IV WOMEN’S ROLE IN THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE IN KASHMIR
CHAPTER IV
WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE IN KASHMIR

Women's Agency

Sociological theories usually deal with stable societies, and while sociologists study violence as a social problem, they rarely engage with societies where people suffer violence in almost everyday, routine forms. Most sociological concepts turn out to be inadequate in dealing with conflict-ridden societies, where violence is an almost daily occurrence. Sociologists who have studied conflict-ridden societies usually treat women as passive, inert victims of violence. While it is indeed true that in situations of violent conflicts women are systematically targeted, and suffer far more than men, they also exercise considerable agency in such situations.

In situations of conflicts and armed struggles, it is often their reproductive and nurturing roles that are politicised. Rita Manchanda rightly points out that the political activities of ordinary women arise from their everyday experiences, of affirming concern for the safety of their family and the sustenance of their community. The populist demands of the struggle created the social space for women to come
out of their domestic seclusion\(^1\). Several Studies have shown that in situations of conflict women take on new independent roles and demonstrate capacities for decision making with implications for at least, equal involvement of women in community management, peace process and reconstruction activities\(^2\).

While challenging the notion of victimhood in the midst of war, the women of Kashmir are engaged in reconstructing their devastated lives. As Rita Manchanda holds, in war, the dominant image of women as losers - as victims, has grave consequences for a true awareness of the differential impact of conflict on women’s and men’s lives and the creative strategies that women forge for the survival of their families and communities. The hardships and struggles for survival pushes them into assuming decision-making roles, sometimes as participants in peace negotiations and other times, as active agents in the armed conflicts. The challenge is to shore up the ‘gains’ wrought by conflict in the experiences of both civilian and combatant women to strengthen women as agents of social transformation. It is a paradox that even as armed conflicts cause

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\(^1\) Manchanda Rita(ed.), *Women, War and Peace in South Asia; Beyond Victimhood to Agency.* Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001 pp.57

immense pain and sufferings to women, these conflicts creates spaces for women to assert their agency, and actively reshape their personal and social relationships, and political commitments.³

Women of Kashmir came out from their homes, in the early days of 1990 protesting against the atrocities of the state, and to shield men from the lathis of the forces. They would sit on daily dharnas in large groups at the city’s jails to pressurise the security forces to free the boys who had been picked up, often arbitrarily by the forces. Women seized the democratic space for popular protest and would march to the UN office, out in front, shielding the men, braving lathi blows and tear gas. It was an activism rooted in their cultural role as mothers, wives and sisters⁴. Rita Manchanda argues that domestic activism rests on the ‘Stretched roles’ of women’s everyday lives as caregivers and nurtures and is often ignored in the narratives of political struggles. Women develop the habit of listening to the news and staying connected to the informal grapevine⁵. Consciousness leads to activism, and as they become politically conscious, they are constrained to involve themselves in public and political spaces as well. The popular demand for Azadi or the Kashmir intifada, created

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³ Ibid p.4738
⁴ Manchanda Rita, ‘Guns and Burqa’ IN Women and War in South Asia, p. 51
⁵ Manchanda, Economic and Political Weekly, p.4739
an ambiguous space for women’s assertion. While old and young men, fearing crackdowns, shoot-outs and torture withdrew from the public eye, women captured the public centre-stage to ensure the survival of their families. They learnt to negotiate power for the safety of their families and to secure in the release of their men. In an unusual ‘stretching’ of domestic roles, women assumed political roles, and actively participated with forces of political resistance. Even though women gain agency, armed conflict emasculates society and reinforces sexist roles. As observed by scholars studying in Palestine, armed conflicts leads to the blurring of the boundaries that separate the home from the front, and collapses distinctions between feminine and masculine spaces in conflict. The continuous violation of the home—the violent entries, searches and demolitions, sieges and massacre of civilians cast aside notions of home as a space distant from the conflict. As observed by Seema Kazi, the Kashmiri women’s engagement with the Movement for Azadi derives from their own understanding and lived experience of the situation that testifies to not just a keen political understanding of the crisis, but their

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multiple roles within it. She further argues that these multiple roles of women have preserved family and community, and greatly facilitated the general resistance against state hegemony\(^8\).

Domestic activism of women is vital, for, the sustenance of the conflict. It is women who keep intact the fabric of the family and community which enables the men to go on fighting. There were hundreds ordinary women who organised food supply lines during the months of unbroken curfew. In 1991, there was an uninterrupted curfew for 190 days\(^9\) and in the 2008-2009 and the 2010 uprisings\(^10\) in Kashmir, it was women who were actually managing the families and even struggling against the arrests of youth in Kashmir during what was termed as ‘new Kashmir intifada’. At the same time they participated in stone pelting, and gave moral support to the boys to carry on the fight with stones. Women thus again took to the streets in large numbers, walking alongside the men, raising pro-Kashmiri independence slogans, in defiance of the security forces that surrounded them\(^11\).

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\(^9\) Manchanda Rita, *Guns and Burqa*, p. 52

\(^10\) In 2008, 2009, 2010, Violent Conflicts, Kashmir was shut for months together

In the face of continued violence, women have made efforts to break the silence, calling for accountability, disarmament and restoration of peace. While women were not active combatants, many supported the Movement in the 1990's. Their support for the armed struggle has drastically diminished in the recent decades and given way to peaceful protests and consciousness-raising activities. Women in Kashmir organised demonstrations and marches to protest the arrest or disappearance of their sons and husbands. Akin to what has been observed in Palestine, they were, through demonstrations actually protesting against the disruption and chaos of everyday domestic life occasioned by the disappearance of loved ones as well as concern for their well-being. The unflinching courage of marginalised women like Parveena Ahangar, in their fight for justice symbolises the self-actualisation of Kashmiri women, in the face of continued violence and suffering. Her activism lead to the formation of an organisation, in 1994, named Association of Parents of Disappeared persons (APDP). Parveena Ahangar became the founding member of APDP and was chosen as its president. It comprised of the parents of individuals subjected to enforced disappearances. APDP now has members from

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12 See e.g: Urvashi Batalia. *Speaking Peace, Women's Voices from Kashmir*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 2002
13 Julie Peteet ‘Icons and Militants: Mothering in a Danger Zone’ p. 139
150 families. Women constitute 60% of membership, have 50% representation on the executive board (5 out of 10 rotating members are women) and at least 50% representation during monthly public protests.\(^\text{14}\)

Recently, APDP found the graves of 1,000 unidentified corpses, unceremoniously dug, in graveyards across Uri, the de-facto frontier region that divides Indian and Pakistani controlled Kashmir. Despite its meagre sources APDP has made strong case for an independent international scientific investigation.\(^\text{15}\) On the occasion of the International Day of the Disappeared (Aug 30), APDP came out with a paper that contained contradictory statements of the ministers as well as chief ministers issued from time to time about the number of the persons who had disappeared in the state since 1989\(^\text{16}\). According to APDP’s own records 8000 to 10,000 people have been subjected to enforced disappearances during different regimes.\(^\text{17}\)


\(^{16}\) According to the document, one minister had stated that 3,184 persons disappeared from 1989 to July 2002. Then, the former chief minister had declared that 3,744 persons were missing during the year 2000, 2001, and 2002. The statement that was made in the legislative assembly at Jammu said that 1,553 persons disappeared in 2000, 1,586 in 2001 and 605 in 2002. Again the former Chief Minister Mufti Sayeed during a joint press conference with former Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpai at Srinagar, in April 2003, declared only 60 persons have disappeared, the document further quoted Chairman of National Panthers Party (NPP) Bhim Singh saying that 4000 persons disappeared persons are lodged in Jammu jails.

\(^{17}\) Afzana Rashid, Waiting for Justice- Half widows P.18-19
As service provider women also run orphanages, self help groups in the conflict torn Kashmir. Nighat Pandit (born 1961) stepped out of a comfortable home to address the pain and trauma of people caught in the conflict. Braving physical danger and other risks, Pandit and her organisation HELP (human efforts for love and peace) and inter-communal harmony. At a time when very few Kashmiri women were responding to the crisis in their midst, Pandit was the first woman to start an orphanage (in 1997) for homeless children. Pandit makes personal visits to violence-affected areas and interviews the people. She also works with groups to organise income-generating projects. Miss Anjum Zamruda Habib, who heads a Women’s organisation in Kashmir, after spending five years of vigorous Jail term, on release founded the Association of Kashmiri Prisoners (AFKP). AFKP provides psycho-social support to the families of Kashmiri prisoners held in Indian jails, as well as tracking and documenting their cases.


The militant in her: Women and Resistance
No peace Movement in the world has succeeded without women's activism. Women in several conflict areas have played a pivotal role in giving a much needed push to the peace process. Even in south Asian conflicts, such as Srilanka, women are creating their own niche trying to propel the peace process forward.  

One of the interesting developments in Kashmir has been the appropriation of literary space by women to push forward the agenda of peace. Women in Kashmir have unsuccessfully tried their hand in literary activism. One such attempt was made by a group of women activists 'Kashmiri Women's Initiative for Peace and disarmament (KWIPD)' who used to chronicle women's narratives in a quarterly newsletter 'Voices Unheard'. It was focused mainly on the victimhood. In another effort Saima Farhad and Sheeba Masoodi launched a women's Magazine named 'SHE'. In the inaugural issue of SHE, the editors explained that the magazine would be an effort to unravel the talent and courage of women in Kashmir. They also claimed that this would provide the women a platform to discuss about

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their rights. Both the attempts have failed, apparently, due to insufficient resources available to them.

Women in secessionist/political and militant Movements:

Studies on Kashmir show that Women's Movements in Kashmir is deeply entangled with, either aligned with or engaged with the secessionist Movements. As has been argued by Alison and Miranda, the ethno-nationalist political Movements everywhere impinge on gender roles, and crucially shape the experiences and aspirations of women. It has been suggested in several important works on separatist and/or secessionist Movements, anti-state Movements generally provide greater ideological and political spaces for women to articulate their political agency, and even participate as combatants than do institutionalised state or prostate nationalism. Several studies, and press reports reveal that in the initial years of militancy in Kashmir, women joined militants and acted as couriers for them. Little suspected by the armed forces, they were initially, at least, a crucial asset to the militants. But once the armed forces came to know that these women were facilitating safe passage for militants and their

[She is first to hit the news stand, Greater Kashmir, 09, April, 2006, Also see: Silent awakening among Kashmiri women](https://www.expressindia.com/news/fullstory.php?newaid=71828)

ammunition, the coercive arm of the state did not spare them, and security forces have routinely targeted them, raping, molesting, and eliminating them. The ‘rage of the state’, as it were, has not spared innocent women either, and the violence perpetrated by the armed forces has showed a remarkable indifference in distinguishing the aggressors and the victim. The pressure from militants, assisted by the violence of the state, has led to the emergence of several political Movements among women, and a few among them, indeed, do seem to enjoy a wide social base. Several feminist scholars have argued that feminism has had a difficult relationship with wars. In conflict-ridden regions in India, such as Nagaland and Manipur, women cadres are present in significant numbers in most of the insurgent and national liberation groups. In Kashmir, on the other hand, some women’s organisations defending extremist positions exist, but women are not represented in the existing political organisations of

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26 Ibid p. 385
28 Chenoy Anuradha.M., ‘Resources or symbols? Women and Armed conflicts in India’ IN Avada Shrestha and Rita Thapa(ed.), The impact of Armed Conflicts on Women in South Asia, Manohar, 2007, p. 194
the militants. These organisations are fed by intolerant religious ideologies, and routinely propagate jihad against India\textsuperscript{29}.

**Muslim Khawateen-e-Markaz**

*Muslim Khawateen-e-Markaz* (MKM), is being headed by Zamruda Habib and Yasmeen Raja. In late 1980's, as an organisation it was, during this period of its inception, linked to the Islamic Students League, a puritan Movement based the ideology of religious revivalism.\textsuperscript{30}

Zamruda Habib was a lecturer at Hanfia College Anantnag (also known as Islamabad) when she formed a group of like-minded educated women, named ‘Women’s Association’, perhaps the first of its kind after independence from Dogra Rule. Led by educated women, the association represented the interests and aspirations of middle class women in Kashmir\textsuperscript{31}.

The constitution of MKM (See Appendices IVA and IVB) was framed by Ms. Zamruda Habib and her associate Zaheer-u-Din.

The Constitution of the MKM, in its Part second (clause 5), sets following aims and objectives of the party.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid, P.196
\textsuperscript{30} Maqbool Sahil ‘Tehreke-Mazahamat me Khwateen ka role-1’ p. 389
\textsuperscript{31} ibid
I) It shall be the duty of MKM to strive for a solution of the Kashmir Issue. The political aspirations of Kashmiri’s should be fulfilled in accordance with the Charter of International Human Rights.

II) It shall struggle for the political, economic, social, legal, educational, cultural and religious rights of the Women in Jammu and Kashmir.

a) It shall patronise and encourage in the field of art and education.

b) It shall focus on the problems of women from backward classes in the valley and work for their upliftment.

MKM proposes a democratic republic structure for the party, limiting its membership to 51. The constitution also directs the party to set-up municipal and village committees, Block committees and halqa committees in order to reach out at the grass roots level.

Dukhtarane-Millat

When the conflict broke in Kashmir in 1990, Asiya Andrabi came in the forefront with her women’s organisation called Dukhtarane-millat
The main objectives of DeM, as claimed by Asiya Andrabi’s, are:

1. To make Muslim women aware of their rights in Islam
2. To support the separatist Movements in-order to carve an Islamic state or accede to Pakistan so that an Islamic Sharia be enacted on all Muslim Men and Women of the state.

The DeM strongly advocates and campaigns for the establishment of Islamic State in Kashmir. Asiya says, ‘I don’t believe in Kashmiriyat for me there are only two communities one Muslim and other non-Muslim’. Thus the essence of Kashmiriyat has no place in Andrabi’s Pan-Islamist World view. She clearly rejects the notions of Indian or even Pakistani nationality.

There are other organisations, which did not survive and little is known about them. The Hizbul-Mujahidin (HM), one of the major militant outfits, also established a women’s wing, the \textit{Binat-ul-Islam},

\footnote{Born in 1962 and brought up in Srinagar, she did her graduation in Home science from Kashmir University in 1981. She dreamt of becoming a scientist and wanted to go for higher education outside the state. Her elder brother denied her the permission to go for higher studies outside Kashmir and she was forced to remain in the four walls of her home. Incidentally Asiya’s eyes once fell on a book ‘Khwateen ke dilon ki batein’. The book was about the rights of Muslim women and after reading this book, Asiya’s life changed forever. She later decided to live her life according to the Shariat laws and struggle for the rights of Muslim women in Kashmir. As a result, she founded ‘DeM’. Cited from Sahil Maqbool, \textit{Tehreke-Mazahamat me Khwateen Ka role}.}

\footnote{It has not been possible for the researcher to get a copy of their constitution as it has been banned since 2002}

\footnote{Prahar Swati, Gender Jihad Jingoism; Women as perpetrators, planners and patrons of militancy in Kashmir, \textit{Studies in Conflict Terrorism}, Volume:34, issue:4, TAYLOR & FRANCIS, 2011, p.303}

\footnote{Maqbool Sahil, ‘Tehreke-Mazahamat me Khwateen ka role-1’, p. 386}
led by Umi-Arifa. Members of this group would visit families of slain militants and assist them rehabilitation and relief.\textsuperscript{36} Another lesser known militant women’s organisation was, \textit{Banaat-e-Aaiyesha}. This organisation was an offshoot of Jaishe-e-Mohammed, and claimed to represent women’s interests within the militant organisation\textsuperscript{37}.

MKM and DeM have a political mandate professing separation from India while, in addition, carrying out social and Human Rights activism.

It has been argued by several feminist scholars, in particular, Swati Prahar, that the organisations such as DeM have served to provide political agency to women in Kashmir\textsuperscript{38}. While this is certainly true to an extent, we should not ignore the fact that women’s agency is often involved to serve ends that are anti-women and deeply patriarchal. To take the case of DeM, it is a women’s organisation avowedly concerned with women’s issues in Kashmir. At the same-time, it is not averse to rely on coercion and force to impose its world view—fundamentalist and Puritan—on the women in Kashmir. Furthermore, its agenda for reforms of women is deeply entangled with patriarchal...


\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{38} Prahar Swati, ‘Gender jihad jingoism’ p. 304
values, and emphasizes segregation for women. It is to take recourse
to force to pressurise women to adopt veil and *purdah* in their lives.
Like other right wing, fundamentalist organisations, members of DeM
are actively involved in moral policing activities. In their role as moral
policewomen, women in DeM have often targeted locations they see
as ‘centres of immoral activities’. The list of places deemed ‘immoral’
is, of course, quite large, and ever expanding; it includes cafes,
restaurants, liquor shops, hotels, internet cafes and even gift shops.\(^3^9\)
The ideology of DeM actually serves to reinforce gender inequities,
and gender division of labour. The leaders of DeM admit to the
subordinate position of women, and see the role of women to lie in the
organisation of families, procreation and child-bearing activities.\(^4^0\). At
the same time, DeM is actively involved in political activities, and
vigorously campaign for the creation of new political order in
Kashmir based on their version of Islam.\(^4^1\). One clearly notices a
paradox here, one that several scholars have noticed in other women’s
militant social outfits-the push towards political activism goes hand-
in-hand with the normative privileging of the place of women in the

\(^{3^9}\) Ibid 303


\(^{4^1}\) See Maqbool Sahil, *Tehreek-Mazahamhat me Khwateen ka role vol-1*
family/household. Indeed, as has been suggested by Swati Prahar\textsuperscript{42}, militant Movements everywhere succeed in mobilising, even incorporating, certain varieties of women’s Movement, particularly those that are based on forms of religious identifications.

**Rahat Ghar**

Rahat Ghar is a state supported women’s organisation, established with the support of the Swadhar Scheme of the Department of Women and Child Development, Govt. of India. Unlike DeM and MKM, Rahat Ghar is apolitical. The organisation provides to Widows and children, shelter, food, clothing, medical aid, educational opportunities and vocational training\textsuperscript{43}.

Rahat Ghar is the only home of its kind in the valley, that supports and maintains widows and the children of the militants in Karasmir. Widows and orphans of militants as well as civilians caught in the crossfire are both provided support and sustenance. Over 80 widows and their children have started their new lives at the Rahat Ghar, run by Guild of Service under the leadership of Mohini Giri. Trying to retain the family structure, each mother looks after six children. Many of the children go to the government school and the guild provides the

\textsuperscript{42} Prahar Swati, Gender Jihad and Jingoism,
\textsuperscript{43} Official website of Guild of Service Delhi, www.guildofservice.org/projects.php#rahatghar

200
uniforms and books to them. Four women run the Rahat Ghar and Dr. Girja Dhar, heads its advisory committee. These women are constantly trying to access the various welfare schemes for widows and their children to make them available for Kashmiri widows and orphans. The women are provided with simple skill like weaving and embroidery, while school education is given to the children.

**Jammu and Kashmir women’s development corporation**

Jammu & Kashmir State Women's Development Corporation "was incorporated in the year 1991 as State Channelising Agency and has been functioning since 1994. The Corporation is implementing a number of Developmental Schemes of State as well as Central Government for Socio-Economic Upliftment of Women with a special focus on the families living Below Poverty Line (BPL) & Women belonging to Minorities, Backward & Other Classes. The objectives of the organisation are as follows:

1. Identification and promotion of women entrepreneurs.

2. Conducting awareness camps and identifying women for various activities by which they can be empowered.

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46 Official website of Guild of Service Delhi, www.guildofservice.org
47 Official Website of Jammu Kashmir Women’s Development Cooperation, www.JKWDC.com
3. To empower women by helping them to establish income generating units by providing soft loan at a very low rate of interest.

4. Identification of vocation, and trades that women can undertake on their own and be self-reliant.

5. To empower women by framing Self Help Groups and Block Level Societies who shall work independently as NGOs/Cooperative Societies in a particular Block

Conclusion

Scholars like Tanika Sarkar have shown that in the wake of globalization of Indian economy and society there has not only been a resurgence of militarism but also an increase in the participation of women in these militant activities. This chapter has shown the relevance of thesis in the case of Kashmir, where there has been, since the 1980’s, increased involvement of women in militant political activities. I have argued that militant women, indeed, reproduce patriarchal ideologies, but their participation has also served to enhance spaces of dialogue and communication in the political spaces. Furthermore, in the culture of militancy and violence, women, in the both formal and informal ways, have applied the healing touch, providing crucial services to individuals and families destroyed by
violence, this chapter also highlighted the role of women in peace-building operations. Even as there are instances of women participating/supporting militancy, however, there is also evidence of women confronting militancy, as well. In either cases, indeed, the women in Kashmir have been vehemently asserting their presence in the political domains.
APPENDIX IV A

CONSTITUTION OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR MUSLIM

KHWATEEN MARKAZ

(Text)
اعلان نامه

(حکمート قلی)

[signature]

[seal]
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة. يرجى تقديم نص مكتوب بشكل مناسب للسماح لي بمساعدتك بشكل أفضل.
(1) چعلہ کونسل ریاستی مجلس عام کی انتخابات کے لئے انتخابات کا دباؤ کیا جائے گا۔
(2) تعلیمی کمیونٹی کارکانوں کی انتخابات کے لئے انتخابات کا دباؤ کیا جائے گا۔
(3) نام کے تحت پرائیم کی فلسفہ کی سیکٹر کی کارکانوں کی انتخابات کا دباؤ کیا جائے گا۔
(4) انتخابات سنبہ ڈبلہ کی۔
(5) ریاستی مجلس عام کی انتخابات کے لئے انتخابات کا دباؤ کیا جائے گا۔
(6) پارٹی کے ایک عضو کی میڈیا اور سوسائٹی کے پیش کو شاہین قومیہ پر بھی ضرورت ہے۔
(7) تمام نام مثبت ڈالیں۔
(8) رکے اس آرٹ کے انتخابات کی صدارت کی بعید فہرست کے اور بطور عامل ویکی پر بھی انتخابات کے مسائل کی خلاف نہ آئے۔
(9) کام کی طرح دیتا۔
(10) انتخابات کے سامنے کیہ سب کیشیوں کی تشکیل۔
(11) پارٹی کے دل پر آمد کی اور صدارت کے فراغت پر ضروری فتح کرنا۔
(12) پارٹی کے سائنس سدور کے انتخابات کا کام کیشیوں پر انتخابات کے سامنے کیہ۔
(10) عرب یاد یاری کے فارغیت اور انتباہاں ۔
ریاست صاحب صدر
(11) دکھک چرس کا خطبث
(12) ان کے پر مشروط یا مشترک
(13) یہ کہ جعلی حوالہ داد کمیونیکیشن کی باہمی کے سلامتی.
(14) (ا) میں چارہ پر مشروط یا مشترک
(15) کر کے کوئی بیچنی مکملہ بو، اسی کے برف ہی پر شدہ ہو
(16) دیکھیب ہے اور مشترکه کو کہ ہور ہوئے ہو،
(17) پاہوئی کو کسی بھی کوئی اور کوئی کا کرکہ ہو،
(18) پر مشروط یا مشترک
(19) کوئی بے پر مشروط یا مشترک
(20) جعلی حوالہ داد کمیونیکیشن کی باہمی کے سلامتی.
(21) یہ کہ جعلی حوالہ داد کمیونیکیشن کی باہمی کے سلامتی.
(22) سید علی کا تعلق
(23) ایم جے کا تعلق
(24) حوالے سے
(25) ویلی کے تعلق
کانفرنس کریں اور
(1) بوقت ضرورت حس رکن دوسرے بدل پا کر
کسی کو بھی ہون/xتک کسی
(2) دالا بچوں پر
(3) خیال پر
(4) اخبارات کی نام کیوں
(5) ہوا جمع کر
(6) چاند کے
(7) جنرل سکریٹری
(8) سرکاری
(9) اخبارات
(10) جمع
(11) اخبارات
(12) جمع
(13) اخبارات
(14) جمع
(15) اخبارات
(16) جمع
(4) Any instructions given to the President or the Prime Minister, or either of them, shall be in writing and shall specify the requirements with respect to matters in which the President or the Prime Minister is required to take action, and the manner in which the action is to be taken.

(5) Any instructions so given shall be binding on the President or the Prime Minister, and the office of any political party or any other political party, as the case may be.

(6) Any instructions so given shall have effect for the period specified in the instructions, and may be revoked at any time.

(7) Any instructions so given shall be transmitted to the relevant authorities as specified in the instructions, and shall be recorded in the official journals.

(8) Any instructions so given shall be subject to the approval of the President or the Prime Minister, as the case may be.

(9) Any instructions so given shall be binding on the President or the Prime Minister, and the office of any political party or any other political party, as the case may be.

(10) Any instructions so given shall have effect for the period specified in the instructions, and may be revoked at any time.

(11) Any instructions so given shall be transmitted to the relevant authorities as specified in the instructions, and shall be recorded in the official journals.

(12) Any instructions so given shall be subject to the approval of the President or the Prime Minister, as the case may be.
فیضی
(17) نظر بندیکر:
 sanctioned
 اوراٹے لیکن
 (ب) علی‌المریض
 (د) ویاکف
 (س) ریاست ملک کے مختصر
 (ت) اخلاق

(18) تعلیمات:

(19) آئی:

(20) شریعت

(21) سری۔
APPENDIX- IVB

CONSTITUTION OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR MUSLIM KHWATEEN-E-MARKAZ (ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

Declaration

...... In order to bring peace in the valley we the women of Jammu and Kashmir recognise that there is a need of consistent struggle for which we hereby declare the creation of a new party-Muslim Khwateen Markaz. The constitution of Muslim Khwateen-e-Markaz (herein after referred as MKM) has following postulates.

Part – 1

Introduction

1. Title: It shall be called as the 'constitution of MKM'.

2. Name of the party/Organisation; Muslim Khwateen-Markaz.

3. Symbol; A flag with a sky-blue field which has a green portion and a white crescent.

4. The head-office and its area of influence: The head-office of this party shall be in Srinagar and the activities shall be carried out as per the constitutional provisions.

Part- 2
**Aims and Objectives:**

5. MKM proposes an immediate solution to the Kashmir dispute for which it emphasises need for a dialogue through tri-party conference constituted by the members from India, Pakistan and Kashmir, which will strive to find a possible way to facilitate the use of rights of self-determination by the people of J&K, under the international charter of human Rights.


   a) It shall promote women artists and intellectuals.

   b) It shall recognise the problems of tribal and backward class women of valley and strive for their solution and work for their upliftment.

**Part 3**

7. Membership ; Any woman, above 18 years of age, irrespective of caste, class or religion, who accepts the constitution and has paid all the membership fees can become a member of MKM.

8. Structure;

   a) *Muhalla yadahi* committee

   b) *Halqa* committee
c) Block Committee

d) Zonal committee

e) 

Reyasati Majise-Aamla

f) General Council

Part 5.

Funding

9. Funding sources

The organisation may generate funds in following ways;

I) Membership Fund

II) Donation

III) Charity