Chapter II
Conflict in the State of Jammu and Kashmir: Socio-Historical Overview
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CONFLICT IN THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR:
SOCIO-HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Jammu and Kashmir: Geographical Overview

Jammu and Kashmir is one of the important states of India. It is known world
over for its natural beauty, lush green pastures, meadows valleys, thick forests and snow
clad, mountain peaks. The state covers an area of 222, 236 sq. kms. i.e., 85,806 sq.
miles from north to south the state is about 384 kilometers long and from east to west it
is about 360 kilometers wide. It is situated between 32.17 degree and 36.58 degree
north latitude and 37.26 degree and 80.30 degree east longitude. Moreover, the state is
bounded by Pakistan in the west, by China in northeast by Afghanistan in northwest.

It is a mountainous state having valleys and plateaus. Physiographically the
whole state could be divided into three regions known as Jammu, Kashmir valley and
Ladakh, respectively.

Region Jammu could be divided into plains and Shiwalik hills. The Jammu
plains adjacent to Punjab are situated at an altitude of 300 to 600 metres above the sea
level while the Shiwalik hills are lying at an elevation of 1800 metres above the sea
level. Most of the administrative districts of the region like Jammu, Kathua, Poonch,
Rajouri and Doda are located between the Shiwalik hills in the north and plains in the
south. This region experiences tropical heat whose intensity during summer
 correspond to that in India. Jammu city is the winter capital of the state.

Kashmir valley is situated in middle mountain range lying towards the north of
Jammu region and is about 6000 feet above the sea-level. It is surrounded by three

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1 This includes areas retained by China and Pakistan also.
Publication, Delhi: 2005 pp.35.
3 Mustaqur Rerhman, “Divided Kashmir: Old Problems, New Opportunities for India, Pakistan and the
4 G.M. Shah, “The Regional Dimension of the Political Crisis” in towards understanding the Kashmir
Crisis” edited by Shri Prakash and Ghulam Mohd Shah, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi: 2002,
pp. 146-160.
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mountain ranges known as Pir Punjab range in the southwest, Jhelum valley in the northwest, and northeast range separates Kashmir valley has maintained links with parts of India and central Asia. This region is experiencing temperate climate.

Kashmir is a land of lakes, rivers and flowers. For its fresh water lakes and tarns the land is celebrated all over the world.

Moreover, there are 10 administrative districts in valley Kashmir like Srinagar, Pulwama, Kupwara, Baramullah, Badgam Anantnag. And Ganderbal, Kulgam, Bandipoa, and Shopian Srinagar is the summer capital of the state.

Ladakh lies to the northeast of the Kashmir valley. The whole region is mountainous. It is here that arctic cold is experienced. The population is sparse owing to the extreme climate and low production. The Kargil and Leh are the famous districts of this mountainous region. The elevation of this part of the state varies from 8,000 to 15,000 feet.

Leh is the economic hub of the region. It was before the expansion of the Peoples Republic of China to Tibet an important centre of trade as the caravan traders of central Asia and of India met here and exchanged their commodities. Ladakh is surrounded by the famous Karakoram mountains (now is Pakistan) in the north, Baltistan (in Pakistan) in the west and Tibet in the east. The region is connected through the Srinagar-Leh national highway with the Kashmir. This route remains open only for few months in summer. Another land route originating from Leh joins it with Shimla (Punjab) while passing through Kulu and Manali of Himachal Pradesh.

Population and Communities

The total population of India according to 2011 census is 1. 25 crore (12, 548, 926). Out of which 10,069,917 persons live in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It is 0.98 percentage of total Indian Population. Although the state is thinly populated, but it ranks 19th among all states and Union territories of India in terms of population. We could not get religion wise data of 2001 census. Therefore for religion wise data (at

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state and regional-level we relied on 1981 census as in 1991 census was not conducted due to turmoil in the state\textsuperscript{11}.

Population of India, according to 1981 census, was 68, 51, 84, 692. Out of which 59, 87, 389 lived in the state Jammu and Kashmir. It is 0.87 Percentage of total Indian population. Although the state was thinly populated but it stood at 17\textsuperscript{th} position among the states and Union territories of India in terms of populations\textsuperscript{12}.

Community-wise distribution of population in the state shows that Muslims are largest community with their population figures 38, 31, 292 (64.3\%). While, Hindus occupy second position with their population figures 19, 08, 288 (32.1\%). These are two major religious communities of the state. Besides, we find presence of three other religious communities i.e., Sikh 1, 29, 393 (2.17\%), Buddhists 69, 796 (1.17\%) and Christians 6.916 (0.12\%)\textsuperscript{13}.

No religious community in Jammu and Kashmir, like in other arts of India, is homogenous. In fact, each religious community is divided into various groups based on caste, sect, tribe and language. For the purpose of affirmative action Government of India has classified population of the country into scheduled caste (SC), scheduled tribe (ST) and other backward classes (OBC). We find all these three categories of people in Jammu and Kashmir.

The population of scheduled castes in Jammu and Kashmir is 7,70,155 which constitutes 7.59 percent of the total population of the state. The prominent scheduled castes with population figures in the state (Jammu and Kashmir) are: Watals (16), Saryara (13, 327), Ratal (1, 59, 908), Dhyar, (7, 566), Chura (1, 87, 277), Batwal (39, 385), Basith (18, 866), Barwala (27, 982) and generic castes (5, 192)\textsuperscript{14}.

Whereas, the scheduled tribe population of the state (Jammu and Kashmir) is 11, 05, 979 which is 10.90 percent of the total population of the state (10,0,69,917). State-wise distribution of scheduled tribes with number are: Bakarwal (60,724), Balti

\textsuperscript{12} Census of India 1981, Series – I India Part II B (i), Primary Census Abstract General Population, pp. XX, XVIII & XIX.
Moreover, the list of Backward classes notified by Government of India shows following backward classes in the state:

1. Bangi, Bhangi, Khakrob (sweepers) excluding those in scheduled castes.  
2. Bahach Hanjie and Shikara Wallas (excluding House-boat owners).  
3. Barbers (rural only).  
4. Bhand.  
5. Dambali Faqir.  
6. Doom (excluding those in SC).  
7. Fisherman.  
8. Grati (rural only).  
11. Kumhar (village potters).  
12. Madari, Bazigar.  
15. Shaksaz.  
16. Show-repairers (working without the aid of machines).  
17. Shupri wattal (excluding those in scheduled castes).  
18. Sikligar.  
19. Teli (rural only).  

Religion-wise distribution of population in the state changes position of religious communities. As we have shown earlier that state is broadly divided into three major region i.e., valley-Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh respectively. The population of region-Kashmir (in 1981) was 31,34,904. Out of which Muslims comprised 94.00%, Hindus - 4.42% Sikhs - 1.20% and others - 0.38% of the total population of the region.

Whereas, the population of Jammu region was 27, 18, 113. Out of which Hindus comprise 66.3%, Muslims - 29.7% and Sikhs - 3.58%.

While, the population of Ladakh region was 1, 34, 372. Out of which Buddhists constitute 51.30% and Muslims 46.04% and Hindus 2.66% respectively.

Languages Spoken in the State

Religious communities in Jammu and Kashmir state can be regrouped on the basis of language. Languages spoken in the state are: Kashmiri, Dogri, Urdu (Official), Hindi, Pahari, Gogri, Balti, Ladakhi etc.
Kashmiri: Kashmiri, a language of Indo-Aryan group, is widely spoken from Kashmir valley to district Doda of Jammu region and a few people speak it in Poonch and Rajouri districts of Jammu. According to 1981 census, Kashmiri speaking population (59, 87, 389) of the state. It is interested of note that in valley Kashmir all the religious communities speak Kashmiri that is why Kashmir Pandits (Hindus) are culturally more close to Kashmiri Muslims than their Hindu counterparts in Jammu – close to Kashmiri Muslims than their Hindu counterparts in Jammu – region because they share same language and dress pattern as other Kashmiri.

Dogri: “From Jammu stretching east along with plains of Punjab the people are Dogras – whether they be Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs whether high born Rajputs or low-born menials are known as Dogras, and have certain national characteristics a common tongue which differentiates them from any other people.” Most of the Dogri speaking peoples are by faith Hindus and are culturally more close to other Hindus in northern India, persons and indicates their majority in districts Jammu, Udhampur and Kathua, respectively. Their share in the total population (5,987,389) of the state was about 24.00 percent.

Pahari: Speaking people are mostly concentrated in Poonch and Rajouri district of Jammu-region. As compared to Non-Muslim Paharis, the number of pahari – Muslims are more. They represent a distinct linguistic and cultural identity. Though the people of this area have religious lies with Kashmiri Muslims culturally they are closer to Muslim Punjabis living now in Pakistan part of Kashmiri.

Gujjari: It is spoken by Gujjar who are tribal people and trek along the high mountain attitudes in search of green pastures for rearing their cattle. At present, their number in the total population of the state (10, 069, 917) in 763, 806. They are spread all-over the valley and Jammu region. Gujjars, like Paharis, are ethno-linguistically close to Muslim Punjabis lying towards their west.
Balti: This linguistic community is mainly concentrated in the Kargil and its adjacent areas of Ladakh – region. Ethno-linguistically Baltis are near to people in altistan (now in Pakistan). According to 1981 census Balti is spoken by 47, 701 persons in Jammu and Kashmir.39

Ladakhi: It is a Tibetan language group and majority of people belonging to this linguistic category is found in Leh district of Ladakh region. Their number, accordingly to 1981 census, comes around 71,852. Culturally ladakhi speaking people are more close to people in Tibet.30

Historical Overview of the State

Kashmiri has a rich and long history. It has the distinction of being the only state of India, which possesses uninterrupted written records of its history. Kalhan’s Ajitarangini provides historical information of Kashmir from ancient period to the time of author (12th century). Historians have referred the period as that of Hindu and uddhist rulers31. In fact, ancient history of Kashmir shows the Hindu religion with its caste system, rituals, priests, and gods were practiced widely in the valley. However, reaction against Hindu religion started when famous Mauryan emperor Ashoka introduced Buddhism to Kashmir in the third century B.C., which as later, rethenned by Kanishka, Kushan dynasty ruler.32

However, under Kanishka’s successors Buddhism in Kashmir started declining Gonanda III and King Nara is said to have played crucial role in checking uddhism in Kashmir. Huns who came from eastern Turkistan (of China) got the control of the valley in early sixth century (A.D.). They too favoured Brahmanism and rethed the growth of Buddhism. However, when the rule of Huns’ became unbearable Kashmir went under the rule of Ujjain based ruler, King Harsha. After the death of King Harsha of Ujjain, the valley had its own rulers. There was a synthesis of indu and Buddhist cultures.33

Although, Muslim rule in Kashmir started in 1320 when a non-Muslim Rainchana\textsuperscript{34} converted to Islam. He ruled there for a brief period of three years (1320-23 A.D.) Raichana was, in fact, a Tibetan who along with Mir Shah of Swat worked with commander-in-chief (Ramchand) during Simha Deva’s rule. After converting to Islam, he assumed the title of Sultan Sad-ru-din\textsuperscript{35}.

\textbf{Salatin Period:} Uninterrupted rule of Muslim in Kashmir was established by Mir Shah. He dethroned (in 1339 A.D.) Kota Rani – the last non-Muslim ruler of ancient and early and early medieval period of Kashmir. Mir Shah’s rule heralded a new period in the history of Kashmir known as Salatin-i-Kashmir. He ruled over Kashmir from 1339 to 1342 A.D. He was known as a human, generous sultan who contributed in the development of Kashmir and Islam in Kashmir. During his reign many Muslim missionaries came to Kashmir including Mir Sayyid All Hamadani of Persia for promoting Islam in valley-Kashmir.

Another prominent Sultan of Kashmir was Sikander. He became the Sultan of Kashmir in 1394 A.D. after fifty-years of Mir Shah. He was a great builder. He founded the town of Sikandarpur (now-Nowhata) In Srinagar and built a magnificent palace and a grand Jamia Masjid in Srinagar. Besides, Sikander laid the foundation of Idgah and constructed the Khanqah-i-Maulla (monastery) on the right bank of the Jhelum river the site were Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani had preached the faith.

Zain-ul-Abedin (1420-1470 A.D.) successor of Sikander was popularly known as Badshah in Kashmir. He was wise, tolerant and a great person of arts and letters. He abolished all lows that discriminated against Hindus and worked on the principle of toleration of all religions. His rule was peaceful and based on social justice as well as communal harmony. Badshah died on 12th May 1470 A.D. and did not leave a Government strong enough to resist invasions. Therefore, his son (Haider Shah) who succeeded him was defeated by Chak tribes. In this way, the period of Salatin-i-Kashmir came to an end\textsuperscript{36}.

\textsuperscript{34} Rainchana was originally a Tibetan. He was well disposed towards Islam on account of his contact with Shah Mir, then in Kashmir State Service. Rainchana is believed to have actually owed his conversion to Sayyid Bilal (Popularized to Bulbul Shah) in the beginning of the 14\textsuperscript{th} century. Bulbul Shah was a widely traveled Musavi Sayyid from Turkistan having enjoyed a long stay at Baghdad. He was the spiritual disciple of Sheikh Shah N‘matullah Walli Farsi, a Khalifa of the Suhrawardi Tariq of school of “Sufis founded by Sheikhus – shufuk, Sheikh Shihab-uddin Suhrawd (Ibid, pp. 81-82).

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 69.

Chaks: The chaks came from the country of Dards-lying towards the extreme north of Kashmir. They were Shia Muslims. The only thing they could do as to allow shias gain some influence in Kashmir Ghazi Khan in 1554 A.D. laid the foundation of chak rule in Kashmir. Intercine wars were a special feature of that period. People on the whole remained backward as before because chak rulers did not attempt any constructive programme for the material prosperity of ashmir. Chaks were replaced by Moghals during the rule of Yakub Khan in 1568-69.

Moghals: Kashmir became a part of Moghal empire on 28th June 1586 A.D. at the reign of emperor Akbar. He build the famous road known in Kashmir Moghal road. In Srinagar, he build the Hari Parbat forte. Moreover, the solition of Jazia and other abominable taxes imposed by the Muslim rulers upon their Hindu subjects took place during the rule of Akbar.

Jahangir succeeded Akbar when he died on 1605 A.D. He was so enchanted by the beauty of Kashmir and once said that he would rather lose his whole kingdom than lose Kashmir. In Srinagar he built the Shalimar Garden, a living testimony of his aesthetic sense. After the death of Jahangir (1628 A.D.), the Moghal rule under his successors in Kashmir lasted till middle of the eighteenth century (1752 A.D.).

Afghans: Under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Durani in 1752 A.D. Moghal rule in Kashmir was replaced. That period of Kashmir history was known as the period of Shahan-i-Durani. Afghans, ruled upon the thrown of Kashmir for about 38 years (1752 to 1819 A.D.). When Afghan rule ended in Kashmir, 28 Governors ruled there. The hallmark of most Afghan governors was unmitigated oppression of the people of Kashmir.

Khs: When Afghan rule became unbearable, the people of Kashmir sought outside help to remove the Afghans. The Kashmir pandit community led by Birbal Dhar encouraged the Sikhs to invade Kashmir. In response to this, then ruler of Punjab, Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir and captured the valley on 15th June 1819.

Therefore, after five centuries of Muslim rule during which nine-tenths of the population embraced Islam, Kashmir was again in the hands of non-Muslims. The capital city of Kashmir was renamed Srinagar. The rule of Ranjit Singh was claimed as Dharmraj, the rule of religion. The Sikhs ruled Kashmir for 27 years (1819-1846). Their rule proved worse than that of their predecessors. They treated Muslims like animals and non-entities.

In 1818 during Sikh attack on the city of Jammu, Ranjit Singh was impressed by Dogra Chieftain Gulab Singh and his brothers. Ranjit Singh gave Jammu to Gulab Singh in 1822 and made him a raja. His brother Dhyan Singh was made the raja of Poonech. His brother Sukhet Singh was made the raja of Ramnagar. During the next 15 years, the three brothers subdued the neighbouring principalities. They conquered Ladakh in 1834 and Baltistan in 1840. Ranjit Singh's death in 1841 led to anarchy and intrigue within the Sikh dominion. There was no able ruler among the Sikhs to unite the forces. The anarchy in the Sikh court gave an opportunity to the British to penetrate into the northwestern regions of India. The British managed to secure the cooperation of Gulab Singh in connection with the invasion of Afghanistan. Unlike Ranjit Singh, Gulab Singh offered the British his support and the use of territory. Rani Jindhan, Ranjit Singh's successor of Lahor was aware of Gulab Singh's relations with the British had tried her best to maintain Sikh rule by offering Gulab Singh Prime Minister ship in Jan. 1846. Instead, Gulab Singh betrayed the Sikhs and conspired with the British believing that the British would be the future rulers of India. Therefore, the British conquest of Sikhs heralded the period of dogra rule in Kashmir.

**Dogras:** In the Anglo-Sikh war on 10th February 1846, the British defeated the Sikhs in the battle of Subraon. The British captured Lahore and other parts of Punjab that had been under the Sikh control. Following this the British negotiated with Gulab Singh as a result on 15th of March 1846 treaty was signed at Amritsar Panjab namely 'The Treaty of Amritsar 1846' under which Britishers sold this beautiful mountainous state to Gulab Singh for cash payment of 7.5 million rupees. Under this treaty, Gulab Singh was recognized the future ruler of the state. He laid the foundation of Dogra

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le, which was restrictive, despotic and exploitative for the Muslim subjects. They led upon the thrown of Kashmir for about 101 years. Like Sikhs, dogra rule could so not become popular there due to their exploitative policies of their subjects pecially, Muslims who were large in numbers in the state. As, dogras and Brahmanas the Kashmir captured most of the agricultural lands and became landlords. Their ploitative policies and imposition of exorbitant land revenue led to deterioration in the economic condition of peasants mostly Muslims.  

Like peasants, the economic condition of men working as labourers and isans in the silk factory, carpet weavers, paper-mache, gabba makers etc., were not od. They too were groaning under the burden of heavy taxation. Moreover, the atment of officials towards the labours had always been one of insult and disgrace. or the first time in 1924, the Silk factory labourers rose against the oppressive havior of the officials and protested against the working conditions of the factory.  

During the Dogra rule modern education was introduced in the state. Benefit modern education and employment opportunities could not reach to Muslims of the state. This was mainly due to three factors. First, Muslims were denied admissions in hools and colleges as well as they were discriminated in governmental jobs. Secondly, if some opportunities of education were available to them they could not avil it due to their poverty and ignorance. Thirdly, indifferent attitude of Muslims wards English education and Dogra rule made them backward looking and slated community. In short Muslims have lagged behind Hindus in education and employment.  

When freedom and civil rights were emerging in other parts of India and people were mobilized for demanding their rights, Dogra rulers suppressed all kind of eedoms in Kashmir. Kashmiris especially, Muslims were not allowed to express eir grievances and to demand their rights. They even were not allowed to ask for eir mosques and shrines, which were in the possession of dogras. Thus, the Dogra ile towards Muslims was more oppressive than the British rule towards Indians.  

Tahira Sibtain, “The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute”. In The Kashmir, Now or Never edited by Abdul Hafeez Touqir, National Book Foundation, Islamabad, 1992 pp. 177-150.
Preceding discussion suggests that Dogra rule in Jammu & Kashmir was both oppressive and suppressive. In fact, it is this and suppression of legitimate rights of Kashmiris, which led to the emergence of Muslim protest in Kashmir.

Muslim Protest Movement: In the beginning, the Muslim protest movement/independence movement was led by Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah and Sheikh Abdullah. They formed All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. (AJKMC) in October 1932. The aims and objectives of the movement (AJKMC) were undoubtedly secular from the very beginning. Kashmiri Muslim leadership focused its attention on the problems of peasants, artisans and working class groaning under the burden of oppressive taxes. Of course, there were certain issues of religious nature such as ban on cow slaughter, closure of the Pathar masjid and the alleged sacrilege caused to Quran in Jammu. These issues were mainly raised for mobilizing people against Dogra monarchy by Muslim leadership.

However, by January 1933 Muslim leadership in Jammu & Kashmir got divided into two groups the followers of Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah and the followers of Sheikh Abdullah. Main reason of their difference was that Sheikh Abdullah wanted to secularize the movement in order to bring non-Muslims into party's fold. Whereas, Yusuf Shah group was opposite to that move, intact, they wanted to run the movement on politico-religious grounds. In consequences of the ideological differences, Sheikh Abdullah had dropped the name of Muslim from the party and consequently his party came to be known as All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in 1939. After this move, some of the non-Muslims who were associated with Indian National congress started supporting Sheikh Abdullah and also brought the party (AJKNC) close to Indian National congress led by Nehru and Gandhi.

While former All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference survived due to the leadership of Yusuf Shah and Chaudhri Ghulam Abass -Jammu based representative of Muslim Conference. This party (AJKMC) after the split drifted towards Muslim league headed by All Mohammad Jinnah- the founder of Pakistan.

Following this, on 15th of May 1946, Sheikh Abdullah, launched a "Quit

Kashmir Movement" similar to Gandhi’s “Quit India movement” four years earlier. Abdullah asserted that the British sale of Kashmir to Gulab Singh was an invalid act and demanded that the Dogra ruler (Hari Singh) leave Kashmir immediately. The Quit Kashmir led to widespread agitation and in order to quell the agitation maharaja had to impose martial law in Kashmir. Moreover Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues were arrested. When Nehru heard about Abdullah’s arrest he visited Kashmir in order to help Abdullah but was arrested by Maharaja’s troops. His arrest created a big stir in Delhi where the cabinet Mission was involved in crucial talks with leading politicians of India. At that time, Lord Wavel, then Governor-general of British India intervened and facilitated the release of Nehru back from Kashmir.52

Following this, there occurred a radical change in the political scenario of the subcontinent as on 20th February 1947. Prime Minister- Clement Attlee announced that the British empire in India would be liquidated and power would be transferred to responsible hands by a date not later than June 1948.53 In view of this, on June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten-Governor-general of India, came out with partition plan. Under this plan each state was to join either of the two dominions (India or Pakistan) keeping in view its geography and the mandate of the people.54 Moreover, Mountbatten visited Srinagar (on 18th June 1947) in order to persuade Maharaja (Hari Singh) to accede to either country/dominion after consulting his people before 15th of August 1947.55 Inspite of Mountbatten’s insistence, Maharaja of Kashmir remained undecided upto 15th of August 1947 with the result state Jammu and Kashmir became a source of conflict between India and Pakistan because after the partition both countries started claiming of the State (Jammu & Kashmir).56

In the light of preceding information it could be said that before independence the roots of Kashmir problem were laid in: British sale of Jammu & Kashmir to Gulab Singh in 1846 tyrannical rule of dogras towards Muslims and the indecisiveness of Dogra ruler to declare his options and consequently the claim of both the newly independent countries India and Pakistan on Jammu and Kashmir.

Economic Overview of the State

Kashmir is a land scarce and labour abundant state with less than 30 percent of its total area suitable for cultivation\textsuperscript{57}. Agriculture is the mainstay of the state's economy as about 80 percent of the population depends on it in valley, rice, corn and saffron were the main crops while wheat oil seeds were next in importance. Jammu province was known for wheat cultivation and also produces corn, millet and rice. Ladakh grew millet and fruit at elevations ranging from 12,000 to 15,000 ft. But because of its harsh climate and short summer agricultural development was not widely spread. The state does not produce enough food and relies on imports from other parts of India. Before partition, most of domestic supplies were obtained overland through Rawalpindi and Sialkote route\textsuperscript{58}.

However, the valleys temperate climate has been conducive to the growth of fruits such as apples, which cover 42\% of the 1.6 lakh hectares devoted to fruit cultivation. The other major fruits are walnut and almonds. In 1989 walnut exports alone generated over 15.27 crore in foreign exchange\textsuperscript{59}.

Of the natural resources of Kashmir forests need the special mention. The finest quality of timber available from the forests particularly the Deodar have been for long its major exports\textsuperscript{60}.

Kashmir continues to have a weak industrial base. Its large and medium scale industries contribute only 0.1 percent of the state's income. The contribution of the manufacturing sector to the state domestic product does not exceed 9.0 percent. The only successful, industries are found in the unorganized small-scale units comprising Kashmir's famous handicrafts, sericulture, hand loom and village industries. The value of handicrafts such as carpet, paper-machine, woodcarving and embroidery grows from Rs. 20 crore in 1974 to Rs. 129 crore in 1988. The tourism industry, which provides a market for these products, accounts approximately 10 percent of state's income. Moreover, tourism generates considerable employment opportunities ranging from hoteliers Houseboat owners, guides and local artisans\textsuperscript{61}.

Culture:

Foregoing discussion shows peculiar characteristics of Kashmiri society. Although we find super ordination of some groups over others, exploitation of subjects by rulers, examples of religious hardness, antithetical relationships among groups, Kashmiri society has succeeded to maintain its uniformity. This uniformity is reflected in ethos, traditions, institutions that have developed over a period of time in Kashmiri society, cultural unity of Kashmiri society is referred by scholars as Kashmiriyat is a mosaic of different cultured traits brought by different people who have come to Kashmir and made it as their homeland. Various groups belonging to different religions, tribes, races and professing different religions contributed in the development of pluralistic culture in Kashmir. Kashmiri culture, in fact, is blending of innumerable cultural traits and complexes. The character of Kashmir culture is synthetic and multi-colored like colors in Kashmiri carpet with warp of the culture of Kashmir Valley, the Dogra woof and Ladakhi design. Its tradition have accumulated down the ages, springing forth from life of early Aryan settlers led by Kashapa and assimilating the cultures of Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and the present westernized intelligentsia. Thus, Kashmiri culture has flown through the ages like the river Jhelum incorporating in it with open heart, the waters of all tributaries.\(^6\)

**Kashmir as a conflict: Sources and Dimensions**

Conflict in Jammu and Kashmir is popularly referred as Kashmir conflict. Like any other ethnic conflict involving two countries, Kashmir conflict is complex and multi-dimensional. It has historical, political, economic, religious and international dimensions. As the conflict is of international importance as well as has the serious repercussions for society, economy and polity of both India and Pakistan, it has attracted attention of scholars, media persons and social activists. Much has written on the causes and consequences of the conflict. Survey of available literature on the conflict shows that the conflict has emerged, persisted and flared-up due to various factors. Scholars have broadly categorized the factors/ sources into two categories – exogenous and endogenous.

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Three broad exogenous sources of Kashmir conflict are generally identified by scholars. These factors are related with unfriendly or hostile relationship between India and Pakistan, ineffective role of United Nations organization as it has failed so far in conducting plebiscite in Jammu & Kashmir as well as Islamic linkage of Kashmir with outside world and the emergence of Islamic resurgence in the last three decades. These factors of Kashmir conflict are explained in the following pages under the broad heading of (a) international dimension of Kashmiri conflict. Besides, there are some internal factors, which appear to the responsible for the emergence and persistence of the conflict. These factors are related with politics in Kashmir since 1947, economic conditions of people and ethnic diversity in the state. These factors are explained under the broad heading of (b) national dimension of the conflict.

**International Dimension**

Origin of Kashmir conflict can be traced in movement for freedom of India from the British rule as well as the way in which the India was partitioned. Freedom struggle was launched by Indian National Congress, which believed in secularism and a country in which people of all religions should live together on equal basis. From the beginning of 20th Century issues of ethnic and religious interests crop up in the movement for freedom. Muslim league was formed in 1906, the party propagated for the protection and promotion of interest of Muslims. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who was active member of Indian national congress relinquished his membership of congress party and joined Muslim league. He became president of Muslim league and advocated two-nation theory. Nation for his is based on religion; therefore, he raised the demand for the creation of a nation for Muslims. The demand got momentum from 1940 onwards. Thus, on the one hand, there was leadership of Indian national congress, which believed in secular and popular India, on the other hand, Jinnah demanded a country for Muslims. Kashmir being a Muslim majority area and adjacent to areas which became part of Pakistan was very dear to Jinnah. Thus, Indian National Congress Leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, wanted to retain Kashmir in India, whereas, Jinnah wanted Kashmir for Pakistan. Such a kind of contradictory interests and ideologies of Nehru and Jinnah is explained by Paul Brass, who argues that source of conflict in Jammu and Kashmir lies in the nature of freedom struggles and the processes of nation building in both countries of India and Pakistan. For instance, the Indian National Congress, which headed the Indian nationalist movement, was
committed to the notion of creating a secular and democratic state. In contrast, the Pakistan nationalist movement sought to create a religiously bases state that would serve as a homeland for south Asian Muslims. For Indian nationalists such as Nehru, the integration of Kashmir into India was critical because it would demonstrate that all faiths could live under the aegis of a secular state. By the same token, Pakistani nationalists such as Jinnah saw the inclusion of Kashmir into Pakistan as equally critical, but for dimentrically opposite reasons (as a homeland for south Asian Muslims).

The way in which India was partitional by colonial administration appears to be more responsible for the creation of Kashmir conflict. In fact, during colonial regime there were about 562 principalities in India. Jammu and Kashmir was one of the principalities in India. Jammu and Kashmir was one of the principalities. Chief of this principality was a Hindu dogra, Hari Singh. Whereas, majority of people were of Muslims. Every principality was given right either to go with India or with Pakistan and this should be decided by people’s will or referendum. Such kind of referendum could not take place in Jammu & Kashmir. Therefore, Mushtaqur Rahman, argues in his book ‘Divided Kashmir’.... That Jammu & Kashmir conflict is the product of hasty partition of the subcontinent, which left issues, related to assets, army and accession of princely states undecided. As this hasty process of partition could not give enough time to emergent states to make reasonable decisions for the effective control of their territories. Thus, the problem with accession arose because the British seemed to do three things at one time: to rule, to hand-over power and to divided and quit in hurry.

Well known British historian, Alaister Lamb in his book ‘Kashmir A Disputed Legacy’ also argues in the same line that it had taken the British hundred years to consolidate the Indian empire. In 1947, they dismantled it in seventy days.

As the people of Jammu & Kashmir were not given chance to express their will about their future destiny, the issue of Kashmir remained alive. Last monarch, Hari Singh did not opt for India or Pakistan. Technically the state became an

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independent. As the majority of people were of Muslims, Pakistani leaders promoted entry of Pathans who incited rebellion in Jammu & Kashmir. Sumit Ganguly writes that during the first week of October 1947, a tribal rebellion broke out near Poonch in the northwestern reaches of Kashmir. In response to it a band of tribal from the northwest frontier province of Pakistan invaded the state on October 22, 1947. They had captured the part of Kashmir now referred as “Azad-Kashmir”\textsuperscript{67}.

In response to this development, Dogra monarch, Hari Singh then requested for military assistance from India. Lord Mount batten governor general of India, suggested Nehru to get instrument of Accession from Hari Singh before sending troops there. Accordingly on 26\textsuperscript{th} of October 1947, the accession document was signed. Sheikh Abdullah also had ratified it subsequently. Mount batten, who was in the chair favoured Kashmir’s temporary accession to India on the condition that the people’s wishes would be ascertained after the restoration of law and order in the state. Similarly on Nov. 2, 1947, Nehru also confirmed in a broadcast: “that the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by people”. And that “we are prepared... to have a referendum (Plebiscite) held under international auspices like United Nations”\textsuperscript{68}. To date this promise of Nehru remained unfulfilled and became a seat of Kashmir Conflict.

Why did Mount batten suggest Nehru to get instrument of accession from Hari Singh? Why did not he send British army to crush the rebellion? Why did he indirectly help the entry of Indian army into the Kashmir? These and others are some questions, which are still not been answered. It is, therefore, many scholars suspect a colonel design in the creation of Kashmir conflict. One of such scholars is British Historian Alaister Lamb. He argues that decision to retain Jammu and Kashmir as part of India was made by the British Colonial administration under Mount-batten, as the departing British felt that Jammu and Kashmir was an important buffer to the north of India against the communist Soviet Union. Since it was a political decision made by the colonial administration, there was no question of allowing the future of Kashmir to be decided through the populated will of the people\textsuperscript{69}.

\textsuperscript{69} This perspective on Kashmir dispute was offered by Alaistair Lamb during his presentation at a Seminar on Kashmir organized by Neville Maxwell at Oxford University on 23-24 June, 1990. For
In Lamb’s opinion the logic behind partition of the subcontinent into a Muslim and non-Muslim portions suggested that Kashmir ought to go to Pakistan. The mechanics of partition as applied to the Punjab in great measure created the background to Kashmir dispute. In theory all Muslim majority districts contiguous with Muslim core of Punjab would go to Pakistan but by awarding three out of four tehsils of Gurdaspur district to India, the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India became a practical possibility. Through these territories like Gurdaspur, Bata and Pathankot, road link between Jammu and Kashmir with India became a practical possibility. While before independence Kashmir was linked to rest of the subcontinent through Srinagar-Rawalpindi and Jammu-Sialkot roads\textsuperscript{70}.

Although Maharaja’s accession of the state to India legalized the entry of Indian army into the state on 27\textsuperscript{th} of October 1947. This led to outbreak of war between Indian and Pakistani troops in November 1947. With no resolution in sight, at the suggestion of Mountbatten, the Indian cabinet decided to refer the case to United Nations Security Council. Accordingly, a complaint was lodged to the council on, January 1, 1948\textsuperscript{71}. This led to the internationalization of the Kashmir conflict.

Well-known Indian journalist Kuldip Nayyer says that the debate in the Security Council did not go the way India through it would. There was no immediate acceptance of its basic complaint the Pakistan had created a situation, which might lead to international friction. In the Security Council debate Pakistani representative, Mohammad Zafrullah Khan’s arguments proved more convincing. Therefore, convinced of Pakistan’s case, the Security Council changed the tilt of the complaint from “Jammu and Kashmir question” to “Indo-Pakistan question”. The Council passed its first resolution on 17\textsuperscript{th} January 1948, calling on both sides to help ease tension.

Three days later, however, the council passed another resolution to create a United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNICIP) to exercise a mediatory role and to investigate facts. The Council through its resolution on 21\textsuperscript{st} April, 1948, had raised the commissions strength to five and was authorized: to investigate facts, to use its mediatory role in regard to Kashmir, to restore order and hold a plebiscite in Kashmir in co-operation with both government. India rejected the resolution on the


\textsuperscript{71} Sumit Ganguly, Op. Cit., p. 11.
ground that it raised doubts about the legality of accession\textsuperscript{72}. Following this, the commission passed another resolution on 13\textsuperscript{th} August 1948. The resolution was split up in three parts. Part I connected itself with the cease-fire, part-II with the trace agreement and part-III with plebiscite. It is to be noted that part-II had been fully implemented and not before.

In this resolution, Commission asked Pakistan to withdraw its troops from Kashmir. The Indian withdrawal was to follow that of Pakistan. Although India was allowed to retain a certain number of forces necessary for the maintenance of law and order in the state. Pakistan did not accept the resolution, as it demanded balanced and synchronized withdrawal of both armies of India and Pakistan.

After this, on 11 December 1948, another resolution was adopted. Some of the important provision of the resolution are as follows:

1) The question of accession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan would be decided by the free and impartial plebiscite.

2) The plebiscite was contingent on a ceasefire in accordance with the provision of part-I and II of the commission’s resolution passed on 13 August 1948.

3) Appointment of plebiscite administrator who would be nominated by the secretary general of United Nations in consultation with the commission.

4) After the cease-fire and when the commission was satisfied about the restoration of peaceful conditions, it would in consultation with the government of India and the plebiscite determine the final disposal of Indian and state armed forces.

5) As regards the areas under Pakistan, final disposal of the troops in that territory would be determined by the commission and the plebiscite administrator.

It is important to note that both India and Pakistan had accepted the UN mediated proposals as discussed in the preceding paragraph. Accordingly both countries came to accept a UN mediated cease-fire and UN observers group to supervise it from January 1, 1949\textsuperscript{73}.

\textsuperscript{72} Kuldip Nayar, “Kashmir: Re-Reading its Past in Order to Proffer a Practicable Solution” in Kashmir From Autonomy to Azadi compiled by G.M. Wani, Valley Book House; Srinagar, 1996, pp. 31-33.

\textsuperscript{73} S.N. Kaul, “Internationalization of Kashmir Issues”, Rajat Publications, New Delhi, pp. 34-38.
The present cease-fire line divides the state into two political units:

a) Azad Kashmir lying under the control Pakistan

b) Indian part of Kashmir Jammu Kashmir valley and Ladakh

Presently 45% of the state territory is in India, 35% in Pakistan and the remaining 20% in Chinese control. After cease fire, UN commission has failed to convince India for withdrawal of troops from the state. However, the Security Council president, Me Naughton, in order to remove the deadlock, proposed that India and Pakistan forces should be withdrawal and both the Azad Kashmir troops and the state forces were to be reduced. India rejected the proposal but India’s rejection did not deter the Security Council from adopting Me Naughton’s proposal in a resolution dated 14 March 1950.

When the commission failed to persuade India for plebiscite, it recommended its own dissolution and appointed Sir Owen Dixon as UN mediator on 27th of March 1950.

He made two proposal: (1) to hold the plebiscite by sections or areas (2) to partition the state according to the known wishes of the inhabitants and holding a plebiscite in the Kashmir valley.

Following this, I disregard of the United Nations pending discussion of Kashmir, India held elections in Kashmir in 1951 and formed a constituent assembly further integrate the state. In response to this development, the Security Council at the instance of Pakistan resolved (30 March 1951) that any decision made by the state constituent assembly about the future of Kashmir would not be binding.

Meanwhile, in early 1951 an attempt was made to resolve the conflict at Common wealth conference. Accordingly. On 8th January 1951, seven Prime Ministers of Common wealth nations (UK, Australia, New-Zealand, Canada, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and India) met informally and discussed the Kashmir issue for about 80 minutes. It was proposed that common wealth troops be stationed in Kashmir. India rejected this proposal also.

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After this failure, the United Nations again continued with its “operation Kashmir”. Between 1951 and 1955, there were five UN reports – all by a new UN mediator, Frank P. Graham. He first suggested direct talks between India and Pakistan governments. When this proposal made no headway, he got down to fixing the quantum of forces to be retained by the two sides after demilitarization of the state, for holding a plebiscite. Graham’s proposal was acceptable to India and Pakistan only in parts. Therefore, he also came to the conclusion that the way out for the resolution of Kashmir conflict was bilateral talks between India and Pakistan.79

In 1953, Pakistan joined the lobby of United States in response to it, Indian leadership went back on its promise of the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir.80

Whereas, India joined the Lobby of Soviet Union, in view of this Nehru in 1956 declared that there was no need for a plebiscite because Kashmir was legally a part of India.81 In this way from 1957 with Soviet Veto permanently in place any meaningful initiative on Kashmir offered a bleak prospect.

The continued dispute over the state and crystalized two more bloody wars between India and Pakistan in 1965 and 1971, respectively. In 1965 war after the cease-fire, then Soviet Union took the initiative and brought Indian Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Ayub Khan (Pak military ruler) together at Tashkant where peace declaration was signed. This was the first-time that both India and Pakistan affirmed in writing “not to resort to force” and “to settle Kashmir dispute through peaceful negotiations”.

The same peaceful approach was underlined in the Shimla agreement in 1972. Under this agreement the two countries resolved 3 settle their difference by “Peaceful Means” and promised not to “Unilaterally alter the situation”. The two also under took to “Prevent organization assistance or encouragement-of any act detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful relations between the two”.

Since the Shimla agreement there has been no conflict between India and Pakistan but there has been no settlement either. Now due to the presence of militancy

in the state since 1989, Pakistan now argues more vigorously than before that Kashmir is the core of its problems with India. Once it is out of the way, the relationship will normalize with India. Moreover, it (Pakistan) reiterates the demand for a plebiscite. It may do so one day but all the major powers in the world are united in thinking that the solution will have to be found by India and Pakistan.

Since the emergence of militancy in the state, another party, the Kashmir’s have come prominently into the picture. Their separatism on the one hand, and India’s ruthless suppression on the other, has attracted the world attention. This has introduced a new option “Independence” undoing accession to India and not joining Pakistan.\(^2\)

The preceding facts and analysis show that roots of Kashmir conflict lie in the nature of India’s freedom struggle, hasty partition of the country and the denial of right of plebiscite to people of Jammu and Kashmir. These factors of Kashmir conflict have transformed it into conflict between two sovereign countries or an international conflict. Although it has repeatedly been argued in diplomatic circles and media that Kashmir conflict should be bilaterally resolved, I wonder how can it be possible without involving some other parties.

National Dimension

No conflict can emerge and sustain only with the exogenous factors. For the emergence or sustenance of the conflict internal contradictions, clash or development of discriminatory political system and economic contradictions are more responsible for the emergence and sustenance of conflict. Indeed, external factors may only contribute in the intensification of the conflict. Many internal factors of Kashmir conflict are discussed and debated in academics and media. Foremost among these factors are politics in the state after 1947 war, educational development from 1960’s and unemployment among educated youth, rampant poverty and inequalities in the state. There is also one more important factor of Kashmir conflict; this is ethnic diversity in the state.

Political Dimension

Politics in Jammu and Kashmir since October 1947 onwards has taken a radical turn. As after war broke out between India and Pakistan in October 1947, the last monarch of the state Hari Singh left Kashmir and shifted himself to Jammu. In

view of this development, government of India proclaimed prominent Kashmiri leader Sheikh Abdullah as an interim head of the state in October 1947. Abdullah was convinced that the Kashmiri identity could be best protected in the Indian secular and democratic polity.

In fact, on 17th October 1949, Government of Indian respecting the identity urges of peoples and also recognizing the particular nature of a problem had awarded Kashmir a “Special Status” through article 370.

It allows the state to have its own constitution, restricts the parliament’s powers to three subjects: defense, communication and foreign affairs. If other constitutional provisions or union powers are to be extended to Kashmir not only the prior “Concurrence” of the state of Government is required but also it has to be ratified by the state’s constituent Assembly.

Following this, in October 1950, as an interim head of the state Abdullah had formally demanded election to create constituent assembly in the state. Therefore, in 1951 elections for the state assembly were held first time in which National conference led by Sheikh Abdullah got sweeping victory. Accordingly in November 1951 Sheikh Abdullah was sworn as the first Prime Minister of the state, Jammu & Kashmir. Because of this political development power and authority which was monopolized by Dogra monarchy shifted to Sheikh Abdullah who belonged to Kashmiri ethnic group.

In the initial years of his government to improve the socio-economic conditions of the people, land reforms were introduced in the state. Under it, ownership rights were granted to landless Kashmiri peasantry. It is because of these humanitarian land reforms Abdullah became popular figure among lower and middle class Muslims of Kashmir and got their vote and support till his death. Moreover, the electorate especially, Kashmiri Muslims changed from a politically passive to an increasingly assertive population. In fact, through land reforms the foundation for the emergence of a new generation of Kashmiris was laid.

In 1952, a group of communal organizations led by Jan Singh President Shyam Prasad Mukherjee along with Hindu Mahasabha, RSS (Rashtriya Suyam Savak Sangh) Jammu Praja Parishad and others started demanding that state’s special status (article-370) should be abolished. Renowned Indian Journalist M.J. Akbar says at Jammu these communal organizations had the backing of the Hindu landlords, which have lost economic and political monopoly after Sheikh introduced land reforms in the state. He argues in the state Hindu landlords may have lost economic power but hey especially elites still retain their influence in the politics of the state. Landlords whose property has been redistributed to the landless Muslim peasantry spread the rumor that the Sheikhs reforms were actually nothing but well-disguised anti-Hinduism, since it was the Hindu whose land had gone to the Muslim peasantry.

It merits mention here that “Mukherjee’s agitation only served to resurrect fears in the national conference about how sharp the edge of Hindu fanaticism could be. The temptation to keep the ultimate control of Kashmir’s destiny in the hands of Kashmiris rather than surrender it to India played its part.

During 1952 crisis political elites at centre especially Nehru remained ineffective to stop these communal agitators. In response to this unexpected development, Sheikh Abdulla (On July 10, 1952) at the party’s headquarters in Srinagar is quoted as having said that even Nehru could no control communal elements in India and the time might come when Kashmir would have to say “Goodbye” to secular India. This speech was used to prove that he had now become “Traitor” to India and was dismissed from power on 8th August 1952. After the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah, separatist political space had developed in politics of Jammu & Kashmir. As in 1953, a movement (Plebiscite front) was launched to secure


Prja Parishad came into being in Jammu in the late 40’s (1947) mainly as a protest movement against the new regime of S. Abdullah. Apart from opposing the policy of Land reforms it demanded full integration of Jammu & Kashmir (state) with the Indian Union (Ref. P.S. Verma, Jammu and Kashmir At the Political Cross Roads, Vikas Publication House, New Delhi, 1994: 72.

Ibid, pp. 244.


Ibid., p. 244.

Ibid., p. 247.

Ibid., pp. 248-249.
the right plebiscite for Kashmiris. Moreover, government of India had allowed only those politicians to come in power who were not opposed to Jammu & Kashmir’s full constitutional integration with India. Among these politicians names of G.M. Bakshi (1952-63), Sadiq (1964-1971) & Mir Qasim (1971-75) deserves mention. As it is during the tenure of these ministers most of the provisions of article – 370 were diluted and treated Jammu & Kashmir at par like any other Indian state.

Meanwhile at the political level – the ruling regional party national conference was dissolved and made a branch of All India Congress Party. This led to suppression of democratic politics in post 1953 period. In fact, these hasty measures were perceived in Kashmir as a threat to its identity. They caused an unprecedented wave of anger in Kashmir against relations with India.

It is in this situation, the Indian leadership went back on its promise of the right of self-determination as ruling elites at centre felt sure now that the Muslims of Kashmir would not vote to join India if plebiscite is held there.

Even after bringing these radical politico-constitutional changes in Jammu & Kashmir, relationship of the state with the central government has remained weak and full of suspicion. However, in 1975 ruling national party realizing that the state could not be controlled/run by weak and unpopular leaders had started political bargaining with national conference leader, Sheikh Abdullah. That led to signing of accord referred as “The Kashmir accord 1975”. This accord paved the way for S. Abdullah to re-enter into politics of Jammu and Kashmir on 24th February, 1975.

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99 On 24th February 1975, the text of the Six-point Kashmir accord was announced in Parliament: Jammu and Kashmir, a constituent unit of the union of India, would continue to be governed by Article 370, the state would have the residuary powers of legislation, but parliaments would retain the power to legislate on any matter concerning the territorial integrity of the country. The sharing of powers was based on the premise that the centre’s responsibility would be the unity of the country while the state would be in charge of its welfare. (M.J. Akbar Op. Cit., pp. 268-271).
Chapter II: Conflict in the State of Jammu and Kashmir: Socio-Historical Overview

As a consequence of this, the separatist forces were significantly marginalized. The plebiscite front was dissolved and most of its leaders had now joined the mainstream politics\textsuperscript{100}.

M.J. Akbar says that Farooq Abdullah was unanimously chosen as Chief Minister of the state (on 8\textsuperscript{th} September 1982) after his father’s death. At that time the congressmen of Kashmir had an additional problem they had been kept out of power since 1975. After the Sheikhs death they faced the prospect of another long spell out of power in case Farooq Abdullah succeeded in his political career. In 1983 assembly elections in order to keep congress out of power national conference come in alliance with another regional party, Awami Action committee\textsuperscript{101} (AAC). This resulted in NC-AAC alliance in Kashmir. After winning 1983 assembly elections, central government had started conspiracy to dismiss elected government of Farooq by encouraging defection within his party through then governor (Jagmohan) of the state\textsuperscript{102}.

That defection led to dismissal of the elected government of Farooq in 1984. Accordingly G.M. Shah, though sponsored by Governor of the state, was allowed to form a government (in 1984). Because of this development moderate Kashmiris faith in Indian democracy has again Shaken. Although Farooq was not as popular as his father but his dismissal began a new phase of alienation\textsuperscript{103}.

However after a brief period of Governor’s rule Farooq was once again brought back in an alliance with congress led by Raju Gandhi at centre in 1987. This alliance totally undermined the party’s popularity and capacity of representing the distinctive Kashmiri sentiments and the identity urges of the people.

It was after this alliance (Congress-NC) extremist trends in Kashmir politics started emerging and gaining strength. Parties with proven secular nationalist credentials like national conference started losing ground. This situation helped to

\textsuperscript{100} Rekha Choudhary & Nagendra Rao, Op. Cit., p. 15.
\textsuperscript{101} Awami Action Committee was formed by the late Moulvi Mohammad Farooq in Srinagar on Jun 18, 1964 (P.S. Verma, 1994, p. 71).
\textsuperscript{102} In valley, Jammat-e-Islami is another political party. It was established in 1942 at Shopian by Moulvi G hulam Ahmad Ahrar. It entered Assembly elections for the first time in 1972 and captured five seats with 9.85 percent valid votes (P.S. Verma, 1994, pp. 74).
\textsuperscript{103} Mustaqur Rahman, Op. Cit., p. 142.
strengthen the Muslim United Front (MUF) and made it a major force in Kashmir's politics. So much so that Congress National Conference alliance had to resort to large scale rigging in assembly elections (1987) in order to remain in power there.

By doing so, a golden opportunity of exercising an influence of moderation on the Muslim United Front was missed by denying it an opportunity of participating in India's rich democratic experience. It is in this situation people got completely alienated from the mainstream politics. This situation led many unemployed youth to shift directly from the electoral politics to armed militancy.

In fact, groups of young men who took to violence comprised mostly those who had actually worked during the 1987 assembly election on the side of MUF (Muslim United Front). These people were subjected to severe torture for their association with the opposition. The objective situation thus created, provided a good opportunity to Pakistan to get involved in Kashmir as never before.

Moreover, since the emergence of militancy India resorted to heavy deployment of troops there in order to quite militancy. In fact, this deployment led to indiscriminate violation of human rights of the common men, which further alienated them from the political system.

To give militancy a political face various militant organizations came together and formed the Hurriyat conference in 1993. As an amalgam, the Hurriyat incorporates almost the full spectrum of ideologies prevalent in Kashmir at that time. Despite its internal contradictions, to ensure the right of self-determination for Kashmiris peacefully and politically, it is providing opposition to the agencies of Indian state through its activities of calling strikes, demonstrations against the excesses committed by the security forces.

In fact, after a long gap of Governor's rule in 1996 Government of India have revived the political processes again there. Since then elected governments working there under a number of constraints has not been able to deliver anything worthwhile.

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104 In the year 1986 a new political group called Muslim United Front was formed. The major factors that inspired over a dozen of small political parties of (MUF) to join hands were: imposition of central rule in J & K, Raju-Farooq accord of 1986 and Islamic revivalism in the Muslim world etc. It was launched for projecting the political and religious rights of the Muslim community in the state. (P.S. Verma, Op. Cit., p. 76).
The state authority is still largely dependent on coercive and repressive agencies. It is a major reflection of its weakness rather than strength. This situation of lawlessness with all its attributes of insecurity and uncertainty is likely to prevail if the problem is not addressed in all its vital dimensions. It is therefore, conflict in Jammu & Kashmir is a political phenomenon. As the genesis of the conflict gets traced in the political sub-system which failed to fulfill the legitimate political aspirations of people. And, it is in this situation people resorted to militancy violence. In fact, when political system fails to articulate the grievances of politically alienated people they challenge it and resort to violence.

**Economic Dimension**

More than politics it is economy, which plays an important role in integrating or alienating or alienating people to any social system. Kari Marx and many other scholars have given primacy to economic factor in understanding and analyzing social reality. But scholars have not fully explored the role of economic factors in Kashmir conflict. It is generally political factors which have been given primary in the analysis of Kashmir conflict. This has resulted an incomplete analysis of the conflict.

We have mentioned in the preceding chapter that Kashmir is a land scarce and labour abundant state, with less than 30 percent of its area under cultivation. Agriculture is the main source of state’s total income as about 80 percent of the population depends on it. The state does not produce enough food and relies on imports from India, it is because of this reason; Kashmir’s imports are about four times its exports. The excess of imports over exports has to be made up through payments from other incomes – from tourism, which accounts for one – third of the state’s income (1983), from earning in handicrafts, agriculture and others.

However, exports from Kashmir are those of fruit, mainly apples, and handicrafts, mainly carpets and shawls. Knowledgeable observers estimate that fruit growers in the valley-Kashmir get only about 20.00 percent of the auction price at Delhi. As the trade, in the apples is controlled (at Azadpur, Delhi) by Punjabi Khatri.

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Traders\textsuperscript{112}. The state is famous for its forests\textsuperscript{113} and water resources – according to one estimate the state has a 10,000 Mw power generation potential. Besides, the state is industrially very backward. Most of the large and medium sale industries are under the control of the state government and contribute only 0.1\% to the state’s income. Moreover, the contribution of the manufacturing sector to the state’s domestic product does not exceed 9.0 percent\textsuperscript{114}.

Renowned political scientist, Sumit Ganguly says that before independence the state was ruled by Dogra monarchs who aid little to improve the socio-economic condition of the people especially of Muslims. The principle source of income, land was held by two classes of landlords: Jagirdars and Muafidars – who were mostly non-Muslims. These landlords used to exploit landless Muslim peasantry that comprised the bulk of population.

Due to its level of economic backwardness, the state has been categorized as one of the backward states of India after independence. The backwardness of the state was largely attributed to landlordism. Therefore, the first measures taken by the newly state Government led by Late Sheikh Abdullah were land reforms. Under it excess of land was confiscated from the landlords and were distributed among the landless Muslim peasantry. In fact, these reforms led to the emergence of a new class of Muslims in Kashmir, which are more prosperous than their earlier exploited peasantry. However due to many shortcomings in land reforms implementation and policies it could not achieve the desired results\textsuperscript{115}.

No doubt over the years state’s agricultural production has increased but due to increase in its population the state’s independence on outside market for consumer goods has consistently increased. It is because of this reason; consumers within the state have to devote two-thirds of their earnings to basic necessities such as food and clothing. The increased dependence on imports caused inflation and raised the cost of living for the majority of poor Kashmiris\textsuperscript{116}.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., pp. 1959-1961.
\textsuperscript{113} Around 15.00\% of the total geographical area of the state is covered with forest (P.S. Verma, Op. Cit., pp. 91-92).
However, to overcome the hardships of Kashmiris, the government of India has heavily subsidized the state with large-scale grants, in case of Jammu & Kashmir along, this central assistance is 70 percent loan and 30 percent grants, as against 90 percent grants and 10 percent loan for the other states.\textsuperscript{117}

This policy of central government proved misguided/misused because these large-scale central grants encouraged corruption and did not allow the state to mobilize its own resources for self-reliance. In view of this, the state is now facing debt crisis. Accordingly to RBI report (1995), the debt servicing liability on one rupee loaned by the centre to Jammu & Kashmir today is Rs. 5.53\textsuperscript{118}.

Besides, even more than those of other states Jammu and Kashmir government expenditure is determined by security considerations. Educated estimates suggest 60.00 percent of the annual administrative expenses of the state are now devoted to security related activities.\textsuperscript{119}

In Jammu & Kashmir “with a rapidly increasing population, expanding and easily accessible education and growing pressure on land, the creation of non-agricultural employment has become a pressing need. The development of modern industry would be one such alternative to provide opportunities for absorbing technically qualified people.”\textsuperscript{120}

Ironically, investment in Kashmir by Delhi and Pan-India bourgeoisie has been basically in two fields – roads and communications for military and commercial purposes. Capital investment in the field of industry was virtually non-existent.\textsuperscript{121} Therefore, most of the large and medium scale industries were state owned which contribute only 0.1% to state’s income. Several factors are responsible for discouraging investors to invest there; such as: being land-locked, on the boarder with Pakistan and the special status granted to the state by the centre under article 370 which bars non-Kashmiris from owning property within the state. Now for the Indian bourgeoisie it is a captive market for its manufactures.

\textsuperscript{120} See the Development Review Committee’s Report (1975) On Industrial Development (GOI). (Quoted in EPW, 10 June 2000, p. 2056).
By the mid 1970’s corruption and nepotism began to escalate to unprecedented levels. The government of Jammu & Kashmir favoured the supporters in making appointments in the administration and the state owned corporation. As a result of such generous distributions of administrative patronage, the bureaucracy proliferated and the wage bill of the state consumed 43 percent of its non-plan expenditures. It is in this situation, the economic planning and development have been relegated to the background by politicians in the state.\(^{122}\)

In the light of the aforementioned information, it is suffice to say that the backward economy of the state has a relation with politics. Moreover, with economic planning being relegated to the background by politicians and the increase in unemployment and corruption in the state led many unemployed youth of the state to join militant organizations.

**Ethnic Dimension**

Jammu and Kashmir, as we have described in the preceding chapter, is a multi-ethnic society. Broadly, it could be divided into three physiographic regions these. Three regions are called Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, respectively. Each region is again plural in nature as in each region there are people belonging to different religious, linguistic, tribal and racial communities.

Although the state has been multi-ethnic all through ages. Its culture was earlier defined in terms of what is called as Kashmiriyat. Kashmiriyat appears to have declined there. According to Riyaz Punjabi, well-known political scientist, the unprincipled politics pursued by central government for Jammu & Kashmir resulted into the rupture of Kashmiriyat and division of people on the basis of religion. Today Jammu & Kashmir state is thought to be divided into three broad communities: Muslims of Kashmir valley, Hindus of Jammu and Buddhists of Ladakh.\(^{123}\)

As a result of many political developments, the three different demands are coming out from the ethnic groups who are dominant in respective provinces of the state. For instance, in Jammu, particularly from the dogra dominant belt (like district Jammu, Udhampur and Kuthua) the demand for separate Jammu state is being raised from time to time. In Ladakh were Buddhists especially from Leh district are asserting of

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the “Union Territory Status”. While, Muslims of Kashmir mostly seek “Independence” from India. Moreover, Muslims of valley Kashmir who always feared that the policies of Hindu government at centre would pursue a policy of annihilating the rights and the cultural identity of Muslims in the state. It is, therefore, Gautam Naviakha, renowned human rights activist, rightly says that: “The roots of the crisis in Kashmir lie in the Kashmir’s fears for the loss of the cultural identity in the face of the Hindu/Hindu notion of nationalism. A telling instance of this is provided in a circular issued on January 12 (1990) by the Director of the News Services Division of All India Radio which says “attention is drawn of all concerned and particularly news readers, translators in the respective languages including, Hindi, Urdu, and Kashmiri, that “Rashtrapati” will be used for president, “Uprashtrapati” of the Vice President and “Pradhanmantri” for the Prime Minister. For India, the languages version will be Bharat. Innocuous (not harmful) as this appears in attempting to establish the hegemony of Hindu/Hindi nationalism is evident. This manifests the single most important source of the crisis in Kashmir valley – cultural marginalization of a group of people due to a process of state sponsored. Imposition of Pan-Indianess derived from a Sanskritic Brahmanical notion of Bhartiya culture and civilization.

Religious Dimension

Kashmir conflict can also be looked from the religious angle. The role of religion in fomenting the Kashmir conflict can be analyzed in three ways. The first way is to explain that because of Muslim dominance in Kashmir valley, the conflict is generated and promoted by Muslims. Many scholars believe that Muslims are separatists and Islam teaches the ideology of Jihad or not to live with non-Muslims. This is a very parochial view. As the evidence from the different parts of the world do not support this view.

The second way is to explain religion as a force of mobilizing and encouraging them to flight for their rights. We have already seen in preceding pages that Kashmiris have been politically alternated, economically deprived and culturally marginalized, it is this alternation, marginalization and deprivation, which are being expressed through religion.

Chapter II: Conflict in the State of Jammu and Kashmir: Socio-Historical Overview

It is within this context, one must see the call for Jihad (Holy War). This is fact that religious militancy in Kashmir had developed after Islamic revolution in Iran, and defeat of Soviet Union in Afghanistan. In both the cases it was Islamic Jihad, which was propagated and understood by people as a winning force. This is possible that many Kashmiri youth might have encouraged with the slogan of Jihad in these two cases.

Professor, Iftikhar Malik also says that militants in Jammu & Kashmir are inspired by religious and cultural power that emanated from the Iranian revolution and Soviet expulsion from Afghanistan. In both cases, powerful, modern, well-equipped armies were defeated by a dedicated, purposeful power, motivated by religion and culture.

The third is to understand the role of religion in Kashmir as a reaction against modernization and globalization. All over the world movements struggling in the name of religion have emerged in post-modern and post-cold war era. This is an era were the hegemony of one superpower is established in all fields of life through the mechanism which is now being called globalization. All over the world-marginalized people are mobilizing themselves to fight against the hegemony of superpower and within their country the hegemony of the state. For this fight, they use religion for fighting against the hegemony. Kashmir conflict can also be understood as a fight against the hegemony of Indian state and Kashmiris use religion for this kind of struggle.

Whatever may be the way of analyzing the role of religion in Kashmir-conflict. This is a fact, that Islam is being used for mobilizing people to fight against the Indian state and to internationalize the conflict.  

We have explained in the preceding pages how much economically backward Kashmiris. And, how did politicians rig political process and alienate people. Economic backwardness and political corruption and alienation of people are no doubt potential factors of sustaining conflict. But no conflict can be sustained without consciousness of people about the conflict and this has happened in Kashmir. Kashmir has witnessed growth in education and mass media rapidly, which play an important role in making people aware about the conflict. Growth of educated unemployed youth proved as catalysts for conflict in Kashmir.

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In India there is evident gap between education and unemployment. This has also occurred in Kashmir. Almost all Kashmiri educated youth want to get jobs in Kashmir, which are not available in abundance in their state. Educated youth also do not have good opportunities of self-employment as small scale Industries and business prospects have not developed in Kashmir and whatever development has taken place in this area got devastated since 1989, the year from which militancy started. As a result employed educated youth proved like oil in the fire.

An alienated and frustrated many of them turn their attention towards earning livelihood with innovative means i.e., militancy. Humra Quraishi has observed in her hook Kashmir. The untold Story that “three lakh educated people are currently unemployed in Kashmir…” Huge numbers of the young are unemployed, many more are underemployed:. The principal of a school in Srinagar confessed to being frightened by the rising numbers of the jobless just last week one of my nephews told me that bekaari (unemployment) was making him so desperate that he might have to consider becoming a killer… the going rate for hired killers is rupees ten thousand per murder, he told me. What more can I tell you about the deterioration around127.

P.S. Verma, has also observed a critical relationship between the phenomenon of militancy and unemployment in his study. In case of Kashmir valley, the highest rate of unemployment was found in the border districts of Kupwara and Baramulla from where there has been a maximum contribution to the ranks of Kashmir’s militants128.

Above discussion explicitly suggest us to say that conflict in Kashmir is not due to simple factors i.e., Kashmir is a Muslim majority state whereas rest of India is dominated by Hindus so there is a conflict between Muslims and Hindus so there is a conflict between Muslims and Hindus or the conflict is due to Pakistan’s hostility towards India which encourages terrorism in the area. These factors are commonly perceived by people, contrary to common perception conflict in Kashmir is multidimensional which involves the question of international law, rights of people, mismanaging politics of the state, increasing poverty and alienation among people. All these and other such factors facilitate. The persistence of conflict in Kashmir. In such a situation we think religion is used for mobilizing public opinion for the

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128 Ibid., pp. 34-35.
purpose of fighting for what Kashmiris think as their right. Furthermore, we think fragile socio-economic condition and growing alienation among people paved the way for Pakistan to exploit the situation against the interests of India. Therefore, conflict in Kashmir should be tackled at various levels.

In the next two chapters, we will present the analysis of the responses of respondents concerning about causes and consequences of the conflict as well as measures for its resolution.