected to uneasing taxations and every species of petty tyranny. While in the cities a number of unwholesome and useless professions a crowd of lazy menials pampered the vices to the pride and luxury of the great." 45 In order to save himself from the tyrannic attitude of his masters he had no choice but take the course of false excuses and unethical ways. In this course of action he would some times even throw his burden on his neighbours or relatives. These actions made him selfish. After 1947, the governments which governed them in one way or the other kept people away from real freedom. In fact the government of India never considered Kashmiri a true nationalist. Thus espionage network was strengthened. This ultimately had a bearing on the character of Kashmiri. As he felt insecure, virtually unwanted, he continued with his negative characteristic features to dodge those who were put on his surveillance. This is true of the present uprising also. A Kashmiri who was caught in a situation in which threatened by different forces played safe with his typical Kashmiri approach. Thus it is the situation which made him what he actually was not. To conclude, we may say
that a Kashmiri is a liar because of the peculiar system of government, which encouraged a most elaborate scheme of espionage. Cowardice and lying have, in turn, bred in him envy and malice, self praise (Thekun) and condemnation of others. A Kashmiri is mostly guided by sentiments and by nature he is very emotional and fond of exaggeration.

4.4.5.3. Humour

Kashmiris mainly are a humours people. They like to listen to jokes and laugh loudly. People are good - tempered and often merry. They have a real sense of humour and enjoy jokes. They are also very talkative and go on talking on different subjects. At the same time, they get pleasure in calling people by nick names. Nicknaming any person in accordance with his character, behaviour, attitudes, way of talking, height, weight. In disposition they are talkative, cheerful and humorous.

4.4.5.4. News and Rumour

The valley of Kashmir, being a small place, is highly sensitive about happenings in the valley. The news of different events reaches to almost all the parts of the valley. However “they are very unstable and very prone to give under weight to rumours 46. In olden days Zaina Kadal 47 used to be the place where false rumours were hatched. False rumours spread like wild fire in a very short time. In fact different political forces here used this behaviour for their political gains. Regarding news, a Kashmiri has always been highly conscious. He tries to know more and more about different developments, in fact Kashmiris have a strong habit of discussing different issues. These are done at shops, Hamams 48 etc. In modern information age he uses both print and electronic media to know more about the developments around him. Studies conducted here indicate that a Kashmiri is always eager about news. In fact, even common Kashmiris keep track of the international happenings and discuss them among themselves. People have better knowledge about their past as compared to their counterparts in other regions of the state.
A Kashmiri generally is very intelligent in all the fields of life. His contribution in the field of agriculture, horticulture, tourism, art, architecture, education and other fields is an example in this regard. He has shown his mark in different fields of everyday life. Kashmir has produced a number of scholars, poets, historians, singers, artists, craftsmen and what not. It is his intellect which made him to survive in very difficult times and deal with different masters. "The intellect of Kashmiri is superior to the natives of India. They are very quick in argument and they never abandon a case unless they are convinced that it is helpless and they always insist on knowing the grounds of a decision". Kashmiris have travelled and wherever they settled outside Kashmir they made their presence felt among the locals of that place. Kashmiri historians believe in essentially the mystical and the imaginative. "The Kashmiri can turn his hand to anything. He is an excellent cultivator and a fine gardener and has a considerable knowledge of horticulture. He can weave excellent woollen cloth and can make first rate baskets. He can build his own house, can make his own ropes. There is hardly anything which he can not make. Apart from being a good cook, he is also a good businessman, a good husband, nice parent and a hospitable person. He is not a drunkard or opium eater but a hearty eater of meat."

Travellers and historians who studied different societies have given full marks to the intelligence of Kashmiris. "In intellect they are superior to their neighbours; they are certainly cleverer than Punjabis, and has a perception, and clearness of mind and ingenuity, to outlive their masters, the Dogras".

When we talked about a few points earlier, our target group was all Kashmiris, and our discussion revolved round the totality of the Kashmiri people. However, there are some peculiar characteristics which can be attributed to a particular class of the people. The two classes which may be named are those people living in the city (Srinagar) and Kashmiri Pandits (Batta). The original inhabitants of the city have mostly been businessmen or artisans engaged in different handicraft works. Another section of people which historians have come across
are the Hanjees. The Hanjees were fishermen as well as transporters. In the absence of roads and automobiles their small Shikars were used for travelling across the river, from place to place. Travellers have praised their skills but they have also come to a sharp criticism from them for using corrupt means to earn more money. Regarding the other people of city, it can be said without any exaggeration that they are in decisive and not ready to do a job which requires more labour and hardwork. However, they are intelligent businessmen and know this trade very well. Most of them prefer business to other jobs. Due to stiff competition in business and the spread of education the people are now interested in jobs in both private and public sector. “The Muslims of the city are very similar in character and disposition to the Kashmiris of the villages, but the city man is more effeminate, more lazy and more helpless. He will not work or try to improve his condition, for experience tells him that this is superfluous. It is in his opinion the duty of the State to feed him and to provide cheap fuel but he himself is unfettered by any duties” However this trend has also started changing. Although most of the city people depend on government supply of food and fuel but most of the people are highly conscious about the improvement of their condition. Pomp and show is seen among them and it is the women folk who actually rules the home affairs. In family affairs, marriage, social relations, rituals and customs the role of women is always dominant. Most of the social customs, extravagance and spendings on marriages, and other functions can be attributed to women. The decision making in this case lies with women, the men taking the back seat. For centuries this field has remained the prerogative of women, and in no case are they ready to leave it. It is virtually vice-versa in villages. Some traditional and unwanted customs and rituals connected with marriage, death and birth continue to be part and parcel of Kashmiri city culture. In fact social reformers launched many movements against it but failed. The government also could not do anything. If one says here that Kashmiris are against change, that is also not correct because we have seen Kashmiris welcoming change whenever required. “A feeling of impatience may be aroused when the reformer sees that the Kashmiris are opposed to changes which are obviously for their good.”
We have observed that people living in the city mostly accepted change in education, dress, languages etc. however the important traditional practices continue. People living in cities have had contact with the outsiders. In fact Srinagar has remained capital of this state for a long time. Thus most of the outsiders settled here to carry out their work. This helped the locals to have a close contact with them. “It should, however, be remembered that if it had not been for their essentially conservative nature, the Kashmiris would have succumbed to the stern rules of social evolution, and would have been blotted out as a distinct nationality by their strong superiors, the Mughals, Pathans, Sikhs and Dogras”.

Another class of people which is peculiar with some characteristics is that of Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus). Pandits claim to be the ancestors of the existing population of the valley. As a small well knit, highly academically oriented, sensitive and conscious community - Pandits have remained on the centre stage of Kashmiri history and politics. In fact during the Dogra rule they were really controlling the administrative machinery here. Although some of them living in villages have cultivable land, they themselves do not work but get it done through Muslim neighbours. They are mostly found doing government jobs. At the same time some historians have made distinction between the Pandits of villages and the city. They described the pandits of villages as “Simple hardworking and healthy persons. The Hindus of the city who are said to get their living by - Nalani, Kalam ya halam (Lying, writing or begging) are men who have lived almost entirely upon state employment. They are very intelligent and intellectual better off, excellent manners, and are often very charming and amusing companions. They are fluent and ready writers. They can undergo great strain and fatigue when necessity arises in spite of their soft, gentle appearance”. In recent uprising they (mostly) left the valley. Some were forced by the situation while as others left to save the future of their children. After leaving the valley they had to compromise with number of things and face hardships but they made their children better in education, which undoubtly goes to their credit.
4.4.6 Social Institutions

The fact remains that social institutions are the basic building blocks of a society. Apart from the prescribed role of these institutions, their organising capacity goes a long way in maintaining the existence of societies. In a traditionally dominated society like Kashmir, the importance of social institutions is more pronounced.

4.4.6.1. Family

For ages the concept of joint family system continues and it has taken deep roots in the society. Although nuclear family setup is emerging fast especially in urban areas, the rural areas still refuse to give up joint family set up probably for economic reasons. However, whether nuclear or joint family systems, the intimate relation continues to be the hallmark of Kashmiri character. In the event of a grief, sorrow or happiness, relatives, friends and neighbours are seen together. Old persons continue to be looked after well by families and they still enjoy the status of decision makers at home. Neighbours are given greater importance, some times even more than given to the relatives. The status of women in family is better. Their consent is taken in all sorts of family matters. In rural areas they play a vital role in economic activities like agriculture, horticulture, cattle rearing and small trades which are mainly confined to home. Talking about the family of his time Lawrence says "the Kashmiri wife is a real helpmate and joint work and joint interests give rise to a camaraderie between man and wife which is very healthy. I have often come across a woman in some deserted spot singing a wailing song for a husband dead long since."

4.4.6.2 Marriage

Marriages are arranged mostly by professional matchmakers commonly known as Manzimyor. However, in some other cases relatives and friends are also pressed into service. Before going for marriage the two parties make proper investigation about the families and even their relatives. The investigations about the would be relatives revolve around the family, individual attributes, education,
character, economic standing, social status, profession etc. The consent of the boy as well as girl is taken. However in some areas the old practices of selecting the mates for children by parents still continues. Thaf Thsanin (to catch hold of) is the first ceremony of marriage. In this case the boy’s side on seeing their would be bride present her with some golden ornament. This becomes the base of the future relation. In rural areas it is also called Piyalas Trawun. Here the boy’s side drop some money in the cup in which the tea is offered to them when they see the girl for the first time. This ceremony is followed by engagement where the relatives of the would be bride and groom visit the house of one another to present gifts to the girl and the boy respectively. Before the marriage the two sides visit each other’s home especially on the days of Id-ul-Fiter, Id-ul-Zuha, Urs-E-Nabi (Birthday of Prophet of Islam PBUH). In the month of Ramzan, on death or illness of a person of the either side. During these visits gifts are always taken along. The marriage ceremony is simple with the groom coming along with his friends and relatives to bride’s home where they take their meals before taking the bride. However the Nikah ceremony is done either on the day of marriage or before that. Marriages in rural areas are by and large simple. However in urban areas due to impact of other cultures, societies and the influence of modern mass media marriages have become really an expensive affair. Although the demand of dowry is not so pressing but ‘voluntary dowry’ continues to create problems for people. This trend can also be related to the money which people have been able to earn from different sources. “He ( Kashmiri ) is not extravagant and happily spends little on marriage and similar occasions. But as property increases the Kashmiri will follow the example of India and will increase the expenses of marriage.” Marriages are performed by Muslims throughout the year. It is an occasion of rejoicing and marry. Singing of marriage songs continues for about a week before marriage. These songs are called wanwun. wanwun is a folk song sung on marriage function. There are different types of wanwun for different marriage functions. The songs are sung by two groups of women, called dur of which one repeats the verse sung by the other groups. Certain songs are sung prepared in advance. Their selection is done from the various poetical works. And in some places the womenfolk compose it on the spot. Some Wanwun is called Nikah Wanwun, sung on the applying Mehandi to the bride or the bride groom. Some songs are
specially sung to welcome the groom and some pathetic songs at the departure of the bride. Some samples of the Wanwun are as follows:

(i) On Nikah ceremony:

Qazi Sahibo wach nokeri zas  
Lach ho likizas kakzas

(The qazi is reminded to write heavy amount as Mehar, the verse states that Oh; qazi don't be afraid of writing a heavy sum)

(ii) On the occasion of applying Mahandi

Manz kam lagi-yoo panninay vasyay;  
Yahay manz wansay pushay new

(The women folk pray the bride that as her closest friend is applying Mehandi to her, we pray; that it (Mehandi or Suhag) should last forever).

(iii) On welcoming the groom at bride's home

Asalam-u-Alikum saneh mahrazoo;  
Chaneh yeno gah pau Aalamas;

(May you live long; oh our groom; on your coming to this place, whole area got enlightenened)

(iv) On the departure of bride to her in-laws home

Osh mattoo trav tam pharay pharay;  
wuni chaakh malinichay haray path;

(Oh bride, don't shed tears in drops, you are still at the door steps of your father's home.)
*Guli-meeth* (gift) is given to the groom and bride at the time of marriage. In olden times it was a custom especially in villages to present something in kind like rice, wheat, sheep etc. However, now-a-days it has changed to cash, gold and other types of gifts. Prior to the day of marriage, *Mehandi rath* is performed. Here the new would be couple is given *herma* which is spread over hands and feet of bride while as the groom uses a small portion of it on one of his fingers. The young girls who are present in the families on the occasion also use it to decorate their hands. On the day of marriage the groom comes for warm welcome by the wellwishers of the family and is served with feast before the bride leaves the home. Most of the ceremonies take place at the bride’s house, which clearly indicates that the *Kour-i-moul* (girl's father) is at the receiving end. The exchange of gifts before marriage between the two families is fast developing into an institution in itself. The *Nikah* ceremony is a very important one here also. The marriage must get both social as well as religious approval.

4.4.7. Social Stratification

Broadly speaking the Kashmiri Muslim society is divided between Syeds and Non-syeds. The syeds claim to be the descendants of Prophet of Islam (Pbuh) and others are considered to be latter converts. Among Syeds also there is a definite grading of people of the sub-castes claiming their caste to be more superior. Even due to social mobility, education and money people have changed their castes. It is somewhat like Sanskritization. At the time of marriage caste plays a vital role in mate selection, but in the recent past the trend seems to have changed in favour of other class indicators like social status, education etc. Among non-syeds, the caste sometimes indicates profession of a person. However, on the pattern of Sanskritization there is undoubtedly a process of syedization going on in Kashmir. The concept of syeds and non-syeds, exists here. Certain castes have originated from the profession of the people. Like carpenters have the caste of *Najar*, masons as *gilkars* and so on. Different castes are generally differentiated into two main groups of *aseels* and *kameens*. *Aseels* feel that they are superior than the other group. Their behaviour, according to them is of unique type. Their way of talking, food habits, dress and other such things are different from the
other caste. *Kameens* mostly are those who are involved in menial jobs. However some upper castes (especially syeds) feel that except them all others castes are *Kameens*. Infact syeds till recently would not inter marry with any non-syeds caste. Their choice is thus limited to their particular caste only. However, due to socio-economic-education development of different so called lower castes inter marriages between saydes and non-saydes has picked up. It is important to note here that some syed families are still highly conscious about this aspect and they do not inter marry. This creates problems in finding a good match and subsequently establishing strong marital relations.

4.4.8. Inter communal Relations

The relations between various groups (religious, social, cultural and linguistic) are not really volatile. Kashmiri by heart is very soft. Till recently there was hardly any communal clash in any part of the valley. The communal colour given to mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the valley is actually a political propaganda of different quarters who are blaming each other for the same. Kashmiri by heart is very tolerant and does not believe in any kind of action which culminates in a communal clash. The history of Kashmir has been witness to clashes between *Sunnis* and *Shias* in the past. Nowadays there is no tension on these lines. "I attribute much of the delightful tolerance which exists between the followers of the two religions (Islam and Hinduism) chiefly to the fact that the Kashmiri Musalmans never gave up the old Hindu religion". Although other historians do not agree with this view, tolerance and softness of heart is actually what seems to be behind this attitude. Some people even attribute this to the strong rule under which people have lived in the valley. The cordial relation of the people of these two important religions is also an important indicator in this regard. According to historical accounts, the communal relations between different groups, continue from the day Islam made its presence felt in the valley. In olden times *pandits* were the only literate class and most of the work done in the field of education was done by them. Even till the recent past the education was dominated by them and they were considered to be good teachers. Infact after the mass exodus of Hindus from the valley their absence in education was greatly felt
by Muslims. On the other hand, Hindus were dependent on Muslims for agriculture and other small occupational services like barbrin, milkman, blacksmith, cobbler etc. Although Kashmiri pandits consider themselves pure form of Hindus but even then they accept milk, meat, and vegetables from Muslims. The services of Muslim barbers are utilised at the time of marriage and death of Hindus. Even after the migration of Kashmiri pandits to Jammu and other places it is the Muslim butcher who is doing brisk business. Although physical contact between the two communities is normal but the Hindus in no case allow Muslims to enter their kitchens. Even in marriages of Kashmiri pandits the Muslims participate and special arrangements are made for their feast. It is a well known fact that Kashmiri has set an example of communal harmony throughout the subcontinent which was even praised by people like Mahatma Gandhi and others. Kashmiries have maintained the communal harmony even in very difficult times when other parts of the world were engulfed with communal tension. The peace maintained by Kashmiries especially by the Muslims at the time of demolition of Babri Masjid, Bombay riots and other incidents is really worth mentioning. Most of the Hindus visit the Muslim shrines across the valley. Kashmir Pandits have great belief in the different Muslim Shrines (Asthans). They visit these places and offer their respects.
REFERENCES
(Social and Cultural Dimension)

1. Kamarband is a sort of belt which is actually in the form of a long cloth used at the time of working in a field or else where.


3. Ibid, p. 251


5. Ibid, p. 139.

6. Ibid, p. 137


8. Used as the prefix before of the person. This is used by the people who claim to the direct descendents from Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh).

9. Kurta Piama is a type of dress used by people.

10. Dupatta is a long head cover for ladies. It also covers some part of body.


12. Neve, OP Cit, p. 44 - 63

13. Panjras - A net type wooden structure where pieces of wood are adjusted in such a manner so that small opening are formed for passing light.


15. Ibid. p. 89

16. Houseboat is a big floating boat with proper living rooms, kitchen etc. It is virtually a complete house. In olden times, small boats called doongas were used for living purpose in water. With advancement and development, the size and model of the small boats became bigger. It also attracted the attention of wood carvers who decorated its roofs with their artistic work. Houseboat today presents a complete picture of Kashmir art and culture.

17. Hakh Bata - Hak is a popular vegetable consumed through out Kashmir Bata means rice. When we talk of Hakh Bata it depicts the simple food habits.
18. Wazwan is prepared by wazas (cooks). Different dishes are prepared, most of them made of meat. The cooks work for full day or night to make it very tasty. Wazwan has acquired an important place in Kashmiri Muslim marriage in particular and a place as a Kashmiri dish in general. Ishaq Khan in his History of Srinagar (1978) reports that the Muslims of the city spend little on marriage, their main item of expenditure on marriage was on the Wazawan.


20. Samavar is a tea pot in which tea can be prepared as well as served. It is a copper vessel with a pipe type of container in between. The pipe is used to keep hot coal for keeping the tea around hot.

21. Bakar Khani, Kulcha, Shirmal are also bread type bakery prepared by the Kashmir Kanduers (Bakers) with Atta, Ghee etc. The preparation is made in Tandoor used on special occasions.

22. Lavasa, Girda, Chuch Wour is again bakery used for daily consumption. These are not very costly.

23. Sout is a powder of rice or corn. It is different than Atta. Before grinding, it is baked. The powder then is used as an alternative to bread.

24. Tasht Nari - Tasht is a container while Nari is the water pot. Tasht Nari are brought before a person so that he can wash his hands before eating anything. The used water gets automatically stored in the Tasht.

25. Daster Khan is the sheet on which food is kept in containers. People sit, around it for taking food.


41. W. Moorcraft visited Kashmir in 18th century.
43. Ibid, p. 273
44. Ibid, p. 2
45. Ibid, p. 2
47. Zaina Kadal is name of one of seven bridges across river Jehlum in Srinagar.
48. Hamam is a room the base of which is made of stones. Below the base a hollow space is kept. Where wood is continuously burnt to make the stones hot in winters. Small water tanks (Maet) are also fixed near the fire place to make its water hot. In earlier times Hamams were made in mosques only but now due to economic up-liftment some rich people make them in their houses also. Hamams in mosques were real centres of opinion making and political centres. People during winters would sit for hours together and discuss social, political and religious developments around them.
50. Sufi loc. cit.
51. Sufi, loc. cit.
52. Drew, loc. cit
53. Haniees are the people who live in small boats in lakes and rivers and mostly are involved in tourist trade. In earlier times their main occupation was transportation of people from one place to another. During that period the roads had not been built.
54. Shikaras are small boats.

56. The Government from time to time framed many laws to curb the expenditure on Wazwans. However it was not possible to control it. Some social movements like guest controls in eighties could not continue its operations. The ban imposed by different militant outfits during militancy after 1989 also failed.

57. Lawrence, Op. cit, p. 8

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid, p. 282

60. Ibid, p. 279

61. Ibid, p. 10

62. Ibid, p. 286
The numberless streams which issue from the mountains maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and a highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hamp, saffron and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals and several small lakes, add variety to the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with apple, pear, plum, apricot and walnut trees, all bearing fruit in great abundance.

(Francis Bernier a French Physician in 1665)
4.5 ECONOMIC DIMENSION

4.5.1 Background

Historical evidence available with us indicates that the agricultural economy of Kashmir was highly developed in olden times. The concept of horticulture and flouriculture was fully developed here with most of the people involved in this sector. The researcher could hardly find any proof of any other sector as developed as agriculture in the pre-Muslim era. However, in food and related products, Kashmir was not only self-sufficient but also an exporter of surplus produce to other places. As we have already mentioned, Kashmir in the past was a highly developed civilization and economy has an important role in the development of a civilization. A civilization cannot flourish without a stable economy because development is generally measured in terms of economic strength of a society.

4.5.2 Agriculture Economy

The land that is available with us in Kashmir at present indicates that it was always feasible for agriculture and related activities. However, the weather conditions never allowed the agricultural activities to continue throughout the year. Nilmata Purana describes the land in Kashmir as endowed with the quality of producing all the grains without depending on rains. The system of cultivation in Kashmir is virtually one crop a year, as the land is cultivable from the month of March to November only. For the rest of the period, the land remains under snow and excessive cold temperature which does not allow the production of crops. However, the availability of water, fertile soil and conducive temperature has all along helped the local population to grow required food material for use in the valley. Paddy, maize, wheat, pulses, oil seed, vegetables of various types are the important agricultural products of the valley. Agriculture is the basic contributor to the state economy. This sector alone contributes 40% to the G.D.P. and provides employment to more than sixty percent of the working population. On one hand, institutional, technological and infrastructural inputs have made considerable contribution in removing stagnation and abysmal rural poverty but on the other hand these developments have also contributed in such changes in the agricultural
sector that have diverted it from the basic economic sector. In fact, horticulture took its place. More and more land has been brought under fruit cultivation which contributes in getting more cash but basic agricultural sector loses its base. Paddy has marginally reduced its production from 57.98% in 1951-52 to 54.12% in 1986-87 and during 1996-97 it came down approximately by about 4 percent.1 According to the estimates of the horticulture department in 1980-81, the area under orchards in the state was 1.6 lakhs hectares, while in 1985-86 such estimates were put at 1.48 lakh hectares.2 Thus horticulture has become more lucrative as it provides employment (though temporary) to various classes of society like transporters, packers, stockists, pesticide dealers etc. There is also less labour needed as compared to agriculture. This is one reason as to why the horticulture became more attractive than agriculture. Apple industry of Kashmir is well known throughout the region and most of the horticultural activities revolve round apple, although pears, cherry, apricots, grapes etc. are also grown in some parts of Kashmir. However, little attention has been given by both people and the government towards these fruits. In fact, saffron which continues to remain an important cash crop of the valley has remained confined to a particular area only - Pampor in south Kashmir. The advancement of agricultural science and technology could not even develop new lands for saffron. However, more patronage of horticulture sector and virtual negligence of agriculture is a dangerous sign which will be discussed later in this chapter. Migration of rural peoples towards urban places and towns is yet another trend which has affected the agricultural sector. Such people in most of the cases do not continue their agricultural occupation. The migration also brought the agricultural land in and around urban areas under housing. Here, too, wrong and in some cases no planning in constructions destroyed some prime agricultural land in the valley. Less production of paddy and other food crops has made Kashmir dependent on other states. In fact, about 90% of the consumption of rice of urban places of Kashmir is brought from Punjab, Haryana and other states. Even vegetables come from Punjab which is again an ugly state of affair of the vegetable sector of the valley. The government has virtually neglected this area too. People do not seem to be interested in manual jobs. In fact, they try to make more money through whatever means possible. Negligence of agriculture sector has virtually made Kashmir a totally dependent
place. Horticulture which is the oldest industries of Kashmir was having monopoly over other sectors in pre-partition era. A full fledged department of horticulture was established in 1964 - 65 in the state. The fruit production increased from 2.5 lac metric tons in 1971-72 to 8.62 lac metric tons in 1992-93. About 1.73 lac hectares of land which is about 20 percent of total cultivated area in the valley is under the apple orchards. More than 95 percent of the annual apple production of about 8.35 metric tons is sold to the markets in other states of India. However, the horticulture industry which could prove to be a revolutionised factor for Kashmir economy suffers from government apathy. There are absolutely no facilities for exporting the fruits to other countries directly from Kashmir. There are bright prospects for apple in Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh and Indonesia. Another problem which this industry is facing is the excessive use of pesticides which have definitely increased the diseases of the fruits in the valley. Another important dry fruit i.e, walnut which was even grown here at the time of writing of Raitarangini contributed 55000 metric tons of produce in 1995-96. The foreign exchange earning from this produce was more than Rs. 80 crores. However again most of the people engaged in exporting this fruit are non Kashmiris. Therefore once again the locals are not being able to get the required benefit from this sector. There is a need to tap-up the various horticultre produce to boost the local economy.

The table below shows the decline in the average yield of principle crops in last 33 years.

Table - 4.1
AVERAGE YIELD OF PRINCIPAL CROPS IN KASHMIR VALLEY.
(AVERAGE YIELD IN QTLS. HA.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>RICE</th>
<th>MAIZE</th>
<th>WHEAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>22.59</td>
<td>12.65</td>
<td>4.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>13.24</td>
<td>8.07</td>
<td>5.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>23.46</td>
<td>10.17</td>
<td>5.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>22.50</td>
<td>8.51</td>
<td>9.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Yield Rice</td>
<td>Yield Maize</td>
<td>Yield Wheat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>22.13</td>
<td>7.92</td>
<td>9.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>22.49</td>
<td>8.32</td>
<td>11.81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1979-80</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>7.70</td>
<td>8.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>25.52</td>
<td>11.98</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
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<td>1985-86</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1986-87</td>
<td>26.25</td>
<td>11.31</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td>19.66</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>9.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-90</td>
<td>12.46</td>
<td>6.43</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>26.83</td>
<td>12.40</td>
<td>7.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>21.79</td>
<td>8.10</td>
<td>8.73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-93</td>
<td>20.53</td>
<td>8.46</td>
<td>8.14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>20.32</td>
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<td>11.63</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-95</td>
<td>24.96</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>18.74</td>
<td>8.20</td>
<td>7.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>17.42</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>7.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>22.23</td>
<td>7.65</td>
<td>8.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The table above reveals that the average yield of principal crops in Kashmir valley. In 1964-65 the average yield of rice was 22.59 qtls. per hectare, were that of maize was 12.65 qtls. per hectare and that of wheat was 4.06 qtls. per hectare. The latest data available shows that 22.23 Qtls / Ha rice, 7.65 Qtls / Ha maize and 8.24 Qtls / Ha wheat was reported as average yield in 1997-98. The statistics available indicate that there is no clear picture about this issue in the state. We find that the trend is that even the average yield is virtually coming down. The obvious reason for this is that people go on construction of houses in the agricultural land. This trend is certainly disturbing for one and all in the valley.
The valley is known for the cultivation of paddy, maize and saffron. Saffron is the monopoly of the Kashmir valley. In fact, saffron contributes to the state's economy in a big way. Agrarian situation of the state in general and the valley of Kashmir in particular was one important reason for a revolt against the policies of Maharaja Hari Singh. Most of the travellers who visited the valley wrote about the pitiable conditions of the farmers of the valley. The land belonged to few zamindars (landlords) who were controlling the land and majority of the population would work in these fields and get a very small produce of the land. The great portion of it was taken by the government agencies and the zamindars. There was a total exploitation of the peasants. Sheik Abudllah and his National Conference exploited this in a big way and it also gave him and his organisation the best possible and needed popular support. Land to tiller was a slogan which appealed the masses. After the National Conference secured majority in the assembly it abolished the big landed estate and the land was transferred to the actual tillers.

4.5.3 Handicrafts

The handicrafts of Kashmir have a very long histroy. In fact, handicrafts have always remained important items of Kashmiri trade and commerce. There are evidences that shawl industry of Kashmir has its origin in the period of Mahabarta. However, handicrafts flourished more in the times of Muslim rulers. Some of the Sultans of Kashmir brought artisans and teachers from different parts of the world to teach different trades to Kashmiris. Zain-ul-Abidin is considered to be the main architect in this field. It was he who invited talented craftsmen from Central Asia, especially Samarkuand, Bukhara and Bulkh and got them settled here for good to disseminate their skills. During his time Kashmir made significant progress in wood carving, papier-machie, silk, shawl and carpet weaving, stone polishing, stone cutting, bottle making and gold beating. The rulers who followed Zain-ul-Abidin also patronised the handicrafts industry of Kashmir to a great extent. Tables below portray the production and employment generated by handicraft sector in the Kashmir valley during the last 25 years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Carpet P</th>
<th>EMP</th>
<th>Namda P</th>
<th>EMP</th>
<th>Crewel P</th>
<th>EMP</th>
<th>Wood-Carving P</th>
<th>EMP</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>17.67</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.47</td>
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<td>0.14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>19.04</td>
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<td>0.48</td>
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<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.96</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>19.60</td>
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<td>0.48</td>
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<td>4.92</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>22.58</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>0.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>29.53</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>6.74</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>32.48</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>35.00</td>
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<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>3.00</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
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<td>35.65</td>
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<td>1.53</td>
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<td>8.40</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>3.15</td>
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<td>51.25</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>2.50</td>
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<td>9.05</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>4.25</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2.75</td>
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<td>0.25</td>
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<td>5.35</td>
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<td>2.90</td>
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<td>0.06</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>1991-92</td>
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<td>0.71</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>12.80</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>0.07</td>
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<td>1992-93</td>
<td>101.10</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>13.05</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>109.40</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>13.40</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>5.95</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1994-95</td>
<td>111.71</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>13.67</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>112.60</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>13.90</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>117.10</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>14.46</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>121.60</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>15.01</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
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</table>


P - Production in Rupees (Lacs)
E - Employment generated (No. of persons in lacs)
Table 4.3
Estimated craftwise production and employment of Handicraft industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Paper-machie</th>
<th>Fur &amp; Leather</th>
<th>Chain stich</th>
<th>Woollen shawls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>EMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>1986-87</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>1987-88</td>
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<td>0.06</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>1988-89</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>1989-90</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>1992-93</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>1994-95</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>1997-98</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P - Production (in lacs)
Emp. Employment (No. of persons)


In 1974-75 carpet provided employment to 0.64 lac people, whereas it was sold for about 1.38 lacs of Rupees in various markets. Similarly Namda contributed
about 0.84 lacs, crewel 1.30 lacs and wood carving 0.67 lacs of Rupees to the state's economy. The trend continued to increase in spite of the fact that the militancy in the state affected various economic generation units especially those related with tourism. Earlier the market of these products was available in the state because of tourist inflow, however during the turbulent times the Kashmiri artisans and traders went to different parts of the world to sell their products. During last year i.e (1997-98) more than Rs.121.60 lacs were contributed by Carpet, 3.40 lacs from Namdas and 15.01 from Crewel and 6.60 lacs from Wood Carving. Likewise during the same year more than 270.00 lacs of Rupees came from Paper Machie, Fur & Leather and Woollen Shawls.

4.5.3.1 History

During the Sultanate period the most important article of Kashmir's export trade was its shawl, which was sent to India, Central Asia, Tibet and China. Shawl industry which flourished in the days of Kurvas and Pandvas in Kashmir has been mentioned in Budhistic works during Ashoka's time also. This trade later disappeared here. However, later during the period of Sultans and then the patronage of Mughals helped this industry to grow. During the period of 1796 A.D. when Kashmir was under Afghans, the Kashmir shawls became internationally known when great Napoleon Bounaparte presented a Kashmiri shawl to empress Josaphine. In the days of Sikh rule and in the early days of Ranbir Singh the industry was in a fairly flourishing condition. Later the war between Germany and France virtually destroyed the shawl industry of Kashmir.

4.5.3.2 Carpets and Silk

While carpets were introduced in Kashmir by Zain-ul-Abidin, sericulture is an ancient industry in Kashmir. Carpet which has its origin outside Kashmir remained an important industry of Kashmir for a long time. Even today, this industry is doing well in Kashmir. As regards the silk in olden days, Kashmir silk found its way to Damascus and Bokhara. Ranbir Singh is said to have done a great deal to restore the silk trade in Kashmir by establishing machines and factories for
4.5.3.3 Papier Machie, Wood Work and Copper work

Paper Machie is 'mashed paper'. Introduced by Zain-ul-Abidin, it was actually brought from Samarqand. Similarly wood work, basket making and copper works have all along remained important handicraft works of Kashmir. They have been attracting people from different parts of the world and provide employment to a large chunk of people, especially in urban Kashmir. Another important industry in olden Kashmir was paper industry, however these days this industry is non-existent. The Kashmiries according to some historians, fabricated the best writing paper. It was a state enterprise and the Sultans took special interest in it. Kashmiri paper was in great demand in India during the period of Kashmiri Sultans and later even during the period of Mughal kings. However, these days there are virtually no traces of this industry. Apart from this, leather and fur industries have remained important contributors for Kashmir economy.

At present the handicraft sector is the largest employer of artisans of the valley of Kashmir. This sector provided employment to around two lakh persons during 1988-89 and during this period, the total volume of production in this sector was estimated to be up to Rs 154 crores. Foreign exchange earnings were about 14 percent of the total foreign exchange earnings of the country from the handicrafts sector. The handicraft sector in Kashmir is of more importance because industrial growth is very low and big industrialists are not taking risk of settling here because of non-availability of raw-material and a small market. Handicrafts are also suited to the climate and other physical conditions of Kashmir valley where life virtually comes to a halt during winters. Handicraft items are one of the principal export items of Kashmir and accounts for about 57 percent of the total export earnings in the state followed by agro-based products, leather based products, forest based products, textiles, sports goods and engineering products. Both handicrafts and sericulture have been contributing to the economy of the state. The following tables indicate the contribution of sericulture in Kashmir economy.
### Table - 4.4
**SERICULTURE IN KASHMIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture 000 Nos. villages</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture 000 Nos. house holds (Cocoon-rearers)</td>
<td></td>
<td>60.20</td>
<td>26.40</td>
<td>26.40</td>
<td>26.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Production of Raw silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Quantity</td>
<td>000 Kgs.</td>
<td>50.80</td>
<td>46.30</td>
<td>57.85</td>
<td>52.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii) Value</td>
<td>000 Lakh</td>
<td>126.80</td>
<td>123.29</td>
<td>169.50</td>
<td>183.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table - 4.5
**SERICULTURE IN KASHMIR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>1982-83</th>
<th>1983-84</th>
<th>1984-85</th>
<th>1985-86</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture 000 Nos. villages</td>
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<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture 000 Nos. house holds (Cocoon-rearers)</td>
<td></td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>20.78</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>18.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Production of Raw silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Quantity</td>
<td>000 Kgs.</td>
<td>37.00</td>
<td>35.00</td>
<td>41.16</td>
<td>23.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii) Value</td>
<td>000 Lakh</td>
<td>152.12</td>
<td>182.01</td>
<td>202.00</td>
<td>209.00</td>
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</table>

### Table - 4.6
SERICULTURE IN KASHMIR

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<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture</td>
<td>000 Nos.</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>19.05</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td>15.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>house holds</td>
<td>(Cocoon-rearers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Production of Raw silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Quantity</td>
<td>000 Kgs.</td>
<td>29.33</td>
<td>18.52</td>
<td>21.45</td>
<td>16.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii) Value</td>
<td>000 Lakh</td>
<td>144.86</td>
<td>174.97</td>
<td>168.73</td>
<td>120.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table - 4.7
SERICULTURE IN KASHMIR

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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture</td>
<td>000 Nos.</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>villages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture</td>
<td>000 Nos.</td>
<td>12.39</td>
<td>11.72</td>
<td>9.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>house holds</td>
<td>(Cocoon-rearers)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for seed purposes</td>
<td>000 Qtls.</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Production of Raw silk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Quantity</td>
<td>000 Kgs.</td>
<td>10.59</td>
<td>15.64</td>
<td>12.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii) Value</td>
<td>000 Lakh</td>
<td>79.42</td>
<td>160.67</td>
<td>143.09</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table - 4.8  
SERICULTURE IN KASHMIR

<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture villages</td>
<td>000 Nos.</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>No. of sericulture house holds (Cocoon-rearers)</td>
<td>000 Nos.</td>
<td>9.90</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>6.77</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Production of Raw silk</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i) Quantity</td>
<td>000 Kgs.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii) Value</td>
<td>000 Lakh</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>309.00</td>
<td>19.50</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


4.5.4 Sericulture

The Statistics available above show that in 1974 - 1975 raw silk worth Rs. 126.80 lac was produced which rose to Rs. 183.07 lacs in 1981-82. The number of sericulture households in 1974-75 was 60.20 which came down to 26.40 in 1981-82. While the number of households engaged in sericulture has been decreasing year by year we find that in 1986-87 Rs. 144.86 lacs were accumulated in 1986-87 which came down to Rs. 120.57 lacs in 1989 - 90. The latest statistics indicate that in 1996 - 97 there were only 6.77 number of sericulture households while total income generated from it was Rs. 309.00 lacs. The overall trend shows that people in general are less interested in sericulture and related activities. This may primarily be because of lack of initiative by Govt. agencies to develop this sector and encourage locals to devote more time for this sector. We know that even the mulberry nurseries under Govt. control are in a very bad shape. The Sericulture factory which about 80 years back became a place of revolution and which is known in the history for the Sericulture workers strike is
virtually defunct these days. The picture now shows decline in sericultural production.

4.5.5. Tourism

The natural beauty of Kashmir has all along attracted tourists from different parts of the world. It is in place to mention here that tourism remained an important base of Kashmir economy for a long time. It has already been discussed in the chapters on religion, history and politics that Kashmir attracted people from different parts of the world for learning and teaching of different faiths and religions from even pre-historic era. There are chances that some visitors must have been coming as tourists also but the present concept of tourism was not developed at that time. In late eighteenth century, some English men explored Kashmir as a tourist spot when they wrote their travelogues etc. and from then Kashmir continued to remain a tourist attraction. With tourist traffic increasing every year during the last five decades, it contributed immensely to the economy of the valley. The contribution of tourist industry to the state economy rose from Rs 15.33 crores (including Rs 2.17 crores in foreign exchange) in 1975-76 to Rs 500 crore in 1988-99. However, immediately after 1989, there was virtually no tourism for about eight years. It again picked up in 1998 and this year (1999) too the trend is picking up at a very fast speed. The table below portrays the tourist flow to the valley from 1951 onwards.

Table - 4.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Indian (Domestic)</th>
<th>Non-Indian (Foreigners)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1.</td>
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<td>9.33</td>
<td>1.25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1955</td>
<td>49.90</td>
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<td>51.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>63.37</td>
<td>11.19</td>
<td>74.56</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>35.70</td>
<td>7.43</td>
<td>43.13</td>
</tr>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>129.75</td>
<td>19.95</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1973</td>
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<td>195.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td>Total</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>148.32</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>443.34</td>
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<td>502.66</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>498.86</td>
<td>55.68</td>
<td>553.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>548.49</td>
<td>46.03</td>
<td>594.52</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>560.98</td>
<td>42.85</td>
<td>603.83</td>
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<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>398.43</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>192.68</td>
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<td>229.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>465.60</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td>536.60</td>
<td>53.12</td>
<td>589.78</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>664.88</td>
<td>57.57</td>
<td>721.65</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>662.10</td>
<td>59.93</td>
<td>722.03</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>490.22</td>
<td>67.76</td>
<td>557.98</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>10.72</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1992</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>10.33</td>
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<td>1993</td>
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<td>8.03</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>9.31</td>
<td>9.81</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>8.20</td>
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<td>1996</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>9.59</td>
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<td>1997</td>
<td>1027</td>
<td>9111</td>
<td>10138</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>99636</td>
<td>10247</td>
<td>109883</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999 (upto May)</td>
<td>55000</td>
<td>7372</td>
<td>62372</td>
<td></td>
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Source: Department of Tourism Govt. of Jammu and Kashmir.

In 1951 total number of tourists who visited the valley was 10.58 thousand only which included 9.33 thousand Indians and rest 1.25 thousand foreigners. However, after 1970 the tourism picked up and in 1973 about 195.84 thousand tourists visited Kashmir valley which included 178.3 domestic and 20.01 thousand foreigners. There was a mega increase in the inflow of tourism to valley in 1978 when 443.34 thousand domestic and 59.32 thousand foreign tourists came to valley. Thus helping to boost the economy of the valley. The number of tourist
flow continued to increase and in 1988 662.10 thousand domestic and 59.93 thousands non-Indians visited Kashmir valley. However, from 1990 till date the tourists flow virtually stopped due to disturbances here. Another reason was that some quarters complained against the tourism flow to Kashmir valley. It is in place to mention here that some Indian embassies and Indian foreign missions abroad advised foreigners against visiting the valley of Kashmir. There were definitely some untoward incidents like abductions and killing of foreign and domestic tourists. However such incidents are virtually normal when armed struggle of this nature is there. In fact, even with the explosive situation when there was ease in tension from 1998 the tourism picked up again. In 1998 about 99636 domestic and 10247 foreigners visited the valley. This year the government was expecting much increase in this sector. In spite of the financial crunch which the state government is facing. This sector has been kept as a priority area. Funds have been pumped in this sector to boost the economy. There was a tremendous response to it up to ending May 1999 more than 55,000 domestic and 7372 foreign tourists visited Kashmir. These figures are not exact as tourism department was yet to gear itself for registering all the tourists coming to the valley. However the year strikes and ground operations against the militants who have occupied some areas in the Ladakh region of the state did effect the inflow of tourists to the valley.

4.5.5.1 Dependent Economy

Kashmir, as we know, is a landlocked valley with high mountains all round it. For about three to four months in a year it remains virtually cut off from other parts of the world through road traffic. Kashmir itself either remains covered with snow or in the grip of severe cold for about five months in a year. This badly hits the agricultural production of the valley. This is an unfortunate part of the story that Kashmir valley, which used to produce enough food stuffs for itself and even sent the same to other countries, is dependent for its food stuffs on other parts of India. It is due to lack of proper planning and strategy on part of both the state and the central governments that the production of rice, wheat, maize, and other vegetables came down sharply during last three decades. There is virtually
no public concern or awareness of this issue. While most of the Kashmiris feel that government of India deliberately made the Kashmir valley dependent on New Delhi on the economic front but the fact remains that the people themselves are responsible for this economic situation of the valley to a greater extent. Most of the agricultural land was, in the first instance, converted into land for horticulture, which although did provide comparatively better output in the form of cash but blocked most of the food production. This resulted in shortage of food stuffs. Thus Kashmir became dependent on other parts of the country for its food requirements. On the other hand, as already said the ever increasing population forced people to go for massive constructions which brought large portion of agricultural land under housing. Another important factor leading to increased dependence is that people mostly in rural areas have become less interested in agriculture. Preference is being given to service and business while the younger generation who are mostly educated do not give preference to agriculture. In fact, the production of vegetables in which Kashmir was not only self sufficient but even exporter of vegetables to other places has gone down sharply.

At the same time, both public and private sector industrial units did not take root in Kashmir. The Govt. of India undoubtedly pumped huge sum of money into Kashmir, but with no accountability. The money went into few pockets only. Corruption, nepotism and favourtism ruined the economy of this place. The industrial growth in the valley is virtually nil. The loans given by financial institutions in majority of the cases have not been paid back. Central as well as the state government never concentrated on developing an industrial base in the valley. Granting loans and subsidies are not the only solution of setting up of industries in the State. The Govt. of India itself did not take the risk of investing in heavy industries which definitely restricted the big industrial companies from investing in this sector in the valley. There is definitely a sense of alienation among people of Kashmir on this issue from New Delhi. Not to talk of heavy industries but even small industries for which raw-material and market were locally available have not been explored and no work is being done in this area.
REFERENCES
(Economic Dimension)

(Jammu: Jay Kay), Page 4.
(New Delhi: Vikas), Page 68.
3. Ibid
4. Ibid, Page 77
5. Ibid, Page 76
(Delhi: Seema), page 163.
(New Delhi: Ashish), Page 2.
(Ali Mohammad: Srinagar P. 247
(Srinagar: Kasar), Page 376.
(New Delhi: Capital) Page 235.
11. Ibid, Page 237
15. Ibid, P. 15
18. With the onset of militancy in the valley of Kashmir in particular and the state of Jammu and Kashmir in general, killings and kidnappings remained part
and parcel of this place. In fact, both militants and government control security forces indulged in such acts.

a) On October 1990 - A Canadian tourist Miss Loura Jani was kidnapped and raped by National Security Guards (NSG) - FIR lodged by police.
b) November 1990 - A British lady Laury Pitts alleged that she was molested by BSF.
c) September 1 1990 - Two British ladies Stepson Joanete and Janny Elim alleged that they were molested by BSF.
d) October 1990 - A British couple of Adan Zolowoskis allegedly beaten by some security agency as they prevented them to rape the lady.
e) 26 January 1991 - 8 Israeli tourists kidnapped by a militant group named Pasdarani-e-Inqalibi Islami. While the tourists tried to flee, one of them was killed. Other six were rescued by local police 8th one was rescued by militant group Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front.
f) June 1991 - A Japanese Miss Ickio alleged that she was molested by BSF.
g) 14 June 1993 - Punkaj Kumar - An Ex. Bihar M.L.A kidnapped by militants. He was later released.
h) January 13 1995 - A British school teacher Miss Rathgray attacked by Rashtriya Rifles of the Army in Pahalgam. She jumped from the window and a FIR lodged in Pahalgam police station.
i) June 7 1994 - Harkat-ul-Ansar - A militant outfit kidnapped David Macky and Kim Housgio. Both these foreigners were released by their capturers after the local journalists intervened.
j) Six Tourists from Bihar killed by unknown gunmen in Dal Lake.
k) Five foreign tourists belonging to Britain, America, France and Norway abducted by a militant group Alfaran. While John childs escaped from the custody of militants. Huns Christo the Norwagion was killed by them. The fate of all others is still unknown. Apart from these cases there are many more which have not been reported.
19. Govt. of Jammu & Kashmir has been under tremendous pressure from the Central Government to recover the taxes and electric dues from the public which they have not paid so far. During the last ten years all the institutions were virtually crippled so there was virtually no accountability. On the other hand the central government also stopped the flow of money to this state on one or the other pretext. In spite of the fact that the Farooq Abdullah government supported all the governments which came to power in New Delhi but the financial crunch continued to remain a practice here. Things became worst after India conducted its nuclear tests at Pokhran in early 1998. Employees here are not getting pay for months together.

20. In the month of May the Indian Army found the presence of some armed militants in Ladakh region of this state. While the Army could not counter the armed militants, the government later used Indian Air Force along with the ground offensive against them. At the time of finalising this thesis the bombing of militants was continuing.
It is owing to the virtues of the people that good kings are born and then the parts of the kingdom long disremembered are re-acquired. Those who oppress their subjects perish with their dynasties, while those who relieve the oppressed flourish.

(Kalhana: Rajatarangni)
Kashmir has a long history which is available in written form. Kashmir has "the distinction of being the only region of India which possesses an uninterrupted series of written records of its history". The ancient history of Kashmir right from the origin of this land has been compiled by Pandit Kalhana. He started writing his work in 1148 AD when king Jayasimha was ruling this place. Kalhana has referred to a number of persons as his predecessors, but none of their writings are available to us. Later, it was Pandit Jonaraja who took from where Kalhana had ended. Jonaraja described the history of Kashmir up to Sultan Zain-ul-Ab-Ud-Din who ascended the throne in A.D. 1417. Later some more people recorded the coming years of Kashmir's history. "This series of Sanskrit chronicle is closed by Prajyabhatt's Rajavali Pataka which records history of the Valley till its conquest by Akbar in 1586 A.D." Later there are a number of historical accounts which are reliable and complete in all respects. The historical work of Kalhana and others give an uninterrupted account of political, social and religious developments of Kashmir which help us to know the historical evolution of Kashmir.

4.6.1 Origin of Kashmir

According to earlier accounts and legends, the place where Kashmir stands today was actually a big lake surrounded by high mountains. According to Nilamata Purana, the name of this water locked place was Satidesa. This view is being argued for the reason that: "This stagnant water assumed the shape of big lake. At this time a volcanic eruption started taking place in the lake which caused cracks to the mountain peaks situated on the lake banks allowing drainage of the water." However, there are hardly few takers of this argument. According to the reliable sources like Raitargui, Nilmat Pora and others, it was Kashap Rishi grand son of Brahma, the Hindu god who, when on a pilgrimage of northern areas heard about the Satisdesh and the demons who were living here. The demons headed by one Jalodblhava had made the life of people living or passing by Satisdesh really very difficult. Jalodblhava as a child had been blessed by Brahma with "Indestructibility under water". In spite of the blessings of gods Jalodbhava

Vishnu assuming the form of Varah (Pig) struck the mountains at Varanuilla (now Baramulla) to make way for the water to flow out.

Thus "the water flowed out with force, terrifying all beings with its violent rush and sound and over flowing the tops of the mountains with curved waves like the Himalayas touching the sky". After this, Jalodbhava was beheaded by Vishnu.

"For six manvantaras from Sarskalpa the world lay filled with water, bedded in the lap of Himalaya, and on the approach of the present Vaivasvatakalpa, Kashyapa invited the gods from above, and struck the earth and caused it to be heaved above the water and thus established the kingdom of Kashmir."

The presence of a water locked place where the present Kashmir stands has been proved by geological and geographical evidences. The old name of sati-sar was at the time of draining water replaced by Kashmir which in Sanskrit means land from which water has been drained away. However there is one more argument regarding the name of Kashmir. According to this school of thought, Kash or Cush was son of Ham and a grandson of Propet Noah whose descendents after migration settled in this part of the land and named it 'Kashir' like they had named Syria. In Hebrew language Kashir means one who takes the Halhal meat. Some scholars feel that the name has been given after some tribe who lived here and were called Kash. The name can also be related to Kashyap Rishi who gave this place the present shape. It is a fact that there is a complete difference of opinion among scholars about the origin of the name.

Coming back to our earlier discussion when Kashmir was freed from demons etc and the land became useable, people could not live here during winters. It must have been because of the severe weather conditions and, according to some historical sources, Kashmir was then again taken over by demons during winters. "At first men lived here for only six months in a year and went elsewhere
during six months of the winter, when it was occupied by Peshachas (demons)."
Finally, King Nilanaga gave them (Kashmiris) Nilamata-Purana through one of the persons who reached him when he was thrown into a lake by demons. The book Nilamata-Purana contained some instructions and guidance as well as details of some offerings which had to be made by them. This period could be said to be the start of civilization in Kashmir. The people started coming from different places to live here. Nagas were also living here and they may be considered to be the original inhabitants of Kashmir. They then invited king Nila to rule them.

The history then presents a blank till the reign of Gondal I, in the beginning of Kali Yuga which is about 2448 B.C. Some historians are of the opinion that Kalhan and others may have omitted the names of some kings because of their bad deeds and irreligious attitude. After this Kashmir saw many ups and downs, new developments and a number of foreign visitors. These outsiders came as traders, conquerers, religious preachers, artisans and craftsmen. These people then shaped the history of Kashmir. It has been a tradition of this society to welcome all those who came here and that is why Kashmir is a place where we find an amalgam of different cultures, religions and so on. In the backdrop of these developments the social history of Kashmir can be divided into following periods:

4.6.2 Phases of Kashmir's Social History

I. Early Hindu and Budhist Regime (the earliest socio-religious period);
II. The period of Kashmiri Muslims (changing socio-religious period);
III. The Mughals period (socio-cultural development & external influence);
IV. The Pathan period (the down slide of value system);
V. The Sikh rule (disintegration and social conflict);
VI. The Dogra rule (political developments & social consciousness); and
VII. The Democratic rule - 1947 till date. (continuity and change)

4.6.2.1 Early Hindu and Budhist Regime (the earliest socio-religious period)

Hindu and Budhist rulers definitely belonged to peculiar dynasties and represented the hereditary monarchy type of governance. According to earlier historical and archival records a distinction has been made among these dynasties.
4.6.2.1.1 Earliest Social and Political Set Up

Among the Suraj Banies, Gonda ruled Kashmir in the beginning of 2448 B.C. Krishna, who was the ruler of Mathura, fought a war with Jara Sindhu, King of Magadha. The King of Kashmir, who went there to help ruler of Magadha, was killed. Thereafter Damodara I, Gonda’s son tried to take revenge of his father’s death on Krishna but he also got killed. On his death his widow was made to sit on the throne. According to Kalhana’s account in Rajatarangni, some people did object to the installation of a woman as a ruler but Krishna told them that “Girls of Kashmir are parvatis”. However, soon after the female ruler gave birth to a son (Gonda II). The war of the Mahabarta was on when this young chap was governing Kashmir. It was mainly because of this reason that neither the Korvas nor the Pandvas asked for his help.

After Gonda II “The names of 35 kings are lost in the sea of oblivion, as their history has not been written because of their irreligiousness.” Contrary to this statement Pir Hassan Shah, a well-known local historian “fills up the gap by allotting a rule of one thousand years to some twenty two Kings of Panduv dynasty.”

The Pandv dynasty ruled Kashmir through a number of Kings. Ramadeva, one of the Pandv kings is said to have conquered whole of India from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal.

4.6.2.1.2 Budhist Period (Budhism and its social impact)

The major name which figures in the history of Kashmir is that of Ashoka (274-237 B.C). At that time he seems to have been the first external ruler of Kashmir. Ashoka was a follower of Budhism. Some historians had raised their doubts about Ashoka who they thought was a different person than one who ruled India from 272 to 231 B.C. During his period he established a friendly relationship with Greece and Egypt and it was to this connection that the introduction of the stone architecture and sculpture in Kashmir is due. According to some scholars, the “extraordinary patience that the Kashmirir shows under the
severest situations of nature such as Cholera and earthquake is clearly traceable to Budhist influence”

It is important to note here that Budhism existed in the valley right up to Kallhana who although a Shivaite was also a great admirer of Budha. Jaloka, the brave son of Ashoka took up from his father. It was during this period that Hinduism started reviving in northern parts of India. Jaloka became a staunch Shivaite. “For the proper administration of the country he created seven new offices, those of Chief Justice, Chancellor of the ex-chequer, Treasurer, Commander-in-Chief, Ambassador, High priest and Astrologer.” Jaloka during his last years of life, became friendly towards Budhists.

One of the important Kings of the Kushan dynasty was Kanishka. “During his period Budhism was taking rapid strides towards its own success” It was during this period that a Budhist council met here. This was one of the biggest assemblies of Budhist scholars of that time in the world. The Budhists were gaining their strength under the leadership of one of the greatest preacher and scholar of that time Nagarjuna. Abhimanju I succeeded Kanishka’s son. Abhimanju patronized Hinduism and thus Budhism was checked to a greater extent. Social setup of Kashmir has remained such that there has always been revival of a new religion at the cost of existing faith. Hinduism was replaced by Budhism because Budhism probably suited the cultural and social ethos of Kashmiris. Hinduism for them had become old and because of its rigidness and complex customs and rituals people were ready to accept any faith which was easy to practise.

4.6.2.1.3 Huns (Religious Intolerance)

There was a strong reaction against Budhism during this period, which was even violent in nature. Gonda was followed by a number of kings like Ravana, Inderajit etc. “Their names which are familiar to the readers of the Ramayana, suggest close cultural affinity between Kashmir and northern India”

By 528 AD, Kashmir came under the rule of Mihirkul, a white Hun ruler. During this period, Budhists were made targets of worst kind of repression while Hinduism was patronised to the best possible extent. According to some
Sanskrit scholars the well-known Sanskrit poet of India Kalidasa was born in Kashmir during the period of the Huns. However, some locals soon regained power from the Huns and it was the second Gonda dynasty which came to power and ruled Kashmir for some time. One of the well known kings of this dynasty was king Meghavabana who because of the influence of Buddhist teachings banned the slaughter of animals. Thus he, had the influence of Budhism which is quite evident from the fact that he followed some of the practices of the Budhists. This could be because these Budhist practices were acceptable to the local masses here. This became evident latter also when Islam spread in the valley but the Muslims continued with some of the practices of Hinduism. These practices and rituals fit the local ethos and socio-cultural values of the people of the valley.

4.6.2.1.4 Decline of Budhism

Duralabhavardhana, son-in-law of Hiranya, the grand son of Meghavana reigned from 627 to 663 A.D. Hiven Tsang, the well-known Chinese traveller came to Kashmir during this period. He stayed in Kashmir for two years. According to him Karkuta was a powerful king and had a vast area under him. The economy of Kashmir was stable because of the production of fruits and flowers. The country was peaceful with Budhism on decline. However, there were about 5000 Budhist monks and over one hundred Budhist monasteries. The greatest ruler of the Karkuta's was Lalitaditya Muktapida. During his period, Kashmir reached the highest peak of military glory. His ambition seems to have been identical to that of Alexander. "Shortly after his succession Lalataditya set off on a tour of conquest to India. After subduing the kings of India he turned his attention to Central Asia" and thus annexed large area. He is reported to have told his ministers that "For rivers, the ocean is the limit but nowhere is there a limit for those aspiring to be conquerors." Lalitaditya was a great builder, administrator and had interest in poetry, arts and scholarship. He brought the well-known poet of that time Bhava-Bhutti to his court. He founded many towns and built temples like that of Martand. He is reported to have brought large area of land under cultivation and carried out extensive drainage work. However, after Lalataditya's rule, other Karkutas could not consolidate and administer the state properly. By the middle of the ninth century this dynasty totally collapsed.
In fact, after the decline of Karkuta dynasty, "The history of the next half century
is a record of the installation and dethronement of puppet kings and of the jealousies
and intrigues of rival faction." Raja Avantivarman then founded the Utpala
dynasty. " It is in the reign of Avantivarman that we first read an account of the
country being improved by the drainage and irrigation operations, and Suyya was
the great Engineer who performed this work" Avantiverman did not indulge
himself in any kind of war but concentrated on development, welfare and
conservation. There was ban on killing of living creatures. His son
Sankaravertnan distinguished himself by extracting heavy taxes from people. He
set out on a conquering expedition but could not consolidate the area he annexed.
The difference between two kings Avantiverma and Lalitditya was that one was
more concerned about development and conservation while the other wanted to
increase the boundaries of his country along with the development. The socio-
cultural ethos of the valley was maintained and even strengthened to a great
extent. Kashmir as we have already come across in our earlier discussion is in
favour of a stable and just human society and it is probably because of that the
name of Avantiverman is still remembered here and an important town is still
named after him.

4.6.2.1.5 Islamic influence in Kashmir

It was during the rule of the Lohara dynasty that the influence of Islam
struck in the valley. In 950 A.D. Ksemagupta ascended the throne, who married
a lady called Didda. Ksemagupta was a weak person and it was Didda who was
at the centrestage of everything. Queen Didda was a woman of unscrupulous but
forceful character, first as Queen consort, then regent and finally as ruler. Didda
was extremely beautiful, highly intelligent and uncommonly way ward. She is
the person whom history loves as well as hates. She survived the politics of
intrigue, murder and debauchery for about half a century. Didda’s nephew
Samgram Raja ascended the throne in 1003 A.D. and reigned till 1028 A.D.
However, due to inellicency of Lohra Kings, the social and political conditions in
Kashmir worsened. Forced labour was also resorted. It was during his time that
Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Kashmir. Although Kashmiri troops were
defeated but he could not come to this place because of weather conditions. Ghazni again attacked Kashmir six years later in 1021 A.D, but again owing to inclement weather and the mountain barriers he was forced to leave back. That time Kashmir became a place of murders, suicides, loot and robbery, although the king tried hard to restore law and order and took care of developmental and social work. However, he could not control the situation. It was at this time that the Islamic influence was taking deep roots into the Kashmiri society and culture. The rulers of that time being Hindus were exploiting the situation with the help of religion rather they were making religion as a tool of exploitation. People were fed up with this system and wanted a change which could relieve them from the misrule and the problems. The breakdown of law and order and lawlessness further deteriorated the situation. Any new religion which would have been simple and more accommodative had the chances to flourish. In this situation Islam consolidated its position.

After Jaya Simha’s death, the decline of Hinduism in Kashmir became more rapid. The political and economic decline, which had set in since the beginning of the eleventh century became more rapid after him. His successors were weak and incompetent. Kashmir was a place of “drunkards, gamblers and profligate women” during the period of Suhadeva. During his regime, Kashmir was attacked by Mongols led by Zulju, who is also called Zul Qadr Khan by some historians. There is still a debate going on among historians as to who Zulju was. Although historians like Abu-ul-Fazl describe him as a commander of Qandahar but historical evidence proves that Zulju in reality was a Mongol who came from Turkistan. Simhadeva, had no strength to fight the invader and fled to save his life. It is believed that Zulju was from the family of Changez and Halaku Khan. Zulju stayed in Kashmir after defeating the king and engaged in loot, and arson. Soon there was a famine and Zulju had no option but to leave the valley. However, as he was not aware about the exit road thus the people whom he took as slaves from Kashmir took him through difficult hilly and snowy terrain where he along with others perished. Meanwhile Ram Chand the commander-in-Chief of Simha Deva had been trying to keep up some semblance of authority in the valley and when Zulju departed Ram Chand took full control of the situation.
had the habit of being highly hospitable towards people who had any type of virtue or had some sort of mark in any field. There was no consideration of caste, creed, colour or religion in this case. During his rule he had patronised two such people. One of them was Rinchana (Lha-chen-rghal-bu-rin-chen was his full name). Rinchana was the son of a Ladakhi Chief Lha-Chen-Dngosprub who had to leave his country for saving his life. The other man was Shah Mir. Mir was a Turkish. Turkish adventurers were frequently visiting Kashmir from the end of the eleventh century. Shah Mir reportedly came to Kashmir around 1313 A.D. Both these foreigners Rinchana and Shah Mir later played a major role in shaping the history of Kashmir. The society of Kashmir has always seen the influence and role of foreigners in it. As rulers, as preachers and administrators. This trend still continues.

Coming back to our earlier discussion about Ram Chand, who was then trying to consolidate his position. Rinchana eliminated Ram Chand and proclaimed himself to be the king of Kashmir. However, before that, he married Ram Chand’s daughter Kota Rani and retained Shah Mir as his chief advisor. However, he could rule only for two years (1324-1326 A.D.) because he died soon after.

Just after becoming the king, Rinchana had embraced Islam. Why Rinchanna became a Muslim is still debatable, although historians have put forth many reasons for it. The missionary work of Muslims was on when Rinchanna became king. In order to find 'what is truth?' he would engage Hindu and Buddhist priests in discussions. Buddhism had become diluted with foreign elements, while Hinduism could not appeal him because of its caste-ridden rules and the arrogance of the Brahmins who were its custodians. It is also said that he could not become a Hindu because none of the Hindu castes would admit him to their brotherhood. It was in such a confusing situation that he made contact with a Muslim preacher commonly known as Bulbul Shah. The simplicity of Islam must have attracted him and Rinchanna was metamorphosed into Sadru-d-Din. Islam got the patronage of the government during his rule and thus was able to get more and more people to its fold.

Sadra-d-Din's death brought forth Udayanadeva the brother of Suhadeva
as king because Sadru-d-Din's son Haider was a minor. Udayanadeva being weak it was therefore Chief Minister Shah Mir and Kota Rani who were the real rulers of Kashmir. When Udayanadeva died in 1338 A.D. Kota Rani assumed power, but she could rule for only fifty days. It was Shah Mir who declared himself king. He proposed Kota Rani to marry him but she committed suicide. Shah Mir became king of Kashmir under the name of Shams-u-Din and was the first of Sulatin-i-Kashmir.

4.6.2.2 The period of Kashmiri Musalmans - Sultanate Period (changing socio-religious period)

Sultan Shams-u-din or Shah Mir laid the foundation of Sultanate in 1339 A.D. He abolished many of the extra taxes which had been imposed on the people in the previous regime and cancelled those laws and regulations which were of an oppressive nature. Shah Mir's rule is well known due to the fact that he laid the foundation for establishment of Muslim authority in both its religious and secular aspects in the valley.

Shihab-ud-Din was an able administrator, proved warrior and man of integrity who governed his kingdom with firmness and justice. Although during his regime the valley was hit by heavy floods and other problems but even then from the political and military point of view, his rule has been called as the most glorious in the history of Muslim Sultanate in Kashmir. He was the first of the Kashmiri Muslim monarchs who marched out for the purpose of making foreign conquests. It was during his rule that famous Muslim Saint Mir Syed Ali Hamdani visited Kashmir in 1372 A.D.

Shihab-ud-din was a minor when he was made the king, therefore, his mother Queen Sura acted as regent. Women have played an important role in the history of Kashmir. At times, women have proved to be highly purposeful in assisting the administration. From pre-historic times, and even during the battle of Mahabarata to Rani Didda, Kota Rani and even Surya. The traditional approach and idea of Kashmiri women that they were not treated well and had no authority seems to be a misinterpretation. There is, no doubt, in the fact that there must
have been tremendous impact of the teachings of Mir Syed Ali on Sultan Sikander. He built a mosque known today as Khangah-i-Mullalla, and some other religious places. Some writers have described him as a fanatic and a crude ruler who encouraged forced conversion and destroyed Hindu temples and other religious material. Hindu temples were felled to the ground and for one year a large establishment was maintained for the demolition of the grand Martand temples. However historians have given other reasons for the destruction of temples at Martand. There is evidence to suggest that massive temples of Martand and Avantipur were destroyed by earthquakes and not by Sikander, for gun powder which alone could have destroyed these massive structures, was unknown in Kashmir in the 14th century. There is also a difference of opinion among those who believe that Sultan Sikander demolished Hindu temples. The Sultan even tried to pull down the famous temples of Martand but later gave up the effort. However, there is an opinion that Sikander was an able, generous and brave ruler and looked after the welfare of his subjects. He put an end to many oppressive taxes like Baj and Tamgha. He was the first Sultan of Kashmir to enforce the Sharia. Sharia is the implementation of Islamic code of conduct, laws, regulations and ways in day to day life. He even banned the use of wine and other intoxicants and prohibited gambling.

Sikander’s son Sultan Ali Shah (1413-20 A.D.) became the King of Kashmir after his father. Although he ruled, but proved to be a weak and incompetent ruler. He left Kashmir after entrusting the Kingdom to his younger brother Shahi Khan whom he gave the title of Zain-ul-Abideen.

4.6.2.2.1 Sultan Zainul Abideen (1420-70 A.D.)

During Zain-ul-Abideen’s half a century rule in Kashmir he outclassed all his successors and even predecessors in the field of administration, law and order. Commonly known as Budshah or the great King he reversed the policy of religious persecution inflicted by his father. He brought back all those people who had fled the valley and even persuaded those who had converted to Islam under various social forces and pressures to return to their old faith. He is said to have helped in the construction of demolished temples and got the Hindu sacred books like the Shastras and the Mahabarta translated into Persian. He was a great warrior but avoided conflicts. He reorganized his forces and even introduced the
use of gunpowder and also fabricated a few cannons. He also established control over Ladakh and Baltistan and even subjugated the hill principalities of Naushara, Rajouri and Lohara. In the field of art and crafts, he revolutionised the state. He introduced papier machie, stone polishing, stone cutting, glass works, gold and silver leaf-making and book-binding. He invited artisans from other countries so that they could teach the locals different arts and crafts. Zain-ul-Abideen was also a great lover of education and music. Tolerance, acts of liberty, honesty, love for the oppressed, interest in arts, crafts, building, education, to provide able and clean administration were hallmark of his period. Although he left behind him the reputation of a mild, generous and accomplished prince but unfortunately left no permanent systems of government to his successors and his son Haji Khan who succeeded to the throne about 1469, A.D. under the name of Haider Shah. Being a drunkard who would spend most of his time among women and musicians he left the management of the state to the corrupt and worthless favourites who misgoverned the country.

Zain-ul-Abideen who ruled Kashmir for about five decades had understood the socio-cultural needs of the locals and local tradition. His policies and programme did not clash with the local culture of Kashmir. When he came to power Kashmir was not economically stable and apart from agriculture there were only few small scale industries being operated by the locals. Zain-ul-Abideen made Kashmir economically stable rather well of by the introduction of new handicrafts. His attitude towards the non-Muslims depicts the Kashmiri psyche and socio-cultural ethos of the people. He was aware about the deep rooted patience, self respect and non-communal ideas and thoughts of the Kashmiris. As the society was free from any type of social conflict, social institutions were stable and law and order had firmly been implemented.

### 4.6.2.2.2 Changing Political Regime and Social Structure.

The death of Haider Shah in 1472 saw Sultan Hassan Shah (1472-84) on the throne of Kashmir. Hassan Shah was always busy with music and he thus could not find time to inspect the army or to administer justice. After his death the valley witnessed struggle of power among different people. There were different
factions fighting for the top post of the country and finally one Fateh Khan ascended the throne under the name of Fateh Shah. However, Fateh Shah was also unequal to the task of restoring peace and tranquility. It was during his rule that the Chaks came to the forefront which finally led to the extinction of his own family as the dominant ruling factor in Kashmir. After this some other people ruled Kashmir but their grip over the administration loosened day by day. In this situation of unsettled conditions one Mirza Haider Dughlat, a cousin of both Babar and Sultan Abu Said of Kashgar, who besides being a soldier was also a scholar moved into valley in 1540 A.D and took control of the place without facing any resistance.

When Mirza Haider attacked Kashmir, different nobles and groups were engaged in fighting with each other. The only resistance shown against him was by Kaji Chak. In fact, Mirza Haider had been invited to Kashmir by some locals like Abdal Magree and Regi Chak. This shows the attitude of Kashmiris vis-a-vis foreigners. He never regarded Kashmir as his home and didn’t identify himself with its people. This made him arrogant and therefore, could not govern properly. Mirza Haider’s death gave rise to struggle for power among nobles belonging to Raina, Magree and Chak families, and finally, Chaks came to power and ruled Kashmir for about thirty years.

4.6.2.2.3 The Chaks (unrest and external interference)

The Chaks were Shias and had entered Kashmir in the time of Suhadeva. They resembled Marathas and like them gradually rose from obscurity to rulers. “They sought and entered service with the nobles, thereby strengthening and consolidating themselves till at last they were able to assert themselves.” The foundation of Chak dynasty as a ruling class was laid by Ghazi Chak in 1561. He started his rule with justice and tried to weed out social evils from the society. His strict attitude even compelled his own tribesmen to rise against him. Ghazi Chak allowed freedom of belief to persons of all religions. Ghazi was followed by Hussain Shah Chak who was a mild ruler, less bigotted and solicitious about the well-being of his subjects. During his period some representatives of Akbar’s court visited Kashmir.
Yousuf Shah was another important and known king of Chak dynasty who was less interested in the affairs of the government and would spend more time roaming with a singing woman. He handed over the government to Syed Mubarak Baihaqi. However, soon confusion was created between Baihaqi and Yousuf by some nobles. In this state of confusion, Lohur Chak who was Yousuf’s cousin secured the throne. Yousuf therefore went to Akbar for help. The Mughal king was waiting for such an opportunity as he was badly after Kashmir. The Mughal king and some other people helped him and thus Yousuf Shah re-established himself on the throne. However, the Mughals continued their interference in the affairs of the king. They wanted the king to report to the Mughal court about the happenings in the valley. In this situation, Yousuf Shah sent his son Yaqub Shah to the Mughal king with presents. During his stay with the Mughals, he came to know that they were planning to get Kashmir under their direct control and side line the Chaks. Yaqoob was more brave and courageous than his father, while he wanted to fight the Mughals, Yousuf Shah would agree that Akbar’s army was too numerous and strong to be fought successfully. The Mughals made some attempts to annex Kashmir but they failed. With no possibility of success, the Mughals invited Yousuf Shah to the darbar of King Akbar. The invitation to the Mughal court was both a request and a threat. The nobles and court officials advised Yousuf Shah not to visit the Mughal court. They suspected some hidden plan in this game. However, Yousuf Shah was adamant and he left for the Mughal court where he was arrested. In the absence of Yousuf Shah, his son Yaqoob Shah was made the King of Kashmir. He, however, did not rule with the tact, ability and justice. He became so arrogant that he adopted a hostile attitude towards the Sunnis and other classes. Misrule and oppression were rampant, sectarian quarrels and highhandedness were the order of the day. He even executed some Sunni Ulemas like Qazi Musa. It was in this situation that Sheikh Yaqoob Serfi and Baba Daud Khaki went to Akbar and requested him to help them. They made an agreement with Akbar who promised them religious tolerance and abolition of slave trade. The agreement reached between the two parties was:

i. That the ruling prince shall not interfere with the religious affairs, the
purchase and sale of commodities, and the rates of cereals;

ii. That the dignitaries and officials of Mughals shall have no Kashmiri male or female as a slave;

iii. That the inhabitants of the country shall not be molested or oppressed in any way; and

iv. That the nobles of Kashmir having been a source of mischief shall have at present no share in the administration of their country. 

It was in this backdrop that Akbar sent his army to Kashmir. Yaqoob Shah made many attempts to put some resistance but because of internal feuds and no support from some nobles, he was defeated and had no option but to surrender. Thus in the year 1586-87, the valley passed from the Chaks of Kashmir into the hands of Mughal Emperors.

This has been the social history of Kashmir that locals have many a times invited the foreigners to govern them either because people were subjugated to the worst kind of treatment by the rulers or some influential people who had some differences with the rulers. People like Sheikh Yaqoob Sarfi and Baba Dawood Khaki seemed to have no option but to take the help of Mughals to save the society from misrule and oppression. Same situation was repeated by some Kashmiri Pandiths later by inviting the Sikhs to govern this place.

4.6.2.3 The Mughal Period (Socio-cultural development and external influence)

Even before Akbar, the Mughals were always concerned about Kashmir. It was chiefly as they were treating Kashmir as a part of their empire. This was because Mirza Haider Dughlat had ruled Kashmir on behalf of Humayun from 1541-1551 A.D. This notion was responsible for keeping the Mughal rulers always in a state of anger over those who ruled Kashmir. After Akbar was able to 'Win' the valley, he along with his successors ruled Kashmir through governors or subedar. However, in most of the cases, there was proper accountability of these representatives to the King. Mughals treated Kashmir as their own land and helped in its overall development. Peace and justice was restored in the valley and Kashmir became an important centre of trade and commerce. Akbar visited
Kashmir three times and his visits coincided with some important development in the valley. The revenue arrangements set by Akbar's revenue minister remained in use for a very long time. Akbar is also credited for completing the fort of Hariparbat which gave employment to a large number of people. On his third visit to the valley in 1597 A.D he was accompanied by father Jerome Xavier and Benedict Goez, who are probably the first known European travellers to Kashmir. Akbar abolished *Jizya* and adopted the practice of paying the labourers in cash. The hallmark of Mughal rule in Kashmir was that people were greatly helped at the time of famines, floods and other natural calamities. While food grains were rushed from other parts of India, people were temporarily employed in construction of buildings, gardens etc in order to help them financially.

Jehangir, the successor of Akbar had great love for Kashmir. Most of the gardens around Dal Lake were made during his period. He was highly interested in plantation of chinars throughout the valley. Shahjehan, the successor of King Jehangir was a great builder and his selection of *subedars* for Kashmir is considered to be his great achievement. His two Subedars Zaffar Khan and Ali Mardan are still remembered for their just and kind rule. Shah Jehan's period also attracted many poets to Kashmir. Most of the taxes imposed earlier were withdrawn, even poll-tax on boatmen and the taxes on wood and sheep were abolished.

Finally, Aurangzeb took over and during his period about fourteen governors were appointed. Although *Subedars* (governors) sent to Kashmir were of varying character but those found guilty were punished. The most important historical event of Aurangzeb's rule vis-a-vis Kashmir is the arrival of *Mun Mubarak* (Sacred hair) of the Prophet of Islam which was brought to the city by a Kashmiri merchant Khawaja Nur-ud-Din Ishbahi in 1699 A.D. from Bijapur. With the death of Aurangzeb, there was decay of Mughal rule and simultaneously the grip of Indian rulers on Kashmir started loosing day by day. The sectarian violence and fight for supremacy among the small nobles and land lords again became order of the day. Although governors were sent from Delhi but by 1751 A.D. the office of the *Subah* of Kashmir appears to have become hereditary and practically independent of Delhi.
However, even if Kashmir witnessed justice and development during the Mughal rule there is no doubt that it lost her unique identity and became part of the Mughal empire. At the same time Kashmiri people were given opportunities in army and administration and in a way the Kashmiris lost their identity during the rule of Mughals.

While the Mughal authority on Kashmir was touching its low in 1747 A.D., some Kashmiri nobles like Mir Muqim Kanth and Khawaja Zahir-ud-Din invited the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali to invade Kashmir. The forces were sent by him who defeated the then Mughal governor and thus Kashmir passed into the hands of new masters - the Afghans or Pathans.

The Mughal contribution into the overall socio-economic development of Kashmiri society is of immense importance. They were unlike Sikhs, Pathans and others who only governed Kashmir to extract its wealth. Mughals helped not only to restore the existing art and industries of Kashmir but they also introduced new arts and gave a new dimension to the governance of the country. The most important feature of the Mughal rule was that there are no complaints of excessess against the minorities. There was no discrimination or any type of religious intolerance. They even abolished some of the taxes which were levied on non-muslims. This approach definitely helped them to win the hearts of the people. Beggar to which Kashmiris had been subjucated by many rulers was abolished. In fact, Mughals were the first rulers to pay labourers in cash. Their employment generation drive by employing the locals in various constructions not only helped the people earn money but even provide them a chance to gain experience in this sector. The Mughal rule also provided a much needed exposure to the locals. As the people were employed in army and other administrative establishments, the interaction between the aliens and the locals took new shapes. There were also intermarriages between the Mughals and the locals which enriched the Kashmiri culture with the socio-cultural trades of the Mughals.

4.6.2.4 The Pathan Period ( The down slide of value systems )

Ahmad Shah Abdali sent his commander Abdulla Khan to Kashmir with a small army and was successful as there was no co-ordination among the Kashmiri
nobles and the people who were at the helm of affairs. Like Mughal kings the Afgans also ruled Kashmir through their governors or representatives. However, unlike Mughal kings, there was absolutely no check and accountability on part of the Afghan representatives. “Despite their shared religion, tribal, cultural and linguistic differences meant that the usual pattern of colonial rule began. Direct control was nominal and oppression took the form of extortion of money from the local people and brutality in the face of opposition. Both Kashmiri men and women lived in fear for their lives. Many were captured and sent as slaves to Afghanistan. Never before had the people in the valley experienced such barbarous administration”. The only thing the Afghan governors would do was to extract as much money and wealth as was possible. Although their target was every Kashmiri but “Hindus and Shias were the main victims”. However, it is not out of interest to note that it was Afghan rule which saw rise of some Kashmiri Pandits to the highest posts in administration like Peshkars, Divans, and Sahikars.

When the first Afghan commander Abdullah Khan left Kashmir, after defeating the local nobles and the Mughals, Sukh Jiwan Mal, a Hindu Khatri adventurer, was appointed by him as advisor to Abdullah Khan Kabuli, the Afghan governor. On the advice of some local influential people, Sukh Jiwan Mal declared himself as ruler and killed Kabuli. Sukh Jiwan declared himself the part of Mughal rule but after some resistance Sukh Jiwan was defeated and again Kashmir came under the control of Pathans. Sukh Jiwan also became an oppressor and subjected the Muslims to considerable hardships, even forbidding them to offer prayers.

After Sukh Jiwan, the appointment of governors continued but in most of the cases, they (governors) tried to become independent from Kabul. One of these governors Atta Mohammad Khan went to the extent of striking coins in the name of well-known and popular Kashmiri Saint Sheikh Nur Din or Nund Rishi. However, the tussle of power in Kabul and Kashmir proved to be disastrous for Kashmiris. They had many masters but none was ready to take care of their problems. The last Pathan governor was Jabbar Khan during whose rule, there was famine in Kashmir. Pandit Birbal Dhar developed some differences with Jabbar Khan and went to Lahore via Jammu and approached Maharaja Ranjit Singh for
help. In fact, this Sikh ruler had made some attempts earlier also to annex Kashmir but had failed. In July 1819 A.D. the forces of Ranjit Singh and Jabbar Khan fought at Shopian where Jabbar's forces were defeated and Kashmir again had new masters in the form of Sikhs. With this ended 67 year rule of Aghans in Kashmir. Although the Afghan rule is generally remembered as one of the darkest of Kashmir history, but some of the Pathan rulers did some remarkable work. One of them Amir Khan Jawansher (1770-76) reconstructed the Sona Lank in the Dal lake and raised a seven storyed mansion upon it. He also built Amira Kadal bridge over river Jehlum and the fort of Sherghari.  

4.6.2.5 The Period of Sikh Rule (Disintegration and Social Conflict)

The Sikh rule again was no better for the masses as it again came with hardships and problems. Apart from the strategic importance that Kashmir possessed in the geopolitical system of the mighty Hindukush and Himalayan mountain range, beginning from Kabul and ending at the mountainous conglomeration of Tibet, China and Central Asia, it also offered great economic, military and cultural inducements. Ranjit Singh's interest in Kashmir could also be from a religious point of view as both Guru Nanak and his son Sri Chand had visited Kashmir and had treated this place as a holy place by great Gurus. Moti Ram was the first Sikh governor. He held the office twice. He put a ban on the killing of cows. These measures were considered to be anti-islamic and thus Muslims of the valley found themselves in a dismay condition. However, he tried to restore the lost confidence in people but corruption touched new heights during his period of rule. When Kirpa Ram became governor, there was a powerful earthquake which devastated most of Kashmir. Later colonel Mihan Singh won a great reputation in Kashmir as he tried to put an end to the extortionist attitude of Sikh soldiers that ultimately got him killed by those very soldiers who wanted to continue their illegal trade. After this force was sent from Lahore under the command of Gulab Singh who crushed the indisciplined soldiers and Sheikh Gulam Mohi-ud-din was appointed as governor in 1842 A.D. Mohi-ud-din took advantage of being a Muslim and tried to heal the wounds. He opened the gates of the Jamia Masjid which had been closed by earlier rulers. He also restored jagirs to those who had been deprived of them. However, it was during his time
that the Dogras of Jammu got an eye on Kashmir. The Dogra army marched towards Ladakh during his period. In 1845, Mohi-ud-din's son Imam-ud-din became governor and ruled for about one year as the last representative of Sikhs in Kashmir. Although Sikh rule was not as harsh as that of Pathans but it seems that the aim of Sikhs was to collect maximum amount of money from Kashmiris. An English traveller William Moorcraft who visited Kashmir in 1824 A.D. writes that "every where the people are in the most abject condition, exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh government, subjected them to every kind of extortion and oppression. Not more than about one-sixteenth of the cultivable land is in cultivation, and the inhabitants, starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the plains of Hindustan ... Butchers, barbers, boatmen, vendors of fuel, public notaries, scavengers, prostitutes, all paid a sort of corporation tax."[19]

In this situation, when the Dogras were already advancing towards the neighbouring places of Kashmir valley like Ladakh etc Imam-ud-din wanted to fight Gulab Singh but Gulab Singh was helped by Britishers, so Kashmir again passed into the hands of new masters .... the Dogras. It may be recalled that Gulab Singh was Raja of Jammu and when Birbal Dhar went to Lahore to seek the help of Ranjit Singh, it was Gulab Singh who had given a letter of introduction to Gulab Singh regarding his interest in the affairs of Kashmir. Thus Gulab Singh's interest could be traced back to that time.

Sikh rulers seemed to have only economic interests in Kashmir. They did not identify themselves with the local culture and tradition. The interference of Sikhs into the religious affairs of Kashmiris also became unbearable for the locals. So the locals prepared themselves to accept a new master with a hope that they would not be more cruel than the existing ones.

4.6.2.6. Rule of Gulab Singh's family - 'Dogra Rule' (Political developments & Socio-cultural Consciousness)

The people who inhabit the hilly country between the rivers of Chenab and Sutlej are called Dogras. They speak Dogri as their language.

Gulab Singh was in the services of Ranjit Singh. Gulab Singh had earlier
distinguished himself during various military campaigns undertaken by Ranjit Singh. He had shown his unmatched skill, courage, loyalty and organisational ability. Ranjit therefore, gave Jammu exclusively to him and this provided him a chance to consolidate his position and raise his own force for defence. Gulab Singh thus brought many areas around Jammu under his rule. In fact, Kashmir was his priority from the very beginning but he was waiting for an appropriate time as it was directly under the control of Lahore court of Ranjit Singh. As has been already discussed, the Sikh rule in Kashmir started falling after 1840 A.D due to wrong policies of the governors who were sent here. On one hand, Gulab Singh was close to Ranjit Singh, but on the other hand, he had close contact with Britishers who were not comfortable with Ranjit Singh. Gulab Singh had offered his help to Britishers many a time. "In 1841 Gulab Singh had helped the British by allowing their army pass through the then Sikh territory of the Punjab for the invasion of Afghanistan, which Ranjit Singh had refused at the time of the first Afghan war and consequently, the British had to proceed by way of Sind. Gulab Singh also assisted the British troops with supplies, even though the British army had suffered defeat in Afghanistan." In 1844, the governor-general of India, Lord Ellenborough, had been informed by Colonel Richmond, the political agent in Lahore, that Gulab Singh would probably align himself with the British in a future conflict with the Sikhs. This is quite clear that Gulab Singh had some long term plans and that is why he helped the Britishers without any interest at that time. In fact, he wanted the Britishers to recognise him as an independent ruler. By the beginning of 1840, Gulab Singh had stopped paying the annual revenue to Lahore Darbar. This resulted in confrontation between Gulab Singh and Lahore. In fact, Gulab Singh was taken to Lahore and jailed but he managed to get himself released and came back to Jammu.

In December 1845, the first Anglo-Sikh war was fought between Sikhs and Britishers in Punjab where Sikhs were defeated but they were not completely eliminated. On 10 February 1846 the Sikhs again fought the British at the battle of Sobraon, a village in Punjab on the banks of river Sutlej and were finally defeated. As Gulab Singh did not support Sikhs and contrary to it was ready to help Britishers. They found a friend and had no option but to accommodate him honourably.
Sikhs were not happy with Gulab Singh as he had virtually stabbed them in the back. Rani Jindan, who was the head of the Sikh empire at that time, wanted to reduce Gulab Singh’s power. She offered the land of Jammu and Kashmir to the Britishers instead of war indemnity which the Sikhs had to pay according to the British rules and regulations of that time. This was mainly done to strip Gulab Singh of all the lands he had acquired in the name of Sikh kingdom. Thus a treaty was signed at Lahore on 9th March 1846, by which the state of Kashmir was handed over to the British as equivalent to one crore of rupees (ten million) of indemnity and the hill countries between the rivers Beas and the Indus including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara. Thus the British became the ‘owners’ of Kashmir and the Kashmiris, and they could have held the valley of Kashmir but they also had different designs. Sir Henry Hardings (then Governor General) suggested to the Queen a plan by which Kashmir could be transferred to Gulab Singh. It was done for the protection of what came to be known as the northern frontier. The plan proved to be doubly attractive as “Gulab Singh was willing to pay for it.” It is not out of place to mention here that regarding the basic game plan of Britishers about Kashmir and Gulab Singh, Hardings had no sympathy for Gulab Singh although he had admitted that Gulab Singh not only helped the Britishers directly or indirectly on many occasions but Gulab Singh was in constant touch with the British officials, when he was a wazir under Sikh rule. Hardings observed that “Raja Gulab Singh, on being installed a minister (of Sikh Darbar) put himself in communication with us, offering every assistance in his power for the furtherance of any ends in regard to the state of Lahore which we might have in view.” In fact, Gulab Singh had been described as a “Great rascal in Asia” by Hardings but other interests which he had in mind made him to forget such things. In his communication to secret committee on 14 March 1846 Hardings opened his mind:

“It is not my intention to take possession of the whole of this country. Its occupation by us would be, on many accounts, disadvantageous. It would bring us into collision with many powerful chiefs, for whose coercion a large military establishment at a great distance from our
provinces and military resources would be necessary. It would more than double the extent of our present frontier in countries assailable at every point and most difficult to defend without any corresponding advantages for such large additions of territory."  

It is not out of place to mention here that Hardings came under severe criticism for the sale of Kashmir both in and outside Great Britain. However, he was able to convince the people at the helm of affairs that his strategy was in the interests of the British Raj.

4.6.2.6.2 Formation of the Jammu & Kashmir State

In the ultimate analysis, loyalty of Gulab Singh towards British and the interests of the British led to the formation of the Jammu & Kashmir State. On 16th March 1846, exactly after a week of the signing of treaty of peace at Lahore between Sikh Maharaja Dilip Singh and the British, another treaty was signed. It was a different treaty, a sale deed wherein Kashmir was again handed over to a new master — Raja Gulab Singh. As per the treaty Raja Gulab Singh paid to the British a sum of rupees seventy five Lakhs (Nanakshahi) thus the valley, its people, mountains, lakes, animals and other things were virtually sold like consumer items. What a humiliating sale!

According to the census of that time, each Kashmiri was sold for rupees 3 only. This could be the worst type of 'trade' in the history of humanity. Poets, Philosophers and people who mattered at that time did raise their voice against this 'human trade'. The treaty was more disturbing for the Kashmiris because they were not taken into confidence before reaching the agreement. The local population was so subjugated that they could not raise their voice against such a move. The conditions of the people was such that they had no alternative but to accept the treaty signed by two such forces who were not remotely connected or concerned with the Kashmiri society. The locals were basically facing the problem of leadership which was totally absent here. There was hardly anybody to guide them, to tell them what had been done and to educate the masses as to what they can do in such a situation to resist this move.
The treaty proved to be humiliating affair for the Britishers too. William Wakefield, a well known European traveller and writer criticising the policy of his country, wrote:

"The luck-luster spirit that so often pervades our national policy and which caused the great Nepolean to apply to us the term of a nation of shop keepers, was dominant in this case, for relinquishing all the advantages that occurred to us from its possession, the supreme government sold this fair province to Raja Gulab Singh for the paltry and insignificant sum of seventy five lacks of rupees, 750,000 in our money."

Similarly Dugsal, described the sale of Kashmir as:

"one of those political mistakes that we make in a hurry to appease the demons of economy, or that of the Exeter Hall, and repent at our leisure, or regret the fatality of the national tradition that we threw away by diplomacy that we won by the sword."

In any case, Kashmir along with Jammu, its adjoining areas like Poonch, Rajouri, Doda, Kishtwar and even Ladakh and Baltistan became part of the Dogra empire and took the name of Jammu and Kashmir. This was virtually the first time that Kashmir became part of a greater amalgam because till then Kashmir had the distinction of being a separate state. Although it saw various masters and rulers but the place maintained its unique individuality. Ladakh and Baltistan, it may be mentioned here, were already in the hands of Mahraja Gulab Singh.

Although Kashmir had been made part of the Dogra empire but the Kashmiris and even the Lahore darbar were not happy with the developments. That time, Kashmir was being ruled by Sheikh Imam-u-din who on the instructions of Sikh rulers put resistance. The new ruler had sent a small force led by one Lakhpat Rai who was killed by Imam- u-din's forces. After this, Gulab Singh came here in person but again had to go back to Jammu. Finally, the Britishers
intervened and came forward with help to the Mahraja. On 9th November 1846, he entered Srinagar along with English army. Imam-u-din's then surrendered before them and thus Gulab Singh was the Dogras were able to establish his rule. However, it is said that no Kashmiri took arms in favour of Gulab Singh or Imam-u-din as they were convinced that none of them was their friends. "Not a single Kashmiri took up arms on either side. To the Kashmiris both armies were alike enemies, for they disturbed the peace of the valley, destroyed trade, made rice dear and they felt certain that whoever the conqueror might be, the Sikh or the Dogra, their fate would be the same, viz. to be squeezed to the utmost possible extent." The situation of Kashmir and Kashmiris has remained such that in most of their decisions regarding them they were not taken into confidence and not even consulted on these issues. In fact, such was the supression on Kashmiris that they were made to accept anything that suited their 'masters'. This definitely had its impact on the psyche of the Kashmiris. It is important to note here that some writers and intellectuals of Jammu who are Dogras have objected to using Dogra rule to the regime of Gulab Singh's family. According to them it was not the rule of the Dogra community as a whole but only a family which had its interests in the valley of Kashmir. However, most of the writers, historians and experts have used the Dogra term time and again with the rule of this Jammu family.

Dogra rulers were not very different from their predecessors in terms of their attitude towards Kashmiris and the treatment given to the locals. In fact, it is said about Gulab Sing that "he was in a hurry to make up the seventy five Lakhs of rupees he had paid to Britishers". There is a total contradiction between the accounts given by English travellers about the Dogra regime. Some have praised it beyond expectations. Sir Walter Lawrence who was a land commissioner in Kashmir and was considered friend of Kashmiri oppressed peasants, uses some good words for Raja Gulab Singh. "He brought the principle of a personal rule to perfection and showed the people that he could stand by himself........, and was an able, just and active ruler, and a fairly wise landlord, the condition of the people improved, and after many years some confidence was inspired in the permanence of administration" However, on the other hand, Lieutenant-Colonel H.D. Torrens wrote in 1863 that "Gulab Singh went far
beyond his predecessors in the gentle acts of undue taxation and extortion. They had taxed heavily, it is true but he sucked the very like blood of the people, they had laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of the earth, the profits of the loom and the work of man's hands, but he skinned the very flints to fill his coffers"\(^3\) Not only Torrens but many others like Fredric Drew were highly critical of the policies of Gulab Singh and his greed for amazing money. "As an administrator he was better than most of those of his own time and neighbourhood, but yet the results of his rule do not give one the highest impression of his powers in this respect. He knows how to govern a country in the sense of making his authority respected all through it. For carrying out of the further objects of good government he probably cared little; his experience had shown him no instance of their attainment, and possibly he had not in his mind the idea of a governments's different kind from that which he succeeded in administering; for of all the governments within reach of his observation those were good in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and, the revenue came in punctually."\(^2\) While referring to his way of extracting money Drew further states:

"He was always accessible, and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was keen to look into details so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration with the customary offering of a rupee as \textit{nazr} anyone could set his ear, even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out \textit{Mahraj-arzhai} (Maharaja a petition). He would pounce down like a hawk on the money: .........\(^1\)

In any case, firm administration, price control and organized tax system was definitely prevalent but discrimination towards Kashmir especially Muslims continued thus sowing the seed of communalism among the people. The Muslims, who constituted more than ninety percent of the population of the valley, were even forced to pay a tax for \textit{Dharmarth}, a Hindu religious trust established by \textit{Maharaja}.\(^1\) Gulab Singh died on 2nd August 1857 A.D. and was succeeded by his son \textit{Maharaja} Sir Ranbir Singh who ruled up to 1885 A.D. His rule has a lot of significance vis-a-vis the independence movement of India as the famous revolt
of 1857 against the British took place during his rule.

When the revolt of 1857 began, Ranbir Singh like his father did not waste any time to show his sincerity to Britishers. It is important to note here that Gulab Singh's psychopathy had reached its climax when he began well as a loyal subordinate alley of the British and declared himself, of course, without being ironical, to be their 'Zar Khareed' - gold bought slave.\(^\text{135}\) This phase would certainly haunt Kashmiri sentiments for many generations after Gulab Singh was even dead.\(^\text{136}\) It is because Kashmiris were ruled by a 'slave'. Coming back to Ranbir Singh he "detailed a contingent of state troops 2,000 strong with 200 cavalry and six guns to Delhi under the command of Diwan Hari Chand, the commander-in-chief of Kashmir forces to render help in the suppression of Indian Revolt" \(^\text{137}\) Ranbir Singh did not stop here when some 200 people who had taken arms against British reached Jammu, they were arrested and handed over to the English forces.\(^\text{138}\)

This is amazing that the Indian government later considered Gulab Singh's family more loyal towards New Delhi. Ranbir Singh was given many titles for his loyalty towards British Sarkar. "His Highness Maharaja Sir Ranbir Singh, Inder Mahindar, Sipar-i-Qaisara-i-Hind. Grand Commander of the Star of India, Grand Commander of the Indian Empire." He was also allowed to adopt an heir if there was no natural heir born of Ranbir Singh.\(^\text{139}\) This was an amendment to the treaty of Amritsar reached between Gulab Singh and the Britishers as according to the agreement the Dogras would continue to govern Kashmir only if the legal heirs of Gulab Singh continued. On the other hand, Ranbir was eminently religious, great encourager of education, supporter of all religious activities and had the desire to act fairly and honestly to his people but his officials and advisors were very corrupt and always kept the Maharaja in dark in order to amaze wealth. Sir Walter Lawrence describes him "a model Hindu prince, devoted to his religious and to Sanskrit learning, but kind and tolerant to the Muslamans, to whom he allowed the free exercise of religion . . . . . . . He was an enlightened prince, who would have done much towards the development of the valley if he had possessed the stern determination of his father and could have kept his subjects in hand."\(^\text{140}\) At the same time, being an orthodox Hindu, he built many temples in Jammu by
spending substantial amounts from the state treasury. Dogri and the Dogras were also promoted in administration and state forces. All these things could not in any way provide any relief to the Kashmiri people as the taxes on food grains, shawls and other commodities were always on the rise. Ranbir Singh was succeeded by one of his four sons Pratap Singh who ruled Kashmir up to 1925 A.D. Pratap Singh had to face many challenges both from his people and the Britishers. In fact, the Britishers had also mounted pressure on Ranbir Singh to accommodate an English officer in the capital so that he/she could assist the Maharaja. During the period of Pratap Singh posting of a permanent British official was masterminded and even established. On the side of governance the condition of Kashmir was again deplorable. However, there was definitely some improvement due to the reforms introduced in Kashmir at the instance of British residents. A highly important development of Pratap Singh's rule was the establishment of settlement commission for Kashmir to establish a uniform basis for the payment of land revenue. In spite of the fact that there was opposition to this commission from upper caste Hindus and government officials, Lawrence (land settlement commissioner) was able to complete his work. Before Lawrence, poor peasants were not only forced to pay in cash and kind but could also be whisked away from home for begar or forced labour which could mean long periods of hacking paths out of the mountainous terrain between the valley and Gilgit, from which many did not return. Major portion of the harvest was taken by soldiers both legally and illegally. There are a number of tales about how soldiers would deprive the peasants of their hard laboured food grains and extract if the peasants would conceal some portion of their produce. "When I started my work, everything was taxed - Fruit trees, birch-bark, violets, hides, silk, saffron, hemp, tobacco, water nuts and paper were treated as state monopolies and fanned out, and office of grave digger was taxed. Prostitutes, were taxed, and everything except air and water was brought under taxation. Meanwhile, agriculture, the only stable source of revenue, languished and the treasury was empty. The land revenue was, as a rule, extorted from villagers by violent methods. I once caught a revenue officer using the thumb-screw on an unfortunate peasant who had paid his land revenue in full, but declined to pay an equal amount as bribe to the officer. But the revenue thus collected did not reach the state treasury, fully, a half was intercepted by the
Some of the important features of the settlement finally affected were:

i) The state demand was fixed for fourteen years;

ii) Payment in cash was substituted for payment in kind;

iii) The use of force in the collection of revenue was done away with;

iv) Begar or forced labour in more objectionable forms was abolished;

v) Occupancy rights were conferred on zamindars in undisputed lands;

vi) The status of privileged holders of land was investigated, and lands in excess of the sanctioned area assessed at ordinary rates;

vii) Waste lands were entered as Khalsa lands (government management), but preferential rights for acquisition of such land by tenants were granted; and

viii) Permanent but non-alienable hereditary rights were granted to those who accepted the first assessment, and all land was carefully evaluated on the basis of produce, previous collection and possibility of irrigation. The ransom and exactions of jagirdars and big landlords were abolished and the rents and liabilities of cultivators were defined.

Not only this but even new roads were constructed, hospitals were opened and electricity was introduced. Along with these things Urdu was introduced as court language which even attracted people from outside the state to take part in administration. However, this decision led to confrontation between locals and outsiders. Mainly Kashmiri Pandits opposed this move as mostly they were educated. Kashmiri Muslims were not either interested or were debarred from getting education or benefits of education. "The Mohammedans did not send their sons to schools as all government services were closed to them." In the backdrop of this type of discrimination Kashmiri Muslims who were in majority suffered great deal and it certainly was threatening the identity of this population. Around 1924 or 1925, the Independence Movement was at its peak while as at the same time influence of Pan-Islamic, Khilafat and other social, religious and political movements definitely helped in developing a sort of political consciousness among Kashmiri Muslims. They were definitely in search of a leadership and
platform which by then was not available to them. Around 1920, Dr. Sheikh Mohammed Iqbal, world-known, Urdu poet also visited Kashmir and through his poetry he tried to arouse the inner self of Kashmiri Muslims. In the spring of 1924, the workers of the state-owned silk factory demanded an increase in wages and transfer of a Hindu clerk who was said to be very corrupt. This led to protests and strikes, rather it was first time that there was such a demonstration by Kashmiri Muslims. At the same time the visit of Viceroy, Lord Readings in 1924, itself saw some Muslims submitting a detailed memorandum to him. The demands listed included complete abolition of forced labour, large representation of Muslims in the government service, improvements in the condition of education of Muslims in the state and the restoration of mosques in possession of the government. As the memorandum was forwarded to Maharaja by the Viceroy, there was a strong reaction against those who had signed this document. However, there is no doubt that in 1924 the seed of revolt against the Dogra rule was sown.

After the death of Partap Singh in 1925, Hari Singh, the nephew of Partap Singh, became the next ruler of Kashmir and other parts of the state. Hari Singh, the son of Raja Amar Singh received education and training from some of the best known teachers and institutions of that time. Before assuming the top post of his state, he was commander-in-chief of the state forces, senior member of the then state council and even incharge of the foreign affairs.

Hari Singh because of his education and experience in administration was expected to govern the state in a just manner. However, his lavish life style could be imagined when millions of rupees were spent for his coronation. Kashmiri Muslims continued to suffer as Hari Singh virtually Hinduized his administration. All the official communication was done in Sanskritised, Hindi and officials and official positions were also renamed to give them a Hindu touch. The continuing presence of ‘outsiders’ in government service led to a movement known as ‘Kashmir for Kashmiris’ sponsored by more educated Kashmiri Pandits. Although a law ‘Hereditary State Subject’ was passed, which forbade the employment of non-state subjects in the public services and were not allowed to purchase land here, but only the Dogras of Jammu and Kashmiri and Pandits
were benefited by this law. Kashmiri Muslims were not recruited in state forces and government jobs continued to be the prevelidge of Kashmiri Pandits and Dogras. Sir Albion Bannerji who was foreign and political advisor of Maharaja Hari Singh resigned after two years of his appointment because he saw:

"Jammu and Kashmir state is labouring under many disadvantages, with a large Mohammaden population absolutely illiterate, labouring under poverty and very low economic conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the government and the people, no suitable machinery for representing grievances and the administrative machinery itself required overhauling, from top to bottom to bring it up to the modern conditions of efficiency. It has at present no sympathy with the peoples, wants and grievances."

In 1930 some individuals and small socio-political groups took up the cause of Kashmiri Muslims and discussed it among themselves. The Lahore press had been consistently high-lighting the condition of Muslim Kashmiris and newspapers critical of the Maharaja were sent in to the state. Thus the developments were fast changing and could take any turn. It was in 1930 that a young Kashmiri of twenty five years of age had returned from Aligarh Muslim University after completing his masters degree in chemistry. Sheikh Abdullah was full of ideas and was in know of the political developments which were taking place in India at that time. He had gone through a trauma when he was denied an admission for B. Sc in a Jammu College because of being a Kashmiri Muslim and for being too vocal about the discrimination being done to Kashmiri Muslims. Sheikh Abdullah will be discussed as a person, politician, leader and reformer later in this chapter. However, in 1930 itself he laid the foundation of a reading room at Fateh Kadal in Srinagar. Although the reading room was to run as a show to the government but the real purpose of this meeting place was to prepare a political force against the Dogra government.
The discrimination and problems which were forced on Kashmiris thus started to appear as lead items in newspapers and magazines in and outside India. In fact, earlier, Kashmiri Muslims were not taking risk of talking against the government, but some foreigners did raise their voice against the oppressive measures of the Dogra regime. It could be the tendency of the Kashmiri character that throughout the history especially last one thousand years Kashmiris have relied more on foreign help and assistance. In fact, when Britishers 'sold' Kashmir to Dogra people in England and other countries criticised the decision. We have already written about that part earlier in this chapter. During Dogra regime a number of high profile travellers who stayed in Kashmir could not get away "with the hospitality and facilities provided by Dogra regime but came out strongly on both Dogras and Britishers. Among them Arthur Brinckman and Robert Thorp virtually fought a battle with Dogras. In fact, Robert Thorp who died in Kashmir gave his life for Kashmir." Arthur Brinckman who was a missionary in Kashmir while commenting on the oppression being done to Kashmiris said:

i) *It was a cruel injustice (nothing in the annals of slavery was more)* selling Kashmir to Gulab Singh at all, the injustice being the greater against the inoffensive people, who never harmed us, who once had asked us to govern them, and who still wish for us to be their masters instead of Gulab Singh, who is hated from Leh to Jammu, were handed over to a tyrant, whose antecedents had caused his name to be hated by the Kashmiris;

ii) *It is a source of serious discontent, amongst the Muslims of Kashmir and not there only, our having sold so many followers of Islam to a Hindu idolater, to rule over, and terribly oppress as well;*

iii) *Hundreds and Hundreds of Kashmiris die yearly, owing to the oppression of the Rajah;*

iv) *Famines in Kashmir are not caused as a general rule by the failure of crops, but by the locking up of the grains and doling it out to handfuls at exorbitant prices, and by sending the grain out of the country to sell in*
the hills near Gilgit, the peasants, whose labour produced that grain, being forced to carry the loads to Gilgit themselves, where hundreds of them die from cold and starvation yearly, with loads of food on their backs;

v) Hundreds of Kashmiris escape over the hills to our territory yearly, leaving their country, their homes, their families, solely on account of the oppression and misrule rampant in their own land;

vi) 'Slavery', in every sense of the term, exists in Kashmir, no man having anything of his own, not even his soul and the care of it - everything, the land, the water, the food, and the weeds belonging to the Rajah; and

vii) Everything is in the hands of Rajah so that there is no chance for private enterprise - no encouragement, to genius, in fact, to be in appearance in possession of money is a crime, unless much of it goes to the Rajah. 153

According to Brinckman, Kashmiris were treated no better than animals and the policy of 'give the dog a bad name and kill him' was going on. "The poor cashmere is like a mouse trying to drink milk with an army of cats in the same room with him. The cashmere dresses dirty, walks sloughingly, does everything slyly, lies constantly in order to save himself from oppression"154 Robert Throp, another English visitor put forth following grievances of the Kashmiri Muslims:

i) The share of Muslims in the administration is almost nil, although they constitute 95 percent of the total population of the state and pay all the taxes and revenue;

ii) No arrangements are made for educational advancement of Muslims, in fact they are discouraged in this sector;

iii) Muslims apart from being poor, have no avenues of work. They are forced to work outside the state or migrate permanently to other neighbouring places;

iv) The arts and crafts of Kashmir, for which the valley of Kashmir was famous throughout the world, have been discouraged by various methods by the government of the Maharaja. Instead of patronising the Kashmiri artisans, the Maharaja and his officials want to suck their blood by
v) The tillers of land, the zamindars, and the agriculturist of the valley who are all Muslims live under inhuman and unjust conditions. They have been crushed with the burden of heavy taxation and most of them have run away from Kashmir. They have been deprived the ownership of their lands and all their lands have been parcelled out among Rajput and some Pandit landlords. The Kashmiri zamindars are now no better than slaves. Their landlords have let loose a reign of terror on poor tillers of land.

vi) Kashmiri Muslims have to suffer the worst kind of atrocities and one of these is begar or forced labour. The Maharaja and his officials consider the Kashmiri Muslims as slaves and as such they have to serve them, without any resentment. The Maharaja and his officials have assumed the right of calling the Kashmiri Muslims as servants, slaves, or coolies and no one can refuse it. Strangely enough, no Pandits from Kashmir can be sent for begar, because he is a Brahmin. The partial treatment is also objectionable rather the whole system is based on the slave system of Africa.

vii) Muslims in the state complain of partial treatment under the Dogra Maharaja's Govt. While all kind of Patronage is afforded to the Hindus, the Muslims are ignored in every field of life:

viii) The Muslims have been deprived of freedom of speech and writing. They cannot form any organisation, nor can they hold any meeting or organise any procession without the permission of the government. There is no freedom of press and platform in the state and no Muslim is allowed to print and publish any newspaper. All newspapers and magazines, which bring these atrocities to notice of the public, are published in the British India but their entry into state is prohibited; and

ix) In the field of religious matters, the Muslims are discriminated against and the Maharaja and his officials do not care for their feelings. Specific instances are given as under:

a) Muslim mosques built by the Mughals have been confiscated by the Hindu Maharaja and are used as store houses for grains and
arms and stables. When temples of the Hindus and Gurudwaras of the Sikhs and Churches of the Christians are free from interference, why should the mosques of the Muslims be desecrated?

b) Any Hindu, who adopts Islam, is deprived of his all movable and immovable property, while any Muslim, who adopts Hinduism, has not to suffer this punishment.

c) The punishment for slaughtering a cow is 7 years, despite the fact that there is no religious binding among the Chirstains and Muslims to eat cow’s meat.

d) While the Arya-Samaji preachers have freedom to preach and popularise Shudi movement, the Muslims have been deprived of doing any missionary work. Whenever any non-Muslim became a Muslim, he was imprisoned and tortured.155

Apart from these two communities, there were some other people who tried to attract the attention of people in and outside the state to the discriminatory attitude of Dogra regime towards the Kashmiri Muslims. The reading room party established by Sheikh Abdullah and others made some remarkable development in this direction. The first political step taken by the reading room party was to submit a memorandum to the Regency Council.156 which was incharge of the administration during the absence of Maharaja.157 The memorandum demanded employment opportunities for Kashmiri Muslims. Although there was no much head way in the basic demand but there is absolutely no doubt that apart from providing a political base to the movement in Kashmir it connected the leaders of Jammu Muslims to Kashmir. Young Men’s Muslim Association which was working in Jammu came in contact with the young Kashmiri intellectuals.

4.6.2.6.3 The Tide Begins - 1931

In the beginning of 1931, Maharaja Hari Singh left for Europe to attend the 3rd round table conference158 along with his wife Maharani Tara Devi. Tara Devi was pregnant at that time according to the historical records. It is believed that Hari Singh took his wife to Cannes (France) for delivery because “there were the agents of the Ubiquitous (British) Empire, upon whom at that time the
sun never set, would not be able to operate" There thus seemed a possibility that the British Government had the designs to eliminate the new born 'Maharaja'. Karan Singh, the name given to the 'successor' of Dogra dynasty hints to it in his autobiography that the Britishers who actually made it possible for the Dogra dynasty to rule Kashmir had different designs in their mind later on:

"One theory is that the disturbances and the Sheikh's activity were in fact master minded by the British, both because my birth had upset their 'doctrine of lapse' policy, and also to teach my father a lesson for having made at the round table conference earlier that year a remarkably patriotic speech urging the British to respect the aspirations of the Indian people"160

Hari Singh came back along with his wife and son in late 1931 from Europe to a grand reception both in Jammu and Srinagar.

In 1931 itself, Sheikh Abdullah had been appointed a teacher in a government school but he resigned from his job soon to take part in active politics. In fact, Sheikh Abdullah attributes the anti-Muslim policies of the Dogra rulers as a cause for his resignation. Muslims were not allowed to offer Namaz in some parts of Jammu and religious ceremonies by the Muslims were monitored by the government officials, and at times not even allowed to read the khutbas.161 In the same year, one Abdul Qadeer, (a non Kashmiri) came to Srinagar as a personal staff member of an English army officer who was based in Pashewar, now in Pakistan.

Qadeer, would visit dargah Hazratbal to offer prayers and there he interacted with people and tried to educate them about the oppressive measures of their masters. He occasionally addressed small gatherings of people also. His activities were now monitored by the agencies of the Government. In one of his speeches he is reported to have said:

"Oh! Muslims, the time has come to strike back and respond strongly to the government. By requesting and giving memorandums to the
government there will be no difference in oppression and insult caused to the Qur'an. We must stand on our own feet and raise our own voice against the oppression. Pointing towards the Raj Mahal, he asked people to demolish it.”

By this time, Sheikh Abdullah had become an undisputed leader of Kashmiri Muslims and he had been given the title of Sher-i-Kashmir (Lion of Kashmir). “The slogan (Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad) had become the banner of the movement and identity mark and it was the first assertion of Kashmiri identity”. Meanwhile Abdul Qadeer was arrested and on 13 July 1931 now being observed as the martyrs day. The hearing of his case began in the Central Jail, Srinagar. People in large numbers gathered outside the Jail to show solidarity with their friend. While the proceeding were on people who had gathered outside the jail assembled to offer prayers. This coincided with the arrival of additional police on the spot resulting in confrontation between the two. There was sloganeering, stone pelting and finally firing which left 22 people dead on the spot, while hundreds were injured. This was the first procession when Maharaja's regime was shown that Kashmiri Muslims had prepared themselves to fight. In fact, there were small communal riots in parts of Srinagar, where non-Muslims were harrassed and their property was looted. This was also followed by arrest of all Kashmiri leaders including Sheikh Abdullah. However, the rulers of the time saw the writing on the wall and released the arrested persons soon. Qadeer was later released from Jail due to pressure mounted by leaders like Moulana Azad and others and sent back to his native place.

Immediately after the July 13 incident which did not go unnoticed outside the state, the well wishers of Kashmiri Muslims who had formed the Kashmir committee decided to celebrate August 14, 1931 as the Kashmir day. In fact, the July incident had taken headlines of major newspapers in India and people had started discussing the Kashmir issue vis-a-vis the Indian freedom movement. On the occasion of the Kashmir day, resolutions passed made some demands for Kashmiri Muslims:
I) Appointment of a commission of enquiry to investigate the conduct of civil and military officials during the agitation;

II) Reinstatement of all the officials who had been dismissed or suspended in connection with the political agitation;

III) Establishment of a legislature in the state;

IV) Punishments to be given to the persons who interfere with the religious practices of Muslim subjects of the state;

V) Removal of restrictions on conversion from Hinduism to Islam;

VI) Securing 70 percent of the appointments in the state services to the Muslims;

VII) Compensation to be given to the dependent of the persons killed, injured or disabled during the agitation; and

VIII) The rights of freedom of speech and expression, freedom of press, platform and association, and proprietary rights in land to the peasants in Kashmir as enjoyed by the peasants in Punjab.

The support offered by the people residing outside Kashmir and the mass movement and co-operation of masses here encouraged the Kashmiri Muslim leadership and the Dogra rulers got worried about the situation which arose out of these developments. The rulers, therefore, started making peace with the Kashmiri leadership.

4.6.2.6.4 The Glancy Commission

After such developments in and outside the state, there was a temporary agreement between the government and the leaders of the movement, according to which the agitations against the state were to be stopped altogether and the Muslims of the valley and other parts would remain loyal to the ruler of that time. On the other hand, government announced that it would stop all the actions against the protestors and that arrested persons would be released. The government also agreed to re-consider the cases of those dismissed employees who had participated in the agitation against the government. This was clear that movement would come to a stand still for some time. This created a sort of doubt among some
people. There was thus opposition from some quarters to the agreement. "These people convinced the masses that we had sold the nation. They also created many problems for us"  Wrote Chowdhary Gulam Abbas, a front line leader of the Muslim Conference in his autobiography. However, the leaders of the movement were convinced that the Maharaja had given due recognition to their struggle and was convinced about the mass support of the Muslims. " I was convinced about the political and psychological aspects of the agreement than its contents." Wrote Sheikh Abdullah latter.

Chowdhary Gulam Abbas describes it as the first victory against government. The 'temporary agreement' made the Kashmiri leadership more bold and mobile. They started touring different parts of the Kashmir valley. In this situation, it seems that the government could not understand what to do and Sheikh Abdullah was again arrested on 21 Sept. 1931. Soon there was tremendous pressure on the government from different quarters which forced the government to appoint a commission to look into the problems of the people. The commission called Galancy commission was headed by Mr. Bertrand J. Glancy, an English officer from the foreign and political department of the British government. The commission had four members. Apart from Mr. Glancy, it had a Muslim and a Hindu from Kashmir and Jammu respectively. Two prominent members of the commission were Chowdhary Gulam Abbas and Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz. The report of the Galancy commission made some valuable recommendations regarding education, religion and employment. The commission also tried to mitigate the condition of peasants and once more to abolish begar and insisted that proper payment be made for requisitioned labour. However, Chowdhary Gulam Abbas writes that even if all the problems of Muslims were not accepted by Mr. Galancy but through this platform these problems became public and part of the struggle.

4.6.2.6.4 Muslim Conference

This was the time when struggle for achieving the rights for Muslims had spread throughout the state of Maharaja and the people living in the areas which constituted the domain of Dogra regime. However, people belonging to different places and different regions especially Jammu and Kashmir were having separate
organizations and the coordination thus was not very strong. After consultations and discussions, a political front by the name of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (MC) was formed. Its formation, constitution, structure, aims and objectives were announced in a convention held on 14-16 October 1932 in Srinagar. By its name itself, it was clear that the MC was purely a representative body of Muslims. In fact, its flag was green with white crescent and star.

"The bases of freedom movement of Kashmir were purely Islamic and even communal because non-Muslims in spite of their minute minority were dominating all the fields of life"

It was interesting at that time that Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah also participated in the first convention of the Muslim Conference. Moulana, as alleged by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his autobiography *Atish-E-Chinar* had been won over by Maharaja when Sheikh Abdullah was in jail second time.

"He (Maharaja) fixed Rupees six hundred as his annual scholarship and presented some gifts in the form of silken cloth, silver wares and pashmina shawls to him."

However, the feud between Sheikh Abdullah and the Mirwaiz dynasty has some other roots according to the evidence available.

"Mirwaiz felt that Sheikh Abdullah was bent upon demolishing the position which his family had in the society. On the other hand, Sheikh Abdullah was in know of the fact that till the time the Mirwaiz's home was the main centre of political and religious importance, he (Sheikh) would not become the only leader of Kashmir"

Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah finally came against the Sheikh and formed his own political party under the banner of Azad Muslim Conference. Meanwhile, the formation of the MC had put further pressure on Maharaja for reforms. The recommendations of the earlier Galancy Commission and political developments, in and out of the state forced the Maharaja to promulgate another constitutional act which introduced a hierarchical form of government. This act also provided for a 75-member legislative assembly (Praja Sabha), which included 37 elected..."
members. The elections for Praja Sabha were held on Sept.4, 1934 with the MC getting tough fight from the Azad Muslim Conference. In fact, this was the beginning of the Sher-Bakra trend in Srinagar. However, the MC was able to get 19 seats and it was really an achievement for them for they had further strengthened their position among masses and against their opponents in and outside th

4.6.2.6.5 From the Muslim Conference to the National Conference

At the time of formation of the Muslim Conference, the movement against the Maharaja had support of Muslims only. It was natural as non Muslims had few grievances against the government of that time. In spite of the fact that non Muslims especially in the valley of Kashmir were in minute minority, they were enjoying the best possible facilities and opportunities in the field of education, employment and development. It was thus a totally Muslim or Islamic movement. The Muslim Conference was virtually working on the pattern of the All India Muslim League (ML) which was set up in pursuance of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's ideology of independent Muslim existence, specially in religious and political sphere. However, Skeikh Mohammad Abdullah soon came into contact with Congress leaders especially Jawahar Lal Nehru. He readily got influenced by their ideology and thinking and started converting the Muslim character of his organization. In fact, the presence of non-Muslims in the Muslim Conference was almost negligible and even when its name was changed, they (non-Muslims) did not join this organization en masse. It is evident that only few members of this community joined the new organization. However, Sheikh Abdullah writes that he was in favour of non-Muslims joining the movement from the very beginning. However, the influence of the Congress politics and Jawharlal Nehru on Sheikh Abdullah was too strong. "I felt that Jawharlal Nehru had the same feelings for Kashmir as Dr. Iqbal had". The annual session of the Muslim Conference was held in March 1938 in Jammu. It was held shortly after Sheikh Abdullah had met Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. As Chowdhary Abbas says that when he (Sheikh) reached Jammu he was totally changed and was talking about nationalism. It was here that Sheikh Abdullah declared:
"Hindus and Sikhs like the majority community (Muslims) have suffered at the hands of the Dogra government and thus they have to participate in the fight against the government. We are not demanding just government for eighty percent Muslims only but for all those living in the state."\[81\]

Finally, in June 1939 the Muslim Conference was converted into the National Conference. "All such people, who desire to participate in this political struggle may easily become members of the Conference irrespective of their caste, creed or religion"\[82\] declared Sheikh Abdullah. In fact, it was Nehru who had suggested to open the Muslim Conference to people belonging to other communities and religions. "He (Nehru) suggested to me to open Muslim Conference for people belonging to any religion, caste or creed. He felt that the organisation be strengthened in a better way and communal organisations will not be able to label it as a communal party."\[81\] Some of the important conditions for the formation of NC were:

i) The National Conference would strive for the exclusive religious, economic, political and official problems of Muslims;

ii) Sheikh Abdullah will not own the Congress politically and will not support the Congress party in any case;

iii) The National Conference will not in any case oppose the Muslim league of Indian Muslims; and

iv) The fight for freedom against the Maharaja will continue in which people belonging to different communities will participate.\[81\]

4.6.2.6.6 The Beginning of the End

The ties between the Congress and Sheikh Abdullah were being strengthened. Abdullah even attended a Congress session in 1939. Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan then visited Kashmir. Nehru wanted to promote Abdullah as a leader, and by and by, he (Nehru) became Abdullah's political Guru. The interaction between Nehru and Abdullah crossed all the limits and it
was in 1941 that some Muslim leaders including Chowdhary Gulam Abbas reconstituted the Muslim Conference. Thus the National Conference had now to fight not only the Maharaja but the Muslim Conference also. Meanwhile, in 1939, a war had broken out between Britain and Germany. It brought about the termination of the Congress governments in all provinces which had taken power after the 1936 elections. Congress was not in any mood to help the Britishers in the war. However, most of the prices of Indian states helped the Britishers through whatever means it was possible. Maharaja Hari Singh sent a contingent of his troops to the front.185 This must have naturally angered the Congress leadership which was behind the bars till then and the National Conference got another excuse to intensify its struggle against the Maharaja. Meanwhile in 1942, the Congress leadership also laid the foundation of the Quit India movement.186 The Britishers at that time were in a fix as they had to fight on various fronts. There was tremendous pressure on the British government at home as well as abroad. The Muslim League, on the other hand, at the Lahore session of 1940 had already demanded for a separate home land for preserving the Muslim distinctiveness. The contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and particularly that of Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the greatest poet and philosopher of the sub-continent, was of great importance in this regard. The separate homeland for Muslims had to play a vital role in Kashmir politics later and even today it continues to haunt the sentiments of Kashmiris, especially Muslims. Sir Mohammad Iqbal whose ancestors were basically Kashmiris contributed much toward the freedom struggle of Kashmir by way of arousing the Kashmir personality and identity. In one of his verses Dr. Iqbal Said:

"How long will they remain hidden from the eyes of the world, these pearls of the waters of Wular which are pairless."

At another place while describing the strength of the Kashmiris Iqbal said:

"..."
"It is not possible for that sublime clay to get cold which has in it the fire of the Chinar."

By 1945, the British government was virtually paralysed due to the war and thus they released the arrested leaders for talks on the transfer of power.

Since there was unrest and pressure all around, Hari Singh was forced to appoint a commission to recommend measures to ensure 'the safety, integrity and security of the state and an efficient and progressive character of its administration. The commission had also to look into social, economic, political and employment problems of the people. The National Conference which met for its annual convention in Sopore in 1944 prepared a draft which was to be presented to the commission. This draft then became "Naya Kashmir" or New Kashmir Programme which has been discussed in Chapter 1. The demand of Naya Kashmir best illustrates the leftist orientation of the political forces arrayed behind the National Conference. In the formulation of Naya Kashmir, the experience of then Soviet Union was the main inspiration. This gave a new direction to the freedom movement of Kashmir. Naya Kashmir, continues to dominate the politics of the state especially in the Kashmir region. As a follow-up action, Hari Singh thought he had no option but to accept the National Conference as a very strong force. In October 1944, he accepted a measure of popular representation in the government. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beig, a close confidant of Abdullah and leader of the National Conference became minister for public works. However, there was opposition to this move from some quarters as it was still the Muhraja who was ruling the state.

4.6.2.6.7 Ali Mohammad Jinah and Kashmir

In 1935, Jinah visited Kashmir as a tourist. However, he did speak to a meeting on the eve of Eid-Milad (Birth day of Prophet of Islam PBUH) where he said:

"It is the duty of Muslim leadership that they should not only defend the minorities in the state but should also consider them as a wheel of
In the summer of 1944, Jinnah again visited Kashmir where he accepted the reception of both the National Conference and the Muslim Conference. Sheikh Abdullah in his *Atish-e-Chinar* writes that he (Sheikh) had suggested to Jinnah not to indulge in local politics of Kashmir as it was entirely different from the politics of India but in his address to the annual convention of the Muslim Conference, he invited people to join the MC and made several attacks on the character of National Conference and Sheikh Abdullah. He described the NC as a 'band of gangsters'. Jinnah is reported to have said that “Sheikh Abdullah told me that National Conference’s nationalism slogan was just to deceive the non Muslims”.” He was however sure, either intentionally or unintentionally, Jinnah and the Muslim League was not able to have confidence in Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. That can be the reason why Abdullah thought his political career in Pakistan was bleak and why he at the time of the partition supported India.

4.6.2.6.7 Quit Kashmir Movement

Mirza Afzal Beig who was in the cabinet of the Maharaja could not continue the honeymoon for long and in March 1946 he resigned from the cabinet. The National Conference was even comfortable with the appointment of Ram Chand Kak as Prime Minister. The year 1946 also completed one complete century of the Amritsar treaty by which Kashmir had been sold to Dogras by Britishers. The well-known philosopher and Poet Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal had commented on the treaty, saying:

![Verse](image)

‘Oh! morning breeze, if you happen to pass over Geneva; convey this word again to them; the peasants, the fields, the streams - all were sold and sold very very cheap’.
The National Conference then launched the ‘Quit Kashmir’ movement on the pattern of ‘Quit India’ movement of 1942. In fact, Sheikh Abdullah declared that as soon as the Britishers will leave India, all the Rajas, Maharajas, the Nawabs must quit in the same manner, with only one difference that they will continue to stay back in India as other citizens. A memorandum was also submitted to the cabinet mission which had been sent to India to negotiate transfer of power with the Indian leaders by the National Conference. The memorandum said, “No sale deed, howsoever sacrosanct, 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 the cabinet mission to recognise the justice and strengthening of our case.”

In fact, Quit Kashmir slogan was proposed by communist friends of Abdullah like Mr. Bedi, Dr. Ashraf etc. after differences between Sheikh and R.C. Kak. The movement spread throughout the state especially the valley of Kashmir. Demonstrations, firing and processions became a daily routine. “When Jawaharlal Nehru came to know about the situation of Kashmir, he called me to Delhi for consultations” writes Sheikh Abdullah in his Atish-i-Chinar.

However, he was arrested before he could reach Delhi. His arrest sparked of violence throughout the valley and condemnation from all quarters. After requests for Sheikh’s release did not yield any results Jawaharlal Nehru left for Srinagar. Meanwhile government banned his entry into the state and he was finally arrested at Kohala which was an entry point to state from the present Pakistan side. This was yet another political blunder on the part of Maharaja Hari Singh. Jawaharlal Nehru was at that time the most important leader of the Congress and he was needed in Delhi as consultations were going on with the cabinet mission which had come with the sole purpose of negotiating the transfer of power. Nehru’s action was not even liked by congress men in Delhi. His action was being described as rash. Congress was not in favour of taking up unnecessary quarrels with the Maharajas and princes. However, Nehru had some thing other in mind; he had long term plans about Kashmir and had the vision to see who should be supported at that time. In fact, Maulana Azad who was president of the
Congress at that times wrote:

"I was not very happy about the development while I resented the action of the Kashmir govt. I thought that this was not the proper occasion to start a new quarrel over Kashmir. I told Jawarlal Nehru that I was of the view that he should return to Delhi as soon as possible. It would not be proper for him to insist on entering Kashmir at the present stage." 193

Nehru finally returned to Delhi on the advise of his colleagues. However, he visited Srinagar on July 24, 1946 as a lawyer to attend the trial of Sheikh Abdullah who was in jail. In fact, Nehru’s visit had more political weightage as the partition was coming to a close. He was searching for the future strategy to be adopted. It is important to note here that the Muslim Conference kept itself aloof from the Quit Kashmir movement as it alleged that the NC was using this plank for getting more seats in election. As the countdown had begun two important people visited Kashmir whose visits are of historical significance.

4.6.2.6.8 Visit of Lord Mountbatten and Gandhi

The relationship of Mountbatten and Nehru was quite open and Nehru used Mountbatten’s good offices to persuade the Maharaja for accession with India. However, the Maharaja had his own problems. In fact, he was not able to make up his mind till August 14, 1947. He had lot of problems, his subjects were mostly Muslims who would prefer Pakistan but again Sheikh Abdullah and his National Conference were more close to the Indian National Congress than they were with the Muslim League. He was personally a Hindu representing a big chunk of Hindu Dogras who would have liked to be with India. Then he also had good and bad advisors who were having their own ideas. Another idea which was being floated by some quarters was an independent Kashmir with a standstill agreement with both India and Pakistan. However, the Maharaja basically had no time to think on these issues. He was always occupied with his “other” activities. He would spend more time in hunting, sports, parties etc. It was in June 1947 that Lord Mountbatten visited Kashmir, his visit was more political than a usual visit as the day of British Raj in India was nearing to an end. The Maharaja
remained busy in entertaining his guests and did not use this opportunity to
discuss the future course of action which was the need of the hour. As his son
Karan Singh writes: “Instead of taking advantage of Mountbatten’s visit to
discuss the whole situation meaningfully and trying to arrive at a rational decision,
he first sent the viceroy out on a prolonged fishing trip to Thricker and then
having fixed a meeting just before his departure-got out of it on the plea that he
had suddenly developed a severe attack of Colic.”” Mountbatten later said about
his visit to Kashmir:

“In the case of Kashmir I went up personally and saw the Maharaja.
I spent four days with him in July; on every one of those four days I
persisted with the same advice: ‘Ascertain the will of your people by
any means and join whichever dominion your people wish to join by
August 14 this year. He did not do that and what happened can be seen.
Had he acceded to Pakistan before August 14, 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 14, Pakistan did not then exist, and therefore could
not have interfered. The only trouble that could have been raised was
by accession to either side and this was unfortunately, the very course
followed by the Maharaja””

Later, close to the declaration of the creation of two new domains of
India and Pakistan, Mahatma Gandhi visited Kashmir. He stayed in Kashmir for
three days, during his visit, he met the Maharaja and even went to Soura residence
of Seikh Abdullah to meet his wife. On his last day in Kashmir, he went to Hari
Singh’s palace to meet him although the Maharani had already went to him on
the very first day itself. He stayed with Maharaja for about ninety minutes and
discussed the political situation of the state. He urged the Maharaja to release
Sheikh Abdullah and “provide him an opportunity to play his role in the country’s
political future”” The conversation between Gandhi and Hari Singh seems to be
misinterpreted by Karan Singh: “All I was able to gather from Gandhiji’s words
was that he was urging my father to ascertain the wishes of his people to take his
people into confidence, and to align himself with rather than against them in the political turmoil that was engaging the country. Karan Singh’s claim that he was not able to listen clearly creates doubts as only four persons, (Gandhi, Hari Singh, Maharani and Karan Singh) were sitting there. After the visit of Gandhi, the political developments here took new turns with Prime Minister R. C. Kak, an opponent of Sheikh Abdullah being replaced by Jank Singh who was replaced later by Mehr Chand Maharaj, both supporters of Kashmir’s accession to India. R. C. Kak had also signed the standstill agreement with Pakistan and had met Jinnah and other Pakistani leaders in this regard. He was considered to be favourable to the accession to Pakistan. Pakistan got suspicious with the visits of Indian leaders to Kashmir and their frequent meeting with the Maharaja. Some people even are of the opinion that Indian leaders visited Kashmir on their own and thus created a situation which could have prompted Pakistan to make any action. The Pakistan government was more concerned about the visit of Gandhi and they felt that he was the person who prepared the ground for Kashmir’s accession to India.

“Orders have been issued by the Kashmir Govt. that a temporary boat bridge should be constructed over the river Ravi near Pathankot (India) so that vehicular traffic could be maintained between Jammu and the union of India. The metalling of the road from Jammu to Kathua was also going on with top priority. The idea is to keep up some sort of communication between the state and the Indian union, so that essential supplies and troops could be rushed to Kashmir without having to transport them through Pakistan territory.” At the same time, Pakistan readily signed the standstill agreement with Kashmir government on August 12 while India asked for more time. The developments which took place in Kashmir while two new nations were shaping themselves clearly indicates that some forces were at work again to shape the future of Kashmir in their own direction without taking them (Kashmiris) in confidence. History was to be repeated again and Kashmiris were to be used as a commodity. While discussions were going on in New Delhi and Islamabad those whose future was at stake watched the happenings like silent spectators.

4.6.2.6.9 August 14-15 1947

By the midnight of August 14 and 15, the Maharaja of Kashmir had not
decided about his future course of action when the two nations were formed by a stroke of the pen. Soon trouble broke out throughout the country with communal riots all around. Killings of the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs became so common that there was no place to bury the dead and get the wood for burning the dead. It was confusion all around. A British official observed on this occasion

"sad to see the approaching end of an empire. Sad not so much because of our departure but because of what we are leaving behind us which looks like bloodshed and anarchy now raging in Punjab and elsewhere. Is this the culmination of the British rule in India and the fulfilment of our mission."

Communal riots were reported from Jammu region of the state also where thousands of Muslims were killed. However, by and large, Kashmir remained calm and once again demonstrated the tolerance and faith in communal harmony. In fact, Gandhi who was on fast against the communal situation of the subcontinent "saw a ray of light in Kashmir only." The communal situation was undoubtedly the result of partition of the country on the basis of religion. Who was responsible for partition is a separate big debate but as Shahid Hamid who was private secretary to Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, the last British Commander said:

"The Hindus had the power to keep the subcontinent under one government as long as they decentralized the power to the provinces. They lost three great opportunities of keeping India together. The first when they refused to form coalition ministries in the provinces in 1937, the second when they refused Cripps' offer of the steps to be taken towards self-government in 1942 and finally when they rejected the cabinet mission plan in 1946. They regret it now. They had no statesman among them. Whenever they conceded anything to the Muslims, it was grudgingly given and was always too late. They lacked foresight and the essence of responsibility and greatness. Their brain could be termed as a brain of the professional middle class. The Congress high command was arrogant and lived in a world of make-believe and was not prepared to face the
reality of the situation, which helped indirectly in bringing about the establishment of Pakistan."

By any means, with all difficulties and the shocking incidents, two nations were formed. The leaders of Muslim League were equally responsible, for they, I feel were shortsighted. While concentrating on Pakistan, they forgot the power of the Muslims if there was no partition. The demographic statistics available at present about India, Pakistan and Bangladesh may be an eye opener in this direction.

Coming back to our discussion on Kashmir, there certainly was an understanding behind the curtain between Maharaja Hari Singh and government of India. The actions of Maharaja Hari Singh after the visit of Mountbatten and Gandhi have already been discussed. On the other hand, there was a strong support for Sheikh Abdullah from Congress especially Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. The release of Abdullah was in fact made possible due to the pressure of the Indian leaders. When Maharaja reached a stand still agreement with Pakistan three days before partition under which Pakistan had to run the communication, postal and telegraph services. India at that time did not sign the agreement because, as Sheikh Abdullah later said "It could not consider any agreement entered into by the government of the state valid until it had the approval of the people's representatives." However, Sheikh Abdullah could not justify the fact that India accepted the all important act of accession from the same Maharaja two months latter. This type of stand by Sheikh Abdullah gives rise to doubts about his own intentions.

Immediately after 15th August, Pakistan started interfering with essential supplies, and launched a virtual economic blockade to force the Maharaja to accede to it. Pakistan, it is said, refused to honour her obligations towards Kashmir emanating from the standstill agreement and cut the country off from its supply of gasoline, wheat, salt, kerosene and cloth etc. However, the Pakistan government rejected emphatically these Indian accusations. They argued that the difficulties of supplying these life support essentials were caused by the dislocation of communications, by their being overloaded with the transport of refugees, by
the failure of India to supply coal to Pakistan, by the fact that Muslim lorry drivers were afraid to carrying supplies to Kashmir because the Sikhs and the Hindus were attacking them.  

Thus Kashmir was virtually independent. On September 29, 1947, Sheikh Abdullah was released from jail. Some Muslim League leaders rushed to Srinagar for talks, while NC also sent its delegations to Lahore for consultations. This situation continued till Oct.15, 1947 when Maharaja Hari Singh appointed one of his friends and a leading legal expert Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan as the Prime Minister.  Soon after Sheikh Abdullah left for Delhi and started consultations with the Indian leaders. Before Sheikh was released from prison he had written a long letter to Maharaja which the history describes as civilized apology. Sheikh in his letter says: "Inspite of what has happened in the past, I assure your Highness that myself and my party have never harboured any sentiment of disloyalty towards your Highness, person, throne or dynasty."  

4.6.2.6.10 The Revolt  

In October, the Indian government initiated the work on linking up of the state with the Indian dominion by means of telegraph, telephones, wireless and roads. These reports were going to Pakistan and they were being monitored at the highest level. On the other hand, the communal tension had also gone deep into the forces of Jammu and Kashmir which was dominated by Dogras. Poonch which is at present a part of Jammu region had also been annexed by Maharaja, but from the very beginning there was a movement going on against the Dogra rule. By the actual days of transfer of power, this separatist movement had spread beyond Poonch to Mirpur and even some parts of Jammu. On August 14 and 15, people in and around Srinagar hoisted Pakistani flags and an impression was given that Kashmiris were more interested in Pakistan than India. These processions were curbed by force. People were arrested, killed and even injured. Muslims throughout the state were raising their voice against the Maharaja and all these developments were being crushed by force. The troops continued their strong
tirade against the unarmed innocent Muslims in order to make the rest of the population panicky and frightened. The troops even let loose a reign of terror against those people who were migrating to Pakistan. "In short the Hindu Maharaja's Dogra troops embarked on what provoked a spontaneous uprising against his tyranny. This and the subsequent accession, inflamed the Pathan tribesmen and brought them to the defence of their co-religionist" When supplies could not be sent to Kashmir from Pakistan and Poonch revolt continued, things again worsened in favour of Pakistan. "On 18 October Mahajnn (Mehr Chand) told both Jinah and Liyaqat Ali Khan that if the present problems of interrupted communications, aggravated by help which the Poonch rebels were receiving from Pakistan, were not resolved at once, then his government would be fully entitled to seek friendly assistance, in other words turn to India for help" In fact, Liyaqat Ali Khan is reported to have said that "he would do everything to get traffic moving" However, it is quite clear that he could not give any guarantee regarding help given by Pakistan to certain people who were in revolt against the Maharaja for following four reasons:

i) Pakistani leaders especially Ali Mohammad Jinah was convinced that Kashmir would become part of Pakistan in any case. In fact, he would say that "Kashmir was a bearer cheque in his pocket". Pakistani leaders were convinced that Pakistan was incomplete without Kashmir and that accession of Kashmir to Pakistan was a must;

ii) The standstill agreement signed between the Maharaja's government and the Pakistan government was a vital link between the two governments. Pakistan could not afford to discontinue this established link. Ali Mohammad Jinah made a final effort in this regard when he told Hari Singh on 20 October that "the proposal made by my government for a meeting with your accredited representatives is now an urgent necessity";

iii) The people who were fighting against the Maharaja were Muslims and if some Muslims from Pakistan were eager to help their brothers it could have created problems for the governments in Pakistan. If they would not have helped them. At the same time, it was in the interest of Pakistan
government to engage the Maharaja with different types of problems; and

iv) Due to the frequent visits of Indian leaders to the Maharaja and his meetings with the representatives of the government of India had made Pakistan suspicious about the designs of all the involved parties. Not only the Maharaja and the Indian government but even the British government was helping Indian interests according to Pakistan. They (Pakistan) described it as a ‘long matured plot in India aided and abetted by lord Mountbatten, to tie Kashmir to India and prevent the state’s accession to Pakistan’. Pakistan was highly critical of the British master-minded Punjab Boundary Commission’ and award of three Tehsils in Gurdaspur (Now in Indian Punjab) district of Punjab to India, despite the fact that Gurdaspur as a whole had a small Muslim majority and the interim boundary between the two parts of Punjab had provisionally placed Gurdaspur as a whole in what was to become Pakistan. The separation of the three tehsils gave Kashmir a land link with the Indian Union, and made accession to India possible.

Trouble continued in different parts of the state and raiders as they are called were marching towards Srinagar. The situation was really out of control for one and all. It was even difficult for Pakistan to stop what actually was happening. The deputy Prime Minister of the state R.L. Batra said on October 24 that the insurgent forces were “tribesmen who are out of control of the Pakistan government.” There was total failure of law and order machinery and an open challenge to the Maharaja.

4.6.2.7. The 'Democratic Rule' 1947 - till date (continuity & change)

By October 24, with the help and assistance of 'friends' from Pakistan, there was a virtual revolt in Kashmir. Now that the ground was clear deputy Prime Minister Batra on 24 October itself left for Delhi with the letter of accession, and a personal letter for Pandit Nehru and Sandar Patel asking for military help. The letters were signed by Maharaja himself. The letter to Mountbatten which
"I have to inform your excellency that a grave emergency has arisen in my state and I request immediate assistance of your government. As your excellency is aware, the state of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded to either dominion of India or Pakistan. Geographically the state is contiguous to both the dominions. It has vital economic and cultural links with both of them. Besides my state has a common boundary with the Soviet Republic & China. In their external relations the dominion of India and Pakistan cannot ignore this fact. I wanted to take time to decide to which dominion, I should accede or whether it is not in the best interest of both the dominions and of my state to stand independent, of course with friendly and cordial relations with both. I accordingly approached the dominions of India and Pakistan to enter into a standstill agreement with my state. The Pakistani government accepted this agreement. The dominion of India desired further discussions with the representatives of my government. I could not arrange this in view of the development indicated below. In fact the Pakistan government under the standstill agreement are operating the post and telegraph systems inside the state. Though we have the standstill agreement with the Pakistan government, that government permitted steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like food, salt and petrol to my state.

Afri-di, soldiers in plain clothes and desperadoes with modern weapons have been allowed to infiltrate into the state, at first in the Poonch area, then in Sialkote and finally in mass in the area adjoining Hazara district on the Ramkot side. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the state have to be dispersed and thus have to face the enemy at several points simultaneously, so that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and looting. The Mahore power house which supplies the electricity to the whole of Srinagar has been burnt. The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped makes my heart bleed. The wild forces thus let loose in the state are marching on with the aim of capturing Srinagar, the summer
capital of my government, as a first step to over-running the whole state.

The mass infiltration of tribesmen drawn from distant areas of North-West frontier province coming regularly in motor trucks using the Manshera-Muzaffarabad road and fully armed with up-to-date weapons cannot possibly be done without the knowledge of the provincial government of the North-West Frontier province and the government of Pakistan. In spite of repeated appeals by my government no attempt has been made to check these raiders or stop them from coming to my state. In fact both the Pakistan radio and the press have reported these occurrences. The Pakistan radio even put out a story that provisional government has been set up in Kashmir. The people of my state both the Muslims and non-Muslims generally have taken no part at all.

With the condition obtaining at present in my state and the great emergency of the situation as it exists I have no option but to ask for the help from the Indian dominion. Naturally they cannot send the help asked for by me without my state according to the dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach the instruments of accession for acceptance by your government. The other alternative is to leave my state and my people to the looters. This alternative I will never allow to happen so long as I am the ruler of the state and I have life to defend my country.

I may also inform your excellency that it is my intention at once to set up an interim government and ask Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities in this emergency with my Prime Minister.

If my state has to be saved immediate assistance must be available at Srinagar. Mr Menon is fully aware of the gravity of the situation and he will explain to you if further explanation is needed. [217]

The following day, i.e. October 27 Mountbatten accepted the accession. He wrote to the Maharaja:
"In the special circumstances mentioned by your highness, my
government has decided to accept the accession of Kashmir state to the
Dominion of India. It is my governments’ wish that as soon as law and
order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invaders,
the question of the state’s accession should be settled by a reference to
the people. Meanwhile, in response to your highness’s appeal for military
aid, action has been taken to day to send troops of the Indian army to
Kashmir to help your own forces to defend your territory and to protect
the lives, property and honour of your people."

4.6.2.7.1 The Maharaja’s escape

Before Mountbatten accepted the instrument of accession, there were a
number of meetings between representatives of the Maharaja, the government of
India and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. Although no details are available about
the meetings between Sheikh Abdullah and Indian leaders, it is certain “Sheikli
Abdullah took this opportunity to request formally Indian military aid.” So
once again history was repeated when the son of the soil requested a foreigner to
‘rule’ his state. On 25th of October, Maharaja Hari Singh left Srinagar for Jammu
by road along with his family members and valuable articles. Thus in a way, he left
the Kashmiris to their own fate. This shows his attitude towards his people when
according to his letter to Mountbatten people were in great difficulties. “While
loot and plunder by raiders was on, the Maharaja packed his pearls, diamonds
and other valuable things and along with his friends and relatives left for Jammu in
more than one hundred vehicles.” Defending his father’s movement to Jammu
Dr. Karan Singh says that his father left Srinagar on the advice of V.P. Menon as
their life was in danger. It is a fact that Sheikh Abdullah used this event
(Maharaja’s escape) as the biggest political propaganda against the Maharaja.
Sheikh Abdullah even mentioned about the Maharaja’s escape in U.N. Security
Council. “The Maharaja in the dead of night left the capital along with his courtiers
and the result was absolute panic. There was no one to take control.” However,
in his letter to Sardar Patel on 20th April 1948, Hari Singh felt virtually frustrated
and complained to him about Sheikh Abdullah. “How entirely divorced from
facts this allegation is, I am sure, be borne out of your secretary to Mr. Menon at whose insistence I reluctantly left Srinagar for Jammu. The other allegation that truckloads of belongings were removed is absolutely false.” However, while describing his visit to the Maharaja on October 26 at Jammu V.P. Menon writes: “on arrival at the palace, I found it in a state of utter turmoil with valuable articles strewn all over the palace.” Whatever the case, the Maharaja did leave Srinagar at a very crucial juncture.

4.6.2.7.2 Army Action

After the acceptance of instrument of accession at about 9.00 a.m. on 27 October 1947, ten dakota aircrafts carried the first group of the Indian army to Srinagar. They scattered all around to repulse the attack by the tribesmen who were only at a distance of four and a half kilometres from Srinagar airport. The arrival of Indian army was a big surprise for Pakistan. Jinnah ordered his English general Mr. Gracy to move troops to Jammu and Kashmir and to seize Srinagar and Banihal Pass. “Gracy replied that he could not comply with the order and must report the matter to Auchineleck (the Field Marshal of British forces) as compliance would entail the issue of stand down order No.2 which meant the withdrawal of the British officers from Pakistan army.” According to Gracy's private secretary, Wilson, Mountbatten rang up Gracy and threatened that if he moved any troops to Kashmir he would ensure that he would not get his knighthood. Gracy capitulated. The Indian army was helped by the volunteers of National Conference at the local level. The slogan “Hamla awar Khabardar”, (Invaders must remain informed) "Ham Kashmiri hain Tayar" (We Kashmiris are ready) was raised by the National Conference at that time. This was again self-assertion by Kashmiris, which depicted their strong will. The army action continued for months together and finally in January 1949 a United Nations brokered cease-fire put an end to the first Indo-Pakistan war. It is clear that Pakistan army had fully involved itself along with the 'raiders'. It was done partly to gain strength over some parts of Kashmir. The cease fire left India in control of almost two-thirds of Jammu and Kashmir, including almost the entire valley, most of Ladakh (excluding Skardu), and most of Jammu. A large chunk of western Jammu and
Poonch as well as Gilgit and Baltistan, fell under Pakistani control.  

4.6.2.7.3 The Maharaja and Abdullah - After Accession

The relations between the Maharaja and Abdullah were always very strain. For Maharaja, it was Sheikh Abdullah who challenged his might and organised mass movement against him. Abdullah had virtually put an end to one century old regime. For Sheikh Abdullah the Maharaja, was the person who had been exploiting people, extracting heavy taxes, and putting them in hardships. The Maharaja's regime had put a virtual ban on state employment for Kashmiri Muslims. Being a representative of Kashmiri Muslims, Abdullah had every reason to hate the Maharaja. Therefore, after accession, even though Sheikh Abdullah had taken over as Chief of the State administration the relations continued to remain strain as the days passed. Immediately after accession on “5th November the Muslims of Jammu were asked to assemble in police lines so that they could be transported to Pakistan. A large number of them were loaded in trucks and then killed near Samba,” alleged Sheikh Abdullah in his autobiography. Abdullah’s allegations are also confirmed by many people including Kawar Dalip Singh who was appointed to the newly created office of agent to the government of India in Jammu and Kashmir. Commenting on the situation, he wrote a note to government of India on November 9, where he said that “the refugees from West Punjab and of the local villages are extremely bitter. It is impossible to control their lust for vengeance. The troops, the (Indian) Brigadier assures me, are unable to give protection to Muslim citizens of Jammu city.” Abdullah was convinced that these killings were masterminded by the Maharaja and his wife. In fact, this incident also generated a lot of heat between Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mehr Chand Mahajan. According to Abdullah, Mahajan wanted to change the demographic map of Jammu by eliminating more and more Muslims. Abdullah made many complaints against Mahajan to Indian leaders but the Maharaja in spite of pressure from Delhi was in no mood to discard Mahajan. The Indian leadership was also not happy with the Maharaja. Most of them were convinced that Abdullah was the only person who could help to safeguard the interest of India in the state. The ‘long term’ plan of India about Kashmir had to be completed by Sheikh Mohammad
Abdullah. In November 1947, J.L. Nehru wrote to the Maharaja:

"As I pointed out to you, the only person who can deliver the goods in Kashmir is Sheikh Abdullah. He is obviously the leading popular personality in Kashmir. The way he has risen to grapple with the crisis has shown the nature of the man. I have a high opinion of his integrity and his general balance of mind. He has striven hard and succeeded very largely in keeping communal peace. He may make any number of mistakes in minor matters, but I think he is likely to be right in regard to major decisions. But the real point is that no satisfactory way out can be found in Kashmir except through Sheikh Abdullah. If that is so, full confidence must be placed in him. There is no half-way house between full confidence and half affairs with as little advantages and many disadvantages. Even if a risk has to be taken in giving this full confidence, that risk has to be taken. There is no other way as far as I can see it both from the short term point of view and the long term one. Sheikh Abdullah is earnestly desirous of co-operating and is amendable to any reasonable argument. I would suggest to you to keep in close personal touch with him and deal with him directly and not through intermediaries."

Things continued as they were and there was hardly any possibility of patch up. The Maharaja’s son Karan Singh points out following few points apart from those discussed above as the basic issues of difference between the Maharaja and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah:

i) The state forces were under the direct control of the Maharaja who continued to be its commander-in-chief. Abdullah felt that the forces were communal and they must be kept under the direct control of Indian army. This was not acceptable to Maharaja;

ii) Land reforms for which the NC had been pressing hard was not acceptable to the Maharaja for obvious reasons;

iii) A religious trust named Dharmarth which had been established by Gulab Singh was under the control of the Maharaja. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah felt that the revenue and resources of this trust were being
misused by the Maharaja and wanted the same to be brought under the direct control of state government; and

iv) Reserved subjects which were supposed to have been left to the Maharaja's authority, including pensions of various types of members of the ruling family, the hospitality department and so on also became point of prestige between the two towering personalities of the state.

The things became worse to the extent that Hari Singh had to leave the state on June 9, 1949 on 'health grounds' and he appointed his son Youraj Karan Singh as regent of the state in his place. Karan Singh took his assignment on 20th June 1949.

4.6.2.7.4 The New Set-up

Sheikh Abdullah, who had taken the charge of the emergency government on 29 October 1947, was now head of the emergency administration which had come into effect in March 1948. However, even at the time of Karan Singh's takeover, the constitutional authority in the state remained with the Maharaja. The Maharaja was very much concerned about him and his family's authority in the state politics. It was in this context that he did not leave the government easily. He took guarantee from government of India on safety, security and status of himself, his family and his property after his handing over of charge to his son Karan Singh. While these developments were going on inside Kashmir on January 1, 1948, India took the case of Kashmir to the United Nations. This development will be discussed separately.

The things were almost normal now between Sheikh Abdullah and Karan Singh and Hari Singh was almost in out of picture.

4.6.2.7.5 Article 370

Although the matter regarding the future of Kashmir had been taken to the United Nations by India, there definitely was a need to run the internal administration of Kashmir. On the other hand, New Delhi was busy in using all 'legal' means to make its claim more and more strong on Kashmir. The government
of India had the support of Kashmiri leadership which was the biggest plus point in its favour. In 1950 a special status was accorded to the state by bringing it under the perview of Article 370 of the Indian constitution. Article 370 restricted parliament's power to make laws for the Jammu and Kashmir state and New Delhi became responsible for foreign affairs, defence and communications only. In fact, law making, according to its clauses and sub clauses, had to be done with the consent of the state government. It thus gave the state a degree of autonomy exclusively enjoyed by it only throughout the country. However, the slow policy of getting Kashmir into the hard grip of India started from the drafting of various laws and especially Article 370. It was Sheikh Abdullah who reacted sharply when he saw the final draft of Article 370 sent to him but could not say anything and had no choice but to accept it. However, he wrote to Gopala Swami Ayyangar, who had drafted the Article.

"I find there are some substantial changes over the original draft particularly in regard to the applicability of fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy. You can yourself realise the anomaly of the state becoming part of India and at the same time not recognising any of these provisions.... any question of my approval does not arise. If you feel it is the right thing to do, you can go ahead with it." Thus it was the start of demolishing the 'autonomy' of the state. There was a virtual agitation by some people in Delhi and Jammu against Article 370. Some people described it as surrender of the government of India to Sheikh Abdullah. There was a virtual revolt against it in New Delhi. However, people at the helm of the affairs defended their decision. They were in know of the fact that Kashmir issue had been taken to the United Nations by them and it had already got international exposure. Secondly, Pakistan was there to watch every action of the government. So, it was not affordable for New Delhi to take it back. However, a slow process of erosion started.

4.6.2.7.6 1950-1953 (New Developments)

Now that the Article 370 was in force, some new developments started taking place. The Dogras of Jammu were now sure that their authority was gone.
They still considered themselves loyal to the family of Hari Singh. In fact, Kashmiri Muslims were now at the helm of affairs and in the heart of hearts they had a definite feeling that they have been side lined, their share in government employment was going to come down without any doubt.

During the agitation against the Maharaja the main support to Sheikh Abdullah came from the Kashmiri people especially Muslims. Thus a strong campaign was started against Sheikh Abdullah by a section of people who were supported by the RSS. This movement under the banner of Praya Parishad was more communal than 'fighting for rights of people of Jammu.'

The Delhi agreement of 1952 proved like a catalyst for Praya Parishad who stepped up their activities and the agitation there took a new turn. As already said Parishad was getting support from the RSS and other identical forces at the national level. The supporters of Parishad were of the opinion that 'Sheikh Abdullah was being unduly appeased and national interests were being sacrificed.'

The main plank of the agitation was that the National Conference was trying to 'Muslimise' state. They were totally against the special status given to the state and raised the slogan of "Ek Pradhan", "Ek Nishan" "Ek Vidan" (one Prime Minister, one flag and one constitution). This created a wedge between the Muslims and non-Muslims of the state. In fact, the Muslims living in Jammu have also been labelled as supporters of the National Conference even if they were not so. Thus a polarisation was started in the state which continues even today. In fact, Praya Parishad even demanded a separate state for Jammu, however, even if this demand was not conceded by any government but they have been able to get all the facilities and infrastructure through various agitations. A separate Medical College, Engineering College, University etc. are some of them.

The next step to strengthen the relations with India was instituting a Constituent Assembly. This was a step which India wanted but was not ready to take such an explosive one. This could prove a provocative step for Pakistan, the United Nations and opposition in Kashmir. However, the National Conference came to the rescue of New Delhi when it passed a resolution on October 1, 1950 for this purpose. "The General Council (of National Conference) requests the people to constitute an assembly of their representatives, through voting by eligible voters. This assembly will be represented by people belonging to all regions,"
different thoughts and different communities."  

As Karan Singh also writes:

"The concept of the constituent assembly to frame a constitution for the state was part of a broader political strategy to make the question of plebiscite redundant."

According to Singh, for Sheikh Abdullah it also provided an excellent opportunity to strike a final blow at the Dogra dynasty and thus fulfil his life's most cherished ambition. Both Hari Singh and Karan Singh tried their level best through legal ways, requests, lobbying, threats, etc. to avoid it but they could not succeed. Finally, Hari Singh even put forth the point that his son 'Regent' could not sign the proclamation (regarding constituent assembly) as he (Hari Singh) was the real ruler of the state which was also turned down. When all the methods of persuasion failed finally Gopalswami Ayyangar wrote to Hari Singh on April 5. It was a sort of 'order' to him from New Delhi

"the government of India are committed to the convening of a constituent assembly, the preparations for which are in active progress in the state. That the assembly will be held whether the formal proclamation, is issued or not. In the view of the government of India it must be convened, if both their commitments to the people of Kashmir and their stand at stake are successfully to be implemented, in spirit and in the letter. From the beginning they have held that this constituent assembly should be called under the provisions of the constitution of India and that this should be done from both a Tactical and Constitutional point of view, on the authority of a proclamation issued by the head of the state. The draft of the proclamation has been agreed between the government of India and the government of Jammu and Kashmir. No purpose will, therefore, be served by any act of your Highness which holds up the signing and issue of this proclamation by Shri Yuvraj."

In fact, the government of India was in need of the support of Sheikh
Abdullah than the Dogra family. That is why they could afford to take cudgels with Dogra family. Finally on May 1, 1951, a proclamation was issued by Yuvraj constituting the constituent assembly which was elected from electoral districts which were carved out on the basis of one district for every segment of 40,000 population. Elections were held and the NC won all the 75 seats (73 uncontested and 2 after contest). “This was the first instance of Indian administered Kashmir’s history of utter farcical elections. There was no question of any one opposing the NC in the valley, where Abdullah was running a virtual party state. But no contest was permitted even in Jammu where the Praja Parishad, a ‘Hindu Nationalist’ group was arbitrarily prevented from participating in the polls”.

This was what India needed. The constituent assembly which met on October 31, 1951 again strengthened its ties with India when its chairman declared “Kashmir was not interested in the United Nations, which was the victim of international intrigues. The paths of Kashmir and the U.N. lay in different directions. It is well known that the National Conference had gone to the people of the state with a programme of accession to India and this programme of accession had been ratified by every single adult voter of the state.” Some days later the constituent assembly stripped the Maharaja of virtually all powers, allowing him to act only on advice of the government.

Immediately after this Sheikh Abdullah became more and more confident about his political powers and the support of masses which he was enjoying. The support of 75 members of the assembly and the help and virtually unconditional support he was getting from New Delhi in running the administration, and cutting the Dogra rule to the ‘required and needed size’ must have developed an egoistic approach in Sheikh’s mind. Sheikh was also not ‘very unhappy’ with Karan Singh for not signing the proclamation for the constituent assembly when asked by Sheikh.

He (Sheikh) thus started a three way tirade against Karan Singh, the government of India and Pakistan. In March 1952, he appealed to the people of Pakistani Kashmir to make positive efforts to liberate themselves from the “present Pakistan rulers whose attempt always is to mislead you and keep you away from
knowing the true facts about us". Sheikh also promised them to "continue our efforts to liberate you". On the other hand, he also spoke against Karan Singh which made Karan Singh so uncomfortable that he complained to Jawahar Lal Nehru and even wrote to Sheikh Abdullah. Sheikh's attacks revolved around the communal riots in Jammu which, according to him, were masterminded by Maharaja, one hundred year autocratic rule of Dogras, denial of justice and rights to the people during Dogra rule and Maharaja's 'escape' from Kashmir in 1947. "I am very deeply hurt at Sheikh Sahab's making such remarks in public, particularly as they were not based on facts and were consequently highly misleading". Singh wrote to Nehru, the response of Sheikh Abdullah, according to Singh, was again heart breaking. "He (Sheikh) expected me to act virtually as a captive of his government, even to the extent of consulting him before making public appearances. This letter revealed that although he might tolerate me as head of state, he was incapable of overcoming his pathological aversion to my family." writes Karan Singh while describing his relations with Sheikh. Sheikh Abdullah also had complaints against India. "He criticised India for communalism and warned against applying the Indian constitution to Kashmir in all respects." This created waves in Delhi and thus Sheikh had another enemy now. Who was with Sheikh? He had already made the UNO and the Pakistan as his enemy, the Dogras of Jammu and Karan Singh had no love for him. There were forces in Kashmir who were not in good terms with him and finally New Delhi also joined the front against Sheikh Abdullah. Sheikh Abdullah could afford any opposition but when Nehru also parted ways with him, it disturbed him totally. Nehru, who was Sheikh's trusted friend in Delhi, was also an advisor to Karan Singh who was keeping him informed about the activities of Sheikh Abdullah. Then there was D.P.Dhar who, according to Sheikh Abdullah and Karan Singh, was doing the Delhi's job in Srinagar. The Praja Parishad was also an indirect source of information for Nehru. However, the government of India was not even then ready to leave Sheikh Abdullah. In fact, they wanted to strengthen the relations of New Delhi with Kashmir.

An important step taken by the government of India was to prepare a system of working relationship between the state (J&K) and the union of India.
Thus after discussions, meetings and deliberations between the two sides an understanding was reached which was given the name of the Delhi agreement. According to this agreement, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was given a special status under the Indian Union. Some features of this agreement signed by J.L. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah were:

i) The state was allowed to have a separate flag, and separate constitution;
ii) The hereditary Dogra monarchy was abolished; and
iii) The government of India agreed that confiscation of Jagirs without concessions would continue.

Although these steps were in favour of Sheikh Abdullah there was a severe criticism of Nehru from different quarters. It was considered to be a surrender of Indian government before Sheikh Abdullah. In latter years, however, it was proved that these steps were aimed at amalgamation of the state in the Union of India. If the above three points were in favour of Kashmir or Kashmiris, the remaining clauses of the agreement were certainly a tight grip the Indian government got in the form of the agreement.

The Indian citizenship act was made applicable to the state, Supreme Court’s Jurisdiction in some matters was extended to the state, and the President of India was empowered to declare a state of emergency in case of external dangers. So, in a way, it was New Delhi which virtually got an upper hand in the politico-administrative scenario of the state. In fact, while some quarters are of the opinion that the Delhi agreement was the base of the autonomy of the state but in actuality it provided the base for erosion of the autonomy of the state.

On the other hand, as per the Delhi agreement an end had to be put to hereditary rule. Thus on August 21, 1952, the assembly passed a resolution to the effect and Karan Singh was asked to “take an early decision as to whether or not I would accept to be Sardar-I-Riyasat” says Karan Singh. It was undoubtedly a big decision and Hari Singh, Karan Singh and the Dogra population of Jammu tried hard to resist but New Delhi again had its own interest in it. Although Hari
Singh suggested that a referendum should be held in the state regarding this issue. J. L. Nehru in a letter to Karan Singh cautioned him of its negative implications regarding the Indian interests in Jammu and Kashmir:

"I am rather surprised at your reference to the referendum. This is not possible either from the local or from the international point of view. If the question of a referendum on a limited issue was raised this would lead to all kinds of international complications over the wider area within the present boundaries of the state under our control. The referendum issue would, naturally, lead to bitterness and controversy and in effect tend to split up the state, regardless of the final issue. Indeed I think that such a proposal is completely out of place in the present circumstances. Pakistan would, no doubt, profit by it, but no one else." 245

This is how Nehru convinced Karan Singh to accept the post of Sadr-I-Riyasat. Finally on 15 November 1952, Karan Singh became the first elected constitutional head of the state. This was definitely against the wishes of Karan Singh but there was no other alternative for him. He was in fact forced to accept this and the man who masterminded all this was Sheikh Abdullah who had to pay back for his action only some months later.

Meanwhile, the agitation launched by the Praja Parishad touched new heights. The Praja Parishad was by the end of 1952 openly joined by the Jana Sangh in the agitation for complete integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India. Although some quarters did try to solve the problem, but it was in vain. Meanwhile, on the domestic front also, there were problems for Sheikh Abdullah. At the beginning of 1953, a distinct group separated from the NC which made a separate front under the banner of the Political Conference. The first statement of this group demanded that India should withdraw her troops from Kashmir and refer the issue of accession to the people" 246. This was a difficult development for the government of India. If this was not enough, he lost the friendship of Nehru also when the latter visited Srinagar in May 1953. Sheikh Abdullah writes that Nehru was not having that kind and generous attitude which he was having.
earlier. There was definitely a change in him. Nehru on this occasion dropped the biggest bombshell: “He (Nehru) suggested to me (SMA) to call the constituent assembly and make the accession of the state to India passed by it.” Sheik did not agree to it citing many reasons including the earlier stand of Nehru on this issue.

Sheikh Abdullah had in 1951 said in the Constituent Assembly that the assembly was competent to decide the future of Jammu and Kashmir apart from objections raised by Pakistan and what Jawahar Lal Nehru said in the Indian Parliament:

“The Kashmir (J&K) constituent assembly was in no way competent to decide the future of the state and the government of India was bound by the resolution of the United Nations which had sought settlement of the Kashmir issue through a plebiscite.”

This was a clear indication of the designs of government of India vis-a-vis Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah in order to put pressure on New Delhi started asserting his authority and rights. After the death of Syama Prasad Mookerjee in June 23 1953, in custody of the J&K government, things became worse for Sheikh Abdullah at the national level. Mukerjee was President of Bharatia Jana Sangh, who entered the state for supporting the agitation of Praja Parishad, although his entry to the state had been banned. This put Sheikh Abdullah in a more disturbing situation. In July 1953, while addressing National Conference workers he enquired from government of India:

“How many Muslims were working in administrative command and operational command forces at the time of our accession and what is their position after six years of our accession to India” He asked as to how many Muslims were working in posts and telegraph department. “We ask for justification, we fought Pakistan so that our rights are safe in India, and if the safeguard are deliberately removed then our relationship with India will lose itself. Both India and Pakistan are our neighbours and are
situated on our borders. It is natural that the progress and betterment of Kashmir should be dependent on their goodwill. We should have the friendship of both."

All this continued for quite sometime. Sheikh Abdullah was now trying to assert the Kashmir identity and cash in it. His hostility towards India was earning him support of Kashmiri Muslims who had been his strength all along his political career. In fact, this had remained his only source of inspiration. That is why when we talk of Kashmir identity, we have to take it as Muslim identity. For all practical purposes, the support the National Conference and other political parties got came from the Muslims of the valley. They were exploited by different people for centuries and even during this period Sheikh Abdullah or his party and general masses of Kashmir (mainly Muslims) were made for each other in order to maintain an unfailing symbiotic relationship.

4.6.2.7.7 The Dismissal of the Lion

Sheikh Abdullah was now aware that his days were numbered. He tried to make peace but it was difficult as the number of enemies was rising every passing day. In such a situation he even thought of dropping some cabinet colleagues, which was also becoming difficult for him. The Govt. of India, on the other hand, was convinced that the lion (Sheikh Abdullah was commonly called the lion of Kashmir) could be dangerous if not caged. The general secretary of the NC who was also nominated member of Parliament, Moulana Masoodi said on 6 August 1953:

"If Kashmir rose as one against Pakistan it was because they saw that the country wanted to force them into a position which they were not prepared to accept. If today demands are in India which endanger the present autonomous position of the state and realizing this danger the people of Kashmir feel inclined towards a third alternative, it is no way that they should be blamed for it, but those who are the root cause of it. All those who are honestly interested in seeing Kashmir and India
On August 8, 1953 Sheikh Abdullah met Karan Singh and informed him about the decision of his cabinet. The same evening Sheikh Abdullah along with his family and some officers left for Gulmarg (a hill station in Kashmir) for holidays. However, things took a dramatic turn in Delhi and Srinagar. Now that the constant efforts from Delhi to erode the granted special status to the state and effort to get the instrument of accession ratified by the assembly had failed there was no other alternative left but to dismiss Sheikh Abdullah. B.N Mulick, Director of Intelligence Bureau of India, wrote latter “we got information that Pir Maqbool Gilani had established contacts with Pakistan and that an emissary was on his way to Tangmarg (near Gulmarg) to meet Sheikh Abdullah”253 Thus the plan was finalised. “We therefore decided that Sheikh Abdullah would have to be dismissed. While I was reluctant that he should be arrested, Bhakhshi Gulam Mohammad made it quite clear that he could not undertake to run the Govt. if Sheikh Abdullah and Beig (Afzal) were left free to propagate their views”254 Says Karan Singh, who was the governor of State. His being at the helm of affairs thus paved the way for Sheikh Abdullah’s dismissal as Prime Minister and arrest. His place was taken by Bhakhshi Gulam Mohammad. There was definitely unrest throughout the state. The people protested but could not stop the handover of power.

4.6.2.7.8 Kashmir and the UNO

There was absolutely no doubt that the accession done by the Maharaja with India was temporary and flimsy. On the other hand, even if there was a strong support for accession from the main political force the N.C, but even then India had in mind the opposition from Pakistan and other countries. On November 2, 1947 Nehru made a proposal that “the govt. of India and Pakistan should make a joint request to the United Nations to undertake a plebiscite in Kashmir at the earliest possible date”255. On the proposal of Lord Mountbattan on January 1,
1948 India took the case to the United Nations under articles 34 and 35 of the Charter of the United Nations. These articles state: "any member may bring any situation, whose continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of International peace and security to the attention of the Security Council." The letter written by the Govt. of India said that "such a situation now exists between India and Pakistan owing to the aid which invaders, consisting of nationals of Pakistan and of tribesmen are drawing from Pakistan for operations against Jammu and Kashmir, a state which has acceded to the dominion of India and is part of India. The Govt. of India requests the Security Council to call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately to the giving of such assistance which is an act of aggression against India. If Pakistan does not do so, the Govt. of India may be compelled, in self-defence, to enter Pakistan territory, in order to take military action against the invaders. The matter is therefore one of extreme urgency and calls for immediate action." The Kashmir issue thus got internationalised. The move of the Govt. of India was criticised in India both by members of ruling party and the opposition. In fact, some people attributed it to the Mountbattan secret plan to keep India and Pakistan in confrontation with each other:

"It is interesting to recall in this connection the role and conduct of Lord Mountbattan, the last viceroy and the first governor general of India. It was he who more than any other, convinced Indian leaders, then unsure and inexperienced in the wily ways of world diplomacy, into the Security Council and the trap of western nations; otherwise the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir had signed the instrument of accession and the N.C., the only representative organization of the people of the state, had urged upon India to accept it and the matter had ended."

After taking the issue to the UNO, to which some Indian writers described as 'another mistake', there definitely was a sharp reaction from Pakistan which denied all the charges levelled by India. However its representative Sir Zafrulla Khan concluded by saying "Everyone who has gone to Kashmir should go out: Sikh bands, Rashtriya Sewak Sang volunteers, tribesmen and any other people who may have gone from the Muslim side, and men from Pakistan, Muslims who
were Indian nationals and who were refugees, in Pakistan everybody. They must get out, including Indian troops. The Security Council passed its first resolution on the matter on 17 January 1948, calling on both sides to ease tension. Later on the 20th of the same month the Security Council passed a resolution which established a commission, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), to investigate the facts of the dispute and carry out any mediatior influence to smooth away difficulties. Pakistan, however, continued to support its demand for a free plebiscite in Kashmir which had the support of the most of the members in the Security Council. The support which Pakistan primarily got was because India had done two big mistakes:

i) The acceptance of even provisionally the accession of Kashmir to India. Military help could have been sent without accepting the accession of the state.

ii) In sending troops without any attempt to secure prior high level consultation with the Pakistan Govt, or even informing them in advance that this action was not intended to prejudice Kashmir's future but simply to prevent slaughter within the state, with wide and dangerous consequence to the communal situation outside it.

The UNCIP put forward a number of proposals after visiting the two countries but there seemed no consensus except that both the countries ordered cease-fire in Kashmir from January 1, 1949. The document of cease-fire was signed by General Gracey on behalf of Pakistan and General Roy Bucher for India. It was probably the last document signed by two English men on behalf of two countries which were created by them but had the right to represent them. Again it was a historical turn, an ugly and unfortunate event of history that a nation/people whose future was at stake were nowhere in picture and had no representation whatsoever in the decision making of their future.

The cease-fire line was to be monitored by the United Nations military observer group (UNMOG). Meanwhile UNCIP continued its work and on March 21, 1949 the United Nations appointed a plebiscite administrator for Jammu.
The man given this important assignment was Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, the former commander-in-chief of the Pacific fleet and Pacific Ocean areas in World War II. Nimitz was a man of integrity and international prestige. He spent months together to read literature on India, Pakistan, and Kashmir. He equipped himself with all the required knowledge and prepared all the plans and details of conducting plebiscite. However, again different types of hurdles were created for the plebiscite and then the commission suggested an arbitration of all the differences which had arisen about the implementation of the truce agreement. Although Pakistan agreed to it, India again backed out citing different reasons.

Then there were proposals put forth by General A.G.I.L. Meenaustont who proposed large scale demilitarisation of the entire area which again ran into rough weather. Again on March 14, 1950 the Security Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon, an Australian jurist as a single mediator between India and Pakistan. His plan envisaged virtual partition of the state. According to his plan, the entire area could be divided into three regions:

(i) The region about which there was no doubt that it wished to accede to India;
(ii) The region which undoubtedly wished to accede to Pakistan; and
(iii) The region in respect of which there could be doubt about its wishes.

His recommendation was that plebiscite should be held only in regard to the region falling in the third category. However, both the countries rejected this plan. After this, Frank Graham was appointed the mediator who reached the sub-continent in June 1951 when first elections had been conducted in the state. Pakistan was already unhappy with this move and had been trying to highlight this unilateral Indian action on international arena. Graham paid long visits and had meetings with the leaders of India and Pakistan which could not yield any result and thus the dispute remained as it was. Although it continues to be a subject at world bodies and international meetings but no solution seems to be imminent. When Pakistan joined SEATO and BAGHDAD pact India then used the good offices of Russia to veto the Kashmir issue wherever it becomes necessary. Most countries of the world have and are in one way or the other.
talking about this issue. Two wars of 1965 and 1971 between India and Pakistan highlighted the Kashmir issue at the international scene. The militant movement of last ten years again gave exposure to the Kashmir problem on the international level. The recent nuclear tests by the two countries compelled the international community especially America to accept that Kashmir is the core issue before India and Pakistan which needs immediate attention.

4.6.2.7.9 : 1953-1963 (Bakshi regime)

Sheikh Abdullah’s exit from the political scene saw his deputy Bakshi Gulam Mohammad installed as new prime minister of the state. Bakshi was a politician par excellence. He had the tactics and the wit to change the scenario. He knew the weaknesses and the needs of the all sections of the population. Bakshi was knowledgeable about the psyche of Kashmiris. Bakshi also had considerable organising abilities. The flow of funds from New Delhi helped him to keep the people calm. Apart from having a strong grip over the party, Bakshi also introduced the 'Goonda raj' “with the slightest political dissent forcibly stifled by police and gangs of organised thugs”. It was during his time that work on a university, engineering college, medical college and some polytechnic colleges started. Roads were built and there was economic development all round. Observers and general public feel that people were happy during Bakshi Regime because of economic prosperity.

Education was made free up to postgraduate level. The state purchase of paddy, maize and wheat to feed urban areas was completely abolished and salaries of all government servants were substantially raised. The flow of central funds also strengthened the 'institution of corruption'. "Bakshi's government lasted till 1963, and is remembered largely for two salient attributes, both of which became his lasting legacy of Kashmir politics: pervasive corruption, with ministers and bureaucrats looting the public exchequer and impunity and crude mafia style authoritarianism." However, the development, especially a boost in tourist industry, the completion of the Jawahar Tunnel, construction of new housing colonies, establishment of Radio Kashmir and Cultural Academy forced the
tolerant Kashmiris to make a complete compromise with inevitability under the economic compulsions which had the better part of their conscience. However, the negative implications of the policies resulted undoubtedly in more and more dependence on New Delhi. Investment was made in buildings and roads only but no care was taken of industrial growth especially in Kashmir valley. Purchases of vegetables, meat, eggs etc made the valley more and more dependant on India. It was a sort of 'material integration' with India. Bakshi, took a number of constitutional and political measures to strengthen the relationship with New Delhi. On February 6, 1954 the constituent assembly elected during the premiership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah ratified the state's accession to India. This was a major political decision which had local, national and international ramifications. This was followed by financial integration effected through the 1954 Presidential order. The operations of customs, central excise, civil aviation, posts and telegraph were extended to the state. Other integrative measures soon followed. On 26 January 1957, India's Republic Day, a new constitution was adopted by the 'duly constituted' Kashmir government. This document took as its premise that 'the state of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of Union of India.' The introduction of all India services (IAS,IPS etc.), and functions of Comptroller and Auditor General were made in 1958. The implication of this order was that central administrative agencies, economic enterprises and banks based in Kashmir came to be mostly staffed not just by non-Muslims but more critically by non-Muslims from outside Jammu and Kashmir. This move continues to be of great concern to the Kashmiri Muslims. The bureaucracy dominated by 'outsiders' continues to be a 'symbol of deprivation' for locals. In 1959 the legislative entry relating to census was applied. As a result, the Census of 1961 was conducted under the central rule. Application of fundamental rights, extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India, transfer of services to the union list, approval of the planning commission of state development programmes were other steps aimed at consolidating the ties of the state with the rest of the country. Although people looked calm and prosperous but they were loosing their identity and autonomy through the flow of money. The Govt of India knew about the corruption and encouragement of favouritism in the Bakshi regime but "they turned a deaf ear to reports emanating from the state." For New Delhi,
Bakshi was an ideal state chief, especially for the bureaucrats in the home ministry for whom those opposing central intervention were anti-national and those who would go along pro-India. For New Delhi the interests and sentiments of the people did not matter at all. Bakshi was described as "a liberal-minded and large-hearted person with his feet planted strongly among the masses. He was completely loyal to Pandit Jawaharal Nehru and considered himself an Indian out and out. Bakshi resigned in October 1963 as part of the Kamaraj plan. He was replaced by Shams-ud-din who remained in office for less than four months and was finally replaced by Gulam Mohd. Sadiq.

4.6.2.7.10 From Arrest to Accord

The arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in 1953 witnessed massive demonstrations with people demanding plebiscite and withdrawal of Indian troops. Although, as already reported Bakshi used his wit and intelligence to make the people calm but some of the members of National Conference who were loyal to Sheikh, continued their struggle.

4.6.2.7.11 Plebiscite Front

Mirza Afzal Beg, a close companion of Sheikh Abdulwahab who was arrested in 1953 along with the Sheikh was released in 1955. Immediately after his release, he established the Plebiscite Front. The Front fought for the cause of free and fair plebiscite and maintained that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India was temporary. They also demanded that the people should be given the right of self-determination. It was a great shift in the policy of Sheikh Mohd Abdullah who was the spirit behind the formation of this new front. When India and Pakistan engaged themselves in war in 1965, the front justified the infiltration of Pakistan in the valley. It also was in constant touch with the government of Pakistan and got financial assistance for it. The Front boycotted all elections till 1975. In fact, Plebiscite Front co-ordinated with the Awami Action Committee of Mirwaiz Mauwi Farooq, G.M. Karra's, Political Conference and Jamat-e-Islami. The Plebiscite Front was finally wound up in 1975. The process of its
winding up started immediately after the 1971 war. The then leaders of the the Front got afraid of the power of India. They categorically changed their stand vis-a-vis issues related to Kashmir's accession. "The pact of accession is irrelevant to us because we have lent our support to the instrument of accession of 1947 with all its implication.... I claim without any fear of contradiction that it is our organisation which cements the state's relationship with India" 272 Said Mirza Afzal Beg, Abdullah's trusted man. There was total contradiction between what they had been asking under the Plebiscite Front programme. For getting back power they compromised on their basic principles. In fact, this continues to be the tradition of the National Conference.

4.6.2.7.12 Kashmir Conspiracy Case

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was released from jail in 1958. With this there were protests, demonstrations and processions against the government. Once again people showed their loyalty to Sheikh. Such developments made the government panicky. Bakshi formulated a plan. "Under the plan the organisers engineered clashes between the National Conference and the Plebiscite Front supporters in both rural and urban areas." 273 This way a ground was prepared to re-arrest Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. After his re-arrest just few months later a case was registered against him and his associates. The Kashmir conspiracy case submitted that Abdullah and his associates were trying to overthrow the government in collaboration with Pakistan. "The outline of the case had been prepared by the Central Intelligence Bureau and Kashmir police officers" 274 The case became focal point of Kashmir politics. The proceedings of the case were being heard in central Jail, Jammu. The case was simply to keep the Sheikh and his colleagues out of the political scene of Kashmir. It was a case of political victimisation and even some leaders in New Delhi were against it but the strong home ministry prevailed upon one and all and the case continued for years together. Two hundred and twenty nine witnesses were examined and three hundred documents exhibited. It was a unique case of its own. However, as already said, there was a strong lobby headed by Mridula Sarabhai, eminent political and social figure of India, who fought a virtual battle for Sheikh Abdullah. It was because
of this pressure that the case was withdrawn in 1964.

4.6.2.7.13 The Holy Relic Movement and its political fall out

*Moe-Muqaddas* (holy relic of Prophet of Islam *PHA*) has been kept in the famous Hazratbal Mosque on the bank of world known Dal lake. This is considered to be the holiest Mosque in Kashmir where people from far flung areas of the valley come to offer prayers. The presence of *Moe-Muqaddas* has given this mosque more importance than any other. The Hazratbal shrine has also remained a strong political centre of Kashmiri politics. Sheikh Abdullah used it as his political centre. It was here that most of the political decisions were made public and their 'approval' got from the public. Hazratbal therefore represents the Kashmir's, political and religious plate form. On 27 December 1963, Holy Relic was found missing from the place where it was kept. A war-like situation followed. The people came out on streets to demand the restoration of the Relic. Firing, Killing, demonstrations, arrests, processions and complete *bands* continued. The administration virtually collapsed and public itself became the administration.

The prime minister of India, Jawharlal Nehru, appealed to the people through radio broadcasts to maintain calm but there was absolutely no impact on the people. Most of the officials from the home ministry camped in Srinagar and thus the administration was run by the home ministry on one hand and the state government on the other. The mood of the people now was against the government. There was absolutely no leadership to the movement and it was virtually going on its own. The agitation brought out a young 18 year old *Maulana* Molvi Farooq who had been made acting-Mirwaiz after the death of his father Molvi Mohammad Amin. "He was young and could not speak a word and only wept". This is a tragedy that after twenty six years, his son Umar Farooq had also to take the charge of *Mirwaiz* after Molvi Farooq was killed. Their age at taking over such an important assignment was also the same. Molvi Farooq thus symbolized the leadership of the Holy Relic movement. The people in the Plebiscite Front also came out and used this opportunity to get the maximum political mileage from the agitation. On January 4,1964 when the shrine was unguarded the relic was kept back by somebody. However, B.N. Mullick, then IB chief, said that the relic
had been restored in what he said "an intelligence operation never to be disclosed" The issue was so sensitive that Lal Bahadur Shastri (Later P.M) rushed here to solve the problem politically. The incident proved the sensitivity of the Kashmiri Muslims vis-a-vis Religion.

It also strengthened anti-India feelings among the people. Immediately after this Shamsuddin resigned from the prime-ministership and Gulam Mohammad Sadiq became the prime minister on Feb. 29 1964.

4.6.2.7.14 The Sadiq-Qasim regime

Immediately after taking over as prime minister, Gh. Mohd Sadiq felt that Bakshi was creating problems for him. Bakshi, as already said, was very intelligent especially in political matters. He had the backing of a number of National Conference legislators. Now the central government was also not happy with Bakshi. In fact, this has remained the policy of the Govt. of India towards Kashmir: "Use a person and throw him". Sadiq and Mir Qasim (another important leader) were in no mood to have confrontation with Bakshi. Karan Singh who was the Sadr-i-Riyasat at that time called a mid-night meeting to discuss the Bakshi problem. According to Mir Qasim, "A heated debate on all aspects of Mr. Bakshi’s plan for a motion of no-confidence ensured the (Govt. was feeling that Bakshi may go for a no-confidence motion against the government). We repeated our stand that since Mr. Bakshi enjoyed the majority in the house, we should let him rule. But our stand was rejected in view of what they called 'national interest'. It was decided that Mr. Bakshi be arrested in 'national interest'". This was evidently the Centre which was ruling the state and even the Prime Minister had no say in highly sensitive matters. New Delhi removed a person who helped it in 'caging' a 'lion' like Skeikh Mohammad Abdullaha. The 'darling' of New Delhi, a nationalist, 'Namak Halal', a true patriot and true friend of New Delhi. Bakshi Gulam Mohammed the ex-Prime Minister of the state, was arrested under defence of India rules in 1964 and sent to the same prison in Jammu where Abdullaha had been imprisoned eleven years ago. Meanwhile, Sadiq also announced the release of Skeikh Abdullaha from jail. This must not have been his personal decision or the decision of the state government. Ashirwad from Delhi
was a must for such actions. In fact, Sadiq was there because of New Delhi. Sadiq, an intellectual with communist approach, was the choice of New Delhi. When L.B. Shastri met the Kashmiri leaders in Jammu he “conveyed them a message on behalf of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, that the centre wants that Mr.G.M.Sadiq should be elected the leader of the legislature party in place of Mr. Shams-ud-din”.

Sadiq was again used by New Delhi to cement relations by allowing more central laws and other administrative and constitutional measures to be implemented in the state. A number of legislative entries relating to the welfare of labour, trade unions, social security and social insurance paved the way for extending central labour laws to the state. Jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India was also extended to the state during Sadiq's regime. Above all, the last traces of the special status of the state and its autonomous nature were wiped out when the nomenclature of Sadar-i-Riyasat was abolished through an amendment in the state constitution and it was replaced by governor. Same thing was done to the Prime Minister. Now the choice of the Governor also went to the President of India and therefore the 'special status' of Jammu and Kashmir came at par with other states of India. Sadiq in order to maintain a firm grip on power, did not raise his voice against it and continued to be loyal to New Delhi. Not only this Sadiq and Mir Qasim virtually uprooted the National Conference from the state and Sadiq became the first President of the state Congress party. This move was also planned by New Delhi to keep the Kashmiri leadership in a divided lot. D.P.Dhar, a Kashmiri pandit and a minister in the Sadiq government, was the trusted man of New Delhi. “Major part of the state administration too would remain close to Mr.Dhar because his powerful lobby believed that the real power flowed from New Delhi”.

This policy of New Delhi still continues in the valley and the preference and confidence also goes to Kashmiri Pandits. They are considered to be the “ambassadors of New Delhi.” All these things are proved when we see the overwhelming majority of Kashmiri Pandits working in the central government departments. In fact, when the Kashmiri Pandits left the valley after 1989, all the central government departments like Posts and Telecommunications, Banks, Insurance departments, and central audit departments virtually collapsed.
and became defunct. New Delhi had succeeded in cultivating another group in the Congress to counter Sadiq if needed. However, Sadiq continued to remain in the saddle till his death in 1971.

On the other hand, when Sheikh Abdulllah was released from Jail in 1964, he went to Delhi on the invitation of Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru, as written by Sheikh in his book *Auish-e-chinar*, accepted that wrongs had been committed in the state and they were done without his knowledge. He (Sheikh) had an emotional meeting with Nehru and stayed as his guest. After his meeting with Nehru where, according to Sheikh, Nehru showed his concern and soft corner towards Kashmir problem. Sheikh visited Pakistan to persuade General Ayoub Khan to visit Delhi to meet Nehru and discuss Kashmir problem. Sheikh met Pakistani leaders and a date was fixed for meeting with Nehru in Delhi. However, the meeting could not take place because of Nehru's death on May 27, 1964. Sheikh who had temporarily become pro-Indian again talked of plebiscite as he could not find the new leadership in Delhi as “very supportive”. Sheikh left for Haj but during his foreign tour he met leaders of France, Algeria, President Nasser of Egypt, Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China, King Fasal of Saudi Arabia and many other leaders. He tried to mobilize support for plebiscite in the state. The Govt. of India did not like his meetings, with the world leaders and he was arrested on his return to India. Once again ‘poor Kashmiris’ came on streets, protested and about forty people got killed on streets of the valley. Just after this, war broke out between India and Pakistan from Sept 1, 1965 which continued for seventeen days till a ceasefire was agreed on by the two countries on the intervention of Security Council. Finally on January 10, 1966 the Tashkent Declaration was signed by Lal Bhadur Shastri and President Ayub Khan with the efforts of the USSR. Both the parties agreed to withdraw their troops and restore the positions held by them as on Aug 5, 1965. Shastri's death in Tashkent brought Indira Gandhi as the Prime minister of India.

Syed Mir Qasim, who became Chief Minister of the state in 1971, contributed his bit in extending some more provisions of the Indian constitution to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Although Sheikh had become very active
after his release in 1970, the creation of Bangladesh and a virtual defeat of Pakistan demoralised the workers of the Plebiscite Front. They wanted to come to the negotiating table to discuss their problems. Earlier when Indira Gandhi dissolved Parliament in December 1970, Abdullaha had decided to contest the elections. However, the Govt. of India again showed its 'dictatorial attitude' and 'short sightedness' by debarring Sheikh and his associates from entering the state and banning the Plebiscite Front. The Congress won all the seats in the state. Sheikh then became a tired man who knew that nothing was possible without the ashirwad of New Delhi. Creation of Bangladesh further developed an egoistic approach in Indira Gandhi and she made Sheikh Abdullaha to come to her terms. Sheikh also changed his stance. He started talking in terms of internal autonomy and plebiscite took the back seat. "There is no quarrel with the government of India over accession; it is over the structure of internal autonomy. One must not forget that it were we who brought Kashmir into India; otherwise Kashmir could never have become part of India." This is how the Sheikh spoke to the London Times in February 1972. The Simla agreement between the Pakistan Prime Minister Zulufkar Ali Bhuttoo and Mrs. Indra Gandhi laid stress on bilateral talks on all issues. This also put the internationalisation of Kashmir in background.

4.6.2.7.15 1975 - The Accord

A tired man, Sheikh Abdullaha, after his release in 1972, meets the Prime minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and she repeats the words of her father which he had told the Sheikh "Sheikh Sahab! whatever has happened, there is need to forget all that; we want to start a new chapter" and poor Kashmiri (Sheikli Abdullaha) knew that he had to agree and say yes. He had no reason not to believe Mrs. Gandhi's words. That is why Sheikh Abdullaha responded: "If your intention is that I am ready to shake my hand with you" There were consultations between Sheikh Abdullaha's close confident Mirza Afzal Beg, and G. Parthasarthy who was representing Mrs. Gandhi. Talks continued for years and during this period some people from the Plebiscite Front and other opposition parties like Molvi Farooq's Awami Action Committee started organising public opinion against the behind the scene attempts of Sheikh to wind up the Plebiscite Front.
Finally an agreement known to the world as Kashmir Accord or Indra-Abdullah accord was signed on February 24, 1975. Accordingly the Chief Minister Mir Qasim resigned and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah took over as Chief Minister of the state on February 25, 1975. The accord and subsequent taking over of power by Sheikh Abdullah was again considered to be a sellout in favour of New Delhi. Once again, it became clear that the real power flows from New Delhi. In fact, Sheikh Abdullah had no strength left to continue fighting for plebiscite. It was a difficult situation and he had to reconcile.

4.6.2.7.16 From Kashmir Accord to Rajiv Farooq Accord

Sheikh Abdullah, who had said goodbye to his Plebiscite Front started reviving his National Conference. Thus the confrontation with Delhi again took a new term. New Delhi wanted him to join the Congress but he was not interested in that. The assembly elections of 1977 saw Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference back in power with a massive mandate. Sheikh continued to govern the State with strain relations with New Delhi. Before his death in 1982 he had, promoted his son Dr. Farooq Abdullah to succeed him as the president of National Conference and Chief Minister of the state. This made Sheikh's son-in-law Gulam Mohammad Shah unhappy. In fact, he was expecting this top slot for himself. The National Conference won 1983 elections again partly because of the sympathy wave caused by death of Sheikh Abdullah. Indira Gandhi again was not happy with the state government. In fact, because of her expansionist plan and “to re-organise Congress” all round she was not able to control herself and could go to any extent.

On 26 March 1981, Farooq Abdullah was elected president of the National Conference unopposed. Although his brother-in-law and cabinet minister Gulam Mohammad Shah garlanded him in public but this was the beginning of a feud between the two. In New Delhi, Indira Gandhi's elder son Rajiv Gandhi took the place of his younger brother Sanjay Gandhi who died in an air crash in June 1980. Farooq welcomed Rajiv's joining politics but people close to Indira Gandhi again tried to keep the two aloof to the extent that Indira Gandhi herself ruled out
any understanding. In March 1982 there were some disturbances in the valley following an agitation against sale of liquor. This was normal but home minister came to Srinagar from Delhi to show his concern on growing communalism, though the government had already taken necessary steps in regard to checking the violence. However, when the home minister called the situation grim with “growing activities of communal and extremist forces” at large Abdullah could read the things and he reacted very sharply. He accused Indra Gandhi of once again trying to destabilise his government. Even Farooq charged the Congress Party with creating disruptions and planning disturbances in the state. It was around same time that the governor of the state sent the Resettlement bill for examination to centre. The bill had been passed by the state assembly. When Sheikh Abdullah was very ill and people were counting his last days. G. M. Shah was expected to take over but he was thought to be a hard nut to crack. Although Indra Gandhi had already developed irritation against the Sheikh and even Farooq over some issues, her advisors thought Farooq Abdullah could be moulded easily. So she along with Rajiv visited Srinagar to get Farooq on the top job.

The victory of Farooq Abdullah in the 1983 election made him more confident but as he sidelined some of the old National Conference ministers trouble started for him from these elements. On the other hand, he had not accepted seat adjustment with Congress in the valley and a few anti-social demonstrations against Indra Gandhi when she visited Kashmir for campaign were also attributed to Farooq. Farooq's meeting with Akali leaders, participation in conferences of opposition leaders and his emotional statements made the central leadership of the Congress unhappy. To add to this the local Congress men were always active to build walls than bridges between Farooq and Indra. Later on an opposition party's conference was held in Srinagar. This was the last 'mistake' of Farooq and thus the gameplan to topple him continued. Farooq's complaints against the centre resulted in with holding funds; clearance of projects was delayed and no cooperation was offered on some other issues.
"The Congress (I) and Mrs. Gandhi were unwilling to live with rival centres of power in the states. This becomes evident from their manipulations in Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra Pradesh. From the time I formed my government after the general elections in 1983, I lived from minute to minute for I knew that Delhi would topple me sooner or later; they were intent upon it." Writes Farooq in his book My Dismissal. Although officially the government was committed not to topple Farooq but demands made by Congress ministers and even the Congress working committee on June 20, 1984 did indicate that the end was close. Farooq had to see the end as he was not able to do all he was dictated from Delhi. His playboy image did the rest for him. Roaming around with film actresses, his alleged relations with some women and emotional statements were exploited by the interested quarters from time to time. A break-away group of the National Conference led by Farooq's brother-in-law G. M. Shah made the claim to form the government in July 1984. They had the support of the Congress and an independent member. So Farooq was dismissed on July 2, 1984 and G. M. Shah sworn in as Chief Minister. For the governor of that time it was a usual affair and he claims to have done everything as per the law of the land. He rules out any conspiracy in this regard. However, there definitely was something hidden. As Farooq Abdullah later told this researcher, "The game plan was prepared in Delhi and Shah and Jagmohan were a party to it, but they could not dismiss me easily. So they engineered a split in the National Conference". "Mr Jagmohan came to Jammu and Kashmir, having already earned the title of political fixer of the Congress. Here he became the principal instrument in getting rid of my duly elected government which enjoyed the massive support of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. He was a direct party to the conspiracy but various trappings were given a dramatic touch to make it appear a natural political event" Farooq says in My Dismissal:

The central government was aware of the fact that G. M. Shah and the people who supported him were not in the good books of general masses but even then they supported him. They were continuing their old policy of 'Stick to
our dictates or go'. Farooqs’ dismissal had once again betrayed the people. A duly elected government had gone once again. Demonstrations and protests touched new heights. In fact, curfew continued for weeks together to the extent that people called it 'curfew Raj' or Gul curfew (Reference to G. M. Shah). Not only in the state but people outside the state also showed their solidarity with Farooq Abdullah and his party. Once again a Kashmiri had been made victim. Farooq Abdullah who still represented the legacy of his father was a popular man though the graph of his popularity was coming down as some people were not happy with the way he was running the administration. However, he was able to garner support from both friends and some enemies. The support did come from opposition Chief Ministers, former governors etc. Meanwhile Farooq made contact with Rajiv Gandhi who was the Prime Minister of India.

In January 1986 some temples were damaged in the valley when a court ordered the re-opening of the disputed mosque in Ayodhya. This provided a chance to the central government and G. M. Shah was shown the exit on 7 March 1986. This was actually the outcome of the negotiations between Rajiv Gandhi and Farooq Abdullah. However, the state was put under Governor’s rule.

4.6.2.7.18 Rajiv-Farooq Accord

Farooq knew that his future was safe only if he came to terms with Rajiv Gandhi and thus initiated first step towards a settlement with the central government. On 7 March 1986, G.M. Shah was dismissed and the state was put under governors’ rule. Farooq meanwhile entered into a political understanding with Rajiv Gandhi.. Known to the world as Rajiv -Farooq accord, Farooq Abdullah was sworn in as Chief Minister of the state putting an end to the governor’s rule. The assembly elections were also announced for March 1987.

Farooq entered into the accord because “they told me that there would be no elections for five years [otherwise] and by then I knew that even I won’t be able to control the situation.” Farooq latter admitted that the accord was his most serious political mistake.
After the third accord between the Nehru dynasty and the Abdullahas there was tremendous resentment in the state especially in the Kashmir valley. It was a sellout, a begging-like situation and a colonial attitude. For the first time, Kashmiri Muslims came out against the National Conference. It was described by some quarters as a platform to grab the chair. The central government imposed its policies and priorities on Kashmiris, thus reminding them of the slavery periods through which they had already gone. The Kashmiris once again got convinced that New Delhi was deliberately ‘super-imposing’ itself on Kashmiris. This has a lot to do with the psyche and approach which develops in a person. He feels his identity is threatened and thus his aspirations, priorities, and self are killed by some forces.

Emergence of MUF

Coming together of the National Conference and the Congress brought an opposition force of Muslim United Front (MUF) to the forefront. This partnership was between the Jammat-e-Islami, Unmut-e-Islamia of Qazi Nisar, a shia faction led by Molvi Abbas Ansari and some other small groups. The MUF from the very beginning got a tremendous support mostly from youth of the valley. The mood of youth was not only against the policies of the centre imposing itself on the state but also as an anger shown against corruption, unemployment and nepotism which was very common in the state. The candidates put up by the MUF were better than those of Congress combine. The MUF came out with some young, educated, honest the first timers in the political arena. For the National Conference – congress it was the old practice. The same old lot who had already tasted power and whose credentials were doubtful among people. Although, this argument can not be generalised for all of them but there is definitely no doubt that they were all part of a system which had been branded as corrupt and nepotic in nature and style. The emergence of the MUF was also important due to the fact that it was first time that most Muslim organisations came together under one banner. The
National Conference-Congress combine fought but the old rivalry and differences between the two organisations kept the ground workers apart. It was thus an accord between two individuals (Farooq and Rajiv) and not between two parties (Congress and the National Conference). So, apart from their own vote bank the MUF was also able to get the support of a number of Congress-National Conference voters as they were not happy with the accord. The National Conference-Congress combine used 'all' means to defame the MUF by describing them fundamentalists, pro-Pakistanis and anti-national. However, there was no impact of this propaganda on people especially in the valley of Kashmir where this propaganda helped the MUF to get more and more support.

4.6.2.7.21 Results and After

The results declared showed the ruling National Conference and the Congress combine coming back to power. It was a totally unexpected state of affairs. General masses, journalists, the MUF and others could not digest the outcome easily. Although the MUF was expecting about 20 seats, independent observers gave them 10 to 13 only. By getting even 13 seats there were no chance of forming government by the MUF. However, government was bent upon defeating the MUF. "They were afraid that if we formed the government we would declare Kashmir as part of Pakistan" remembers one MUF leader. Farooq government made it clear to Rajiv Gandhi that if the MUF was allowed to get more seats, things would then turn the other way round. There was rigging in about 10 assembly segments in which the MUF expected to win as they were leading in these constituencies. The wrong practice used by the ruling combine was evident from the fact that most of the MUF candidates and their election agents were arrested before or immediately after the results were declared. Some of them were taken into custody inside the counting halls. The popular auger was suppressed by force. It was a bad decision taken in a hurry and none from the government seems to have thought over these issues. Again the centre seems to have okayed the plan. Once again New Delhi did what it should not have done. The MUF supporters were completely disappointed. These "Pakistani agents" who had taken the road of democracy and even swore by the Indian constitution
had no alternative left but to use other means to get justice. When they were sent to various jails it gave them time to think over a new course of action. The action unfortunately was taking of the gun in hand. And that is what actually happened. When these young men were released from various jails they managed to get arms and start the struggle. "The state managed defeat of some MUF candidates paved the way for the onset of terrorism in the valley," writes Anil Maheswari. Immediately after this things never looked back. There were killings, arson and destructions. The youth were totally disillusioned with the democratic process and the 'central rule' through local power brokers. It was the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) which laid the foundation of militancy in the state. There was a massive support to the movement of independence at this stage. Farooq Abdullah resigned in 1990 and the state was put under governors' rule till 1996 (After the expiry of governor's rule, president's rule was imposed). Militancy changed many colours during last one decade or so. Initially it started as an indigenous struggle but later on with the participation of people from different countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan etc., it took the colour of a pan-islamic movement. Elections were held in 1996 where the National Conference came back with a massive mandate. They continue to govern the state but with the old story of doing what Delhi wants. In fact, the National Conference which was an important constituent of United Front at the centre changed its colour and became pro-BJP by supporting the Bhartiya Janta Party which is ruling the country at the moment. "There was no way out and it is in the interest of the state" commented Farooq Abdullah on supporting the BJP. The National Conference government has again virtually felt disillusioned with the attitude of BJP. After supporting them for more than one year the government in New Delhi did not come to the rescue of the State especially on the financial front. Farooq Abdullah and his son Umar Abdullah (Ex. MP) spoke of the steppmotherly attitude of BJP government towards the State. The long pending problems which the state had been facing continued. There was virtually no proper flow of funds to the state. The central government did not take care of the problems which the state has faced due to militancy in the last ten years. While the NC bosses were only threatening to withdraw the support to the Vajpayee government it was their members parliament Prof. Saif-ud-din soz who voted against the 13 month old BJP led government in
the crucial vote of confidence in April 1999. This forced the country to prepare for new mid-term polls slated for September 1999. Prof. Soz who had initially opposed the move of the NC government to support a Hindu fundamentalist party like BJP was thrown out of the party. It is important to note here that while the discussions regarding the formulation of an alternative government at the centre where in progress after the BJP government lost vote of confidence the NC even toyed with idea of supporting a Congress led government.

Recently the government also tabled the reports of the State Autonomy Committee and the Regional Autonomy Committee in the State Assembly. Both these committees had been formed immediately after the National Conference government took power in 1996. However, these two committees became controversial from the very beginning. While the Chairman of the former committee Dr. Karan Singh (former Sadra-i-Riyasat) resigned as regards to the later its working chairman Mr. Balraj Puri declared that the original report which had been submitted to the government was changed and the original held up for obvious reasons. In fact, the Regional Autonomy Committee report was handed over to Prof. Riyaz Punjabi an eminent expert on Kashmir for revision and comments. As the two reports have not been accepted by the government so far any comment on these issues would be premature at the moment.
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2. Kalhana was a historian who has written the history of Kashmir from its origin to his times. After his death his narrative was continued by four other chroniclers successively till 1587 A.D. Others who have contributed to this historical work are Jonaraja, shrivara, prajyabhatta and Shuka. (The chronicle which had been written in sanskrit is named Rajtaragni (River of kings)
4. Ibid. p. 181
7. Brahma is a Hindu God considered to be creator of the universe.
9. Brahma, Vishu, Rudra are all Hindu gods.
11. Taken from english translation of Kalhan's, Rajtaragni by Jogeshchunder Dutt (1887) Kings of Kashmira (Mittal : New Delhi ), page-4 (vol. 1)
14. Halhal meat refers to the meat of animals, which are slaughtered through Islamic way, by cutting its neck while reciting Bismillaha Allah Akbar (Start with name of God - God is great).
17. Jogesh Chunder Dutt (1887) Kings of Kashmiria (New Delhi : Mittal) page-5 (vol. 1).
18. Kali yug. - According to Hindu beliefs the present time is called Kalyug.


20. Krishna is a Hindu spiritual person and who has an important name in the Hindu history especially in the battle of Mahabharata.

21. Mathura is an old and historical city in the state of Uttar Pradesh in India.


29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.


34. Ibid


37. It was during these troublous times of the Huns that Kalidasa, one of the greatest poets of India was born in Kashmir. This date is assigned to Kalidasa on the basis of his reference to the Huns in Kashmir in Raghuvrnc. According to Pandit Lachhmindher who was heading the department of sanskrit in 1925.A.D.in Delhi university, Kalidasa left his home in Kashmir during the unsettled days of its occupation by the Huns' (see page 21 to 24 of sufii : Islamic Culture in Kashmir for details.
39. Ibid.
49. Ibid, p - 47.
60. Ibid.
69. It is said that gunpowder was used to burn down the temples.


71. Baj had been collected under Shihab-ud-din. Tamgha was a demand in excess of the land revenue, but Baj was simply a tax or toll. Baj and Tamgha were levied on horses, cows, goats, silken cloths etc (Mohibul Hassan's Kashmir under Sultan)


76. Ibid.


78. Chaks were a race who were not actually Kashmiris but had come here and settled for a long time. They were strong warriors and of Shia sect.


87. Akbar was a well known rule of Mughal dynasty whose secular credentials are known. A strong ruler Akbar who became king at the age of 13 years only consolidated a large portion of India under his domainion.


90. Sheikh, Yaqoob Sufi and Baba Dawood Khaki were well known Suni thinkers who lived here during the period of Chak rule.


94. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
106. Ibid.page - 87.
108. Ibid.
117. The Northern frontier along the high mountains of the Karakaram and associated ranges which create the main water shed between the Tarim basin, that vast
expanses of internal drainage which is now part of Sinkiang province of China, and the India's river system flowing into the Indian ocean. To the west these mountains run into both the Pamirs in what is today Soviet Tajikistan and the Hindu Kush of Afghanistan. To the east they meet the western edge of the high Tibetan plateau, bounded to its north by the Kunlun and to its south by the Himalayas. On the east there is the Ladakh route, the approach to Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar. On the west is the Gilgit route a line of communication from Gilgit, on a tributary of the Indus through Hunza to Kashgar. Over the mintaka, Khunjerab and other passes of the western Karakoram range, both can be approached from Srinagar which not only controls the easiest access to Leh but also until 1947 was a logical starting place whence to set out over land for Gilgit, and both pass out of the subcontinent. Through territory which was technically, part of the old state of Jammu and Kashmir as it evolved during the final century of the British Raj. A result of the Kashmir dispute in 1947 the northern Frontier was partitioned and the two routes across it distributed between India and Pakistan (successors, to the British Raj).

120. Schofield, Op. Cit., page-54
121. Secret committee was established by the British government to formulate policies and recommend necessary actions in the matters of the Indian states.
122. Lord Hardings, communication to secret committee, 14 March 1846 (Quoted in Kashmir in The Cross Fire by Victoria Schofield).
123. Nanakshahi was the currency used at that time.
126. Dyal's, letters from India and Kashmir (1874) taken from M.L. Kapur's, Kashmir Sold and Snatched.
129. Sir Walter R. Lawrence was the second land settlement Commissioner of the state. It was he who introduced the first land settlement in Kashmir. Thus he had the opportunity of extensively touring the place and knowing it during his stay of six years (1889-1895 A.D) in the state. He wrote books like "The India we served" and "The valley of Kashmir". The latter is still considered to be a masterpiece and a reference tool for all types of Kashmir studies.


133. Ibid, page-15


135. V.K.Zutshi (1986) Emergence of Political Awakening In Kashmir, (New Delhi : Manohar) p.31. (Taken from Joseph Devey Cunningham. A history of the Sikhs. From the origin of the Nation to the battles of the Sutlej.


139. Ibid. page-69.


144. See page 134 of India We Served by Sir Walter Lawrence.


147. Ibid, page -95.


149. A statement given to press by Maharaja Hari Singh's political advisor Sir Albion Banerjee in 1921 after his resignation.

150. Schofield Op. Cit. page - 100
151. Aligarh Muslim Universities is one of the prestigious universities of the world. It was founded by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan a Muslim scholar and leader during British rule to impart English and modern education to Muslims. At the time of its establishment it was a college and now it is a full-fledged university with thousands of students enrolled there.

152. Inspired on the stone of Robert Throp's, grave who died at the age of 50 on 22.11.1868. He had come to Kashmir to see the birthplace of his mother.


154. Ibid, page-24


156. Regency council had been set up by Maharaja Hari Singh to look after the administration in his absence. When he was away in London to attend round table conference.

157. Maharaja Hari Singh was in London during this period to attend a conference of Indian rulers.

158. Round table conference - A Conference held in London where all the rulers of the Indian states met to discuss the future of India.


161. *Khutaba* is the recitations from Holy Quran (In Arabic or translation) done on Friday prayers.


163. Ibid.


169. Chowdary Gulam Abbas was a Muslim leader of Jammu, who participated in the freedom struggle with Sheikh Abdullaha till Muslim Conference days. After the formation of National Conference he continued his struggle under the banner of Muslim Conference. He latter left the state and stayed in Pakistan. Prem Nath Bazaz was a Kashmiri pandit leader who played an active part in the freedom struggle with Abdullaha. A prolific writer Bazaz also was editor of Hamdard newspaper which was published from Srinagar.


172. Ibid. page-98.


175. According to dyarchical form of government the subjects were divided into two groups. Groups I comprised ‘reserve subjects’ which remained under the exclusive charge of the Maharaja, and group II comprised ‘transferred subjects’, the administration of which was entrusted to the ministers. The act also provided for a 75 member legislative assembly including 37 elected members.

176. Sher-Bakra feud:— Sher (Loin) was the name given to national conference workers and Bakra (goat) was the name given to the supporters of the workers of national conference. In fact when Sheikh Abdullaha came to the scene of Kashmir politics, the Mirwaiz of Kashmir was an important social-political-cultural personality. The activities of Sheikh threatened their importance. At the same time Mirwaiz family also got apprehensive about Sheikh, thus a feud first between two persons took the shape of a ugly dimension between two parties. During the days of Mulvi Mohd Farooq the feud took dangerous dimensions with arson, attacks and even divorces girls who were married (gone girls of AAC workers were married to AAC workers). Finally the feud came to an end with an understanding between Dr. Farooq Abdullaha of N.C. and Mulvi Farooq of AAC in late eighteen.

177. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was a Muslim leader, educationist and reformer who built the Aligarh oriental college now Aligarh Muslim university.

182. Ibid.
183. Ibid, page-228.
186. Quit India movement was launched by the congress against British for the removal of latter from this country.
195. Lord Mountbattan's speech to East India association in London after his return from Delhi (see page 59-60 of Joseph Korbel's *Danger in Kashmir*)
200. Mahatma Gandhi was disturbed by the communal riots in parts of India however he was convinced that Kashmir was a place of place and communal harmony. Thus in those dark days of communal violence, he said that only hope was Kashmir where he saw ray of light (brotherhood).
203. Ibid
206. Ibid.

211. Prem Shamkar  (1996) Birth of A Tragedy


223. Ibid.


229. See refrence no.201
230. Ibid, page - 84,85

236. Ibid.
241. Ibid.
243. Ibid.
245. Karan Singh *Op. Cit.*, page-
249. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee was a Bengali who was an excellent orator in English. He was a minister in the cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru for some period. Later he became president of Bhartia Jana Sangh. He died in custody of Jammu and Kashmir police on June 23, 1953.
251. Ibid.
252. A speech given by Moulana Mohd Masoodi then General Secretary of national Conference on August 6, 1953.
261. A UN official of that time.
266. Kaul *Op. Cit.*, page-76
269. Kamraj plan - A commission set up by Nehru to suggest measures for important in congress. It had nothing to do with other organisations.
270. Indian express (June 26, 1976)
272. Ibid page-55
274. Ibid page-76.
275. Moe-Muqaddas (Holy relic “Hair” of prophet Mohammad Pbh) According to the historical accounts the relic was brought to India by one Syed Abdullah who was trustee of the Holy Shrine of Madina in Saudi Arabia. Syed Abdullah’s son handed over the relic to a Kashmiri businessman Khawja Noordin. A Shavai, who lost his life for the relic. Finally it was brought to Kashmir by his close associates with the orders of the king Aurangzeb.
284. Resettlement Bill _ Brain child of late Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, was aimed at allowing all those people who were permanent residents of the Jammu and Kashmir State before 1947 to settle back in the state. The bill provided an opportunity to such people to return back to their native place. It was passed by the state assembly in 1981 and then sent to governor for his approval. However, the governor sent it back to the assembly. It was again passed by the assembly and then sent to President of India. The bill continues to be in the Rashtrapati Bhawan in New Delhi.
