Chapter V

Governance under Gulam Mohammad Sadiq (1964-1971):

Centralization through Socialist Garb

The Shamus-i-Din’s term, as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir state, began with an unfortunate incident of the disappearance of Moe-e-Muqadas (Holy Relic) of Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W) from Hazratbal Shrine (Assar Sharif), on 27th December, 1963. The Holy Relic was installed at Hazratbal Shrine (Assar Sharif), overlooking a picturesque stretch of the famous Dal Lake near Srinagar, in 1700 A.D. This Sacred Relic (Moe-e-Muqadas) is believed to be the single hair from the head of Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W), was regarded as the most sacred and precious procession by the Muslims in state and particularly in the valley. The Holy Relic was sent to Kashmir by the Mughal emperor Averengzab. It was kept in a small tube of quartz (or glass) and was virtually exhibited on occasions of religious festivals to the faithful gathered at the shrine, otherwise kept locked away in a wooden cupboard. The theft of Holy Relic gave expressions of intense public indignation in the valley. The news regarding the disappearance of Moe-e-Muqadas from the Hazratbal Shrine spread like a wild fire and caused alarming situation in the valley. Though winter was at its harshest, thousands of people gathered around the Hazratbal Mosque, stage protests and paralysed the state government. The rumor went around that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad (former Prime minister of state) and his family was responsible for the theft of Holy Relic. People across the valley gathered at Srinagar and their antipathy to the Bakshi Brothers surfaced. When asked by Abdul Rashid Bakshi, cousin brother of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, to disperse they turned on him and he had been rescued by police. The crowed set fire to a hotel and a cinema house owned by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad’s brother, Abdul Majeed Bakshi. Seeing the
uncontrolled behavior of masses, police opened fire resulting the death of three persons. This incident gave a rude shock to devoted masses that they stopped lightening their kitchen fires and women wearing black gowns came out of their homes and began to demonstrate on the roads. Fortunately communal harmony remained throughout the incident in the state. Infact, Hindus and Sikhs in the valley fully shared the grief of the Muslim population. They even voluntarily joined processions and demonstrate along with muslins. The leadership of the agitation was in the hands of what was called Central Action Committee, headed by Maulana Masoodi. Maulana Masoodi, who was earlier the General Secretary of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and had been in early 1930’s one of the founding fathers (along with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirvaiz Yousuf Shah) of the Muslim Conference, now organized an Action Committee dedicated to the investigation of the causes of loss of Holy Relic (Moe-e-Muqadas) and to its prompt recovery.

The incident of the Hazratbal relic provided a most effective stimulus to the political life of Kashmir. After hearing about incident, Prime Minister of State Sham-us-Din returned from Jammu to valley. But he was confined to his house by hostile crowds, who identified him with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. Similarly, Bakshi was held as New Delhi’s agent, who initiated the process of erosion of state’s autonomy. However, he was advised by Prime Minister Nehru to remain apart until the situation in valley simmered down. The angry mob also demanded the immediate release of Sheikh Abdullah from detention. Radio Pakistan and pro-Pakistan lobby in the valley got into the act. That time nobody in the valley dared to oppose them. Even in Pakistan demonstrations were held in protest of the theft of Sacred Relic which they believed to have been perpetrated on the orders of Government of India. The
Government of India promptly took up the investigation of theft. B.N. Mullik, Director of Intelligence Bureau, was rushed to Srinagar to investigate the theft of Holy Relic. He was also assisted by Inspector General of Police, V.K. Das and Assistant Director, Intelligence Bureau, Hamir Singh.

The entire administration of the state got paralysed in the wake of huge anti-government demonstrations. People logged protest rallies, roaring slogans against National Conference government headed by Shams-u-Din. Seeing the situation in the state, Karan Singh, Sadr-e-Riyasat flew to New Delhi on 2nd January, 1964 to discuss the situation with Prime Minister of India. In New Delhi he had a meeting with Jawaharlal Nehru which was also attended by Lal Bahadur Sharstri, Home Minister of India, Gulzarilal Nanda, the Home Secretary V. Viswanathan and the Cabinet Secretary, S.S. Khera. Jawaharlal Nehru, already ailing, was highly worried about the situation. Finally a high level team of officers was deputed to Srinagar on 3rd January, headed by V. Viswanathan, to assist the state authorities in dealing with situation and finding out the Moe-e-Muqadas. On his return to valley on 4th January, 1964, Sadr-e-Riyasat paid a visit to Hazratbal, where he received a warm welcome that indicates that there was no communal disharmony but simply the cry of the heart of the Kashmiri’s. Special prayers on the orders of Sadr-e-Riyasat were organized in many temples for the recovery of Holy Relic.

On 4th January, 1964, after investigation, B.N. Mullik announced that Holy Relic (Mo-e-Muqadas) had been replaced in what mysteriously described “as an intelligence operation never to be disclosed”. There where wide spread rejoicings all over the valley. The Holy Relic was duly identified by the custodians of the shrine. However, spectics yet to be conceived that the replaced Holy Relic was genuine, disturbances continued. A demand for the identification Holy Relic by the clerics over
whom people had confidence become widespread. But this was opposed by B.N. Mullik including all officials of Home Ministry, who were conceived that the conspiracy was the work of “evil minded pro-Pakistani agents”, and should be crushed with Iron hand.

But seriously ailing Prime Minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru remained opposed of confrontation. He was not in favour of leaving the problem to the law and order approach of Home Ministry. He was greatly influenced by one immediate consequence of the crises in Srinagar following the disappearance of Moe-Muqqadas, the violent outbreak of communal rioting in Calcutta. Lal Bahadur Shastri (who succeeded Nehru as Prime Minister), was rushed to Srinagar, where he landed in the middle of winter wearing Nehru’s overcoat, and as B.N. Mullik remarks disapprovingly, “preferred a political settlement of the issue to a settlement by administrative measures”. Against the wishes of B.N. Mullik, it was agreed that a properly constituted devout Muslims would examine the Holy Relic and verify its genuinity. Lal Bahadur Shastri accepted the demand of special deedar (viewing) by a group of fourteen clerics led by Maulana Masoodi. The holy relic was identified as genuine on 3rd February, 1964 and with that peace returned in the state.

Soon after the widespread and prolonged agitation due to the disappearance of Holy Relic, it become evident that neither Shams-u-Din, nor any political leader identified with Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad (former Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir), would be acceptable as Prime Minister of the State. Consequently, the person chosen for the job was Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, an intellectual and a Marxist and whom it was hoped would be more acceptable to Kashmiri opinion then the members of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad clique, whose Islamic credentials were a
Gulam Mohammad Sadiq was of the first group of National Conference leaders, he had served with distinction as chairman of Constituent Assembly. One reason for his acceptability was that in contrast to the Bakshi and his associates, he was respected because of his incorruptibility and sense of fair play and justice. These certain qualifications literally impressed Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru, who used his influence to persuade state legislatures to elect Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq as the Prime Minister of the state, although he enjoyed little support in state especially in valley in comparison to Abdullah and Bakshi. It was only with the support of Central government and more specifically by backing of Nehru, that Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq was elected as their leader by National Conference legislators and accordingly assumed the office of Prime Minister of State on 28 February, 1964.

Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, an old associate of Shiekh Abdullah and one among the important stalwarts of National Conference, played a very dominant role in the freedom movement of Jammu and Kashmir under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and later held important ministerial posts in both Abdullah’s as well as during Bakhshi’s regime. He was an educated, soft spoken and cultured political figure. Sadiq was without doubt a Marxist ideologue and maintained very close contacts with Marxists of all streams within the country. He also remained the leader of communist group formed within ruling National Conference. As a strong ideologue of National Conference, he was certainly being heard by politicians of all streams within the country.

Sadiq’s government, attempted to bring out unity in the National Conference, but till the end of 1964 there remained a persistent system of disunity and conflict in the National Conference party. The group led by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad within the National Conference continued to feel that they were not properly represented in
Sadiq government and various political moves were afoot to accommodate the claims of various groups with the National Conference. Bakshi was severely being viewed as a threat to Sadiq government, established after the dismissal of Shams-u-Din. The struggle for power between Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq and former Prime Minister of state Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad remained quite active throughout period and become more acute in 1964, when Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, showed a list of 35 (thirty five) MLAs to Sadri-e-Riyasat Karan Singh and made him aware about his intention to move a vote of non-confidence in the State legislature against Sadiq’s government. Although Karan Singh (Sadri-e-Riyasat) advised Bakshi to refrain from doing such an foolish act, in view of activities of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Mirza Afzal Beigh and their Plebiscite Front. However, Bakshi Gh Mohammad made it very clear to Karan Singh that it is not easy for him to close down the voice of 35 members of State Legislative Assembly, as these MLA’s had already brought it into the notice of Shankar Prasad, their resentment against Sadiq government and his close associates.

Immediately the leadership of ruling government met Karan Singh to discuss the situation that had arisen due the Baskhi’s threat to topple the government. Accordingly, G.L. Dogra, a senior party leader, met Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad on 21 September, 1964 and made an attempt to impress upon him not to excite his legislators against the Sadiq government. He pleaded for his cooperation, but Bakshi remained obdurate and determined. As a result, G.L. Dogra failed to persuade Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. G.L. Dogra immediately rushed to Sadri-e-Riyasat Karan Singh’s Palace where he made Gulam Mohammad Sadiq aware about Baskhi’s plan. Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Prime Minister of State immediately consulted central leadership and conveyed them about prevailing situation in the state. When it became
know that he might press a motion of non-confidence against Sadiq, officials panicked and urged his arrest. According to Mir Qasim, Sadiq and he were willing to face the motion, but the officials headed by Shankar Prasad, Secretary Kashmir affairs, in New Delhi were remained adamant. Karan Singh, Sadri-e-Riyasat, and more than ever attuned to the Centre’s outlook, arranged a midnight conference. To quote Mir Qasim;

“A heated debate on all aspects of Mr. Bakshi’s plan for a motion of non-confidence ensued. We repeated our stand that since Mr. Bakshi enjoyed majority in the House, we should let him rule. But our stand was rejected in view of what they called “the national interest”. It was decided Mr. Bakshi be arrested in “national interest”.

In September 1964, the Sadiq government caused the arrest of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad along with his four associates, possibly a gesture to Kashmiri’s public opinion, on a vogue charge of corrupt practices while in office under Defense of India’s Rules and detained at Tara Niwas, Udhampur. Later in 1965, a commission of inquiry (one man commission) was appointed under the chairmanship of former justice Rajagopala Ayanggar, to inquire about the charges made against former Prime Minister of State Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. After the completion of inquiry that took nearly two years and four months, the commission in its report held Mr. Bakshi guilty of misusing his official position as the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir state. Also in its report, the commission evidently mentioned that Bakshi and his relatives obtained an ‘improper benefit’ or ‘undue financial advantage’ to the tune Rs. 54 lakhs.

Sadiq’s period was a period of great upheaval and chaos owing to both endogenous and exogenous challenges. Kashmir was virtually transmuted into a
police state where police atrocities and implications of innocent people in fabricated cases had become the order of the day. The voice of resistance was ruthlessly inhibited, and corruption had seeped in the collective mentality of officialdom. On the other side, the state government faced mass opposition spearheaded by Plebiscite movement, started just after the controversial dismissal of Shiekh Mohammad Abdullah, which was aggressively asserting itself since 1965 war. The Pandit community of Kashmir valley was also restive owing to the policy of the state to give special privileges to the downtrodden sections of the society, who in valley happened to be Muslims mainly. A small incident of a Pandit girl marrying a Muslim boy led to a widespread agitation by the Kashmiri Pandits, who were supported by Jammu Dogras. Jammu Dogras were especially seething with discontentment over what they termed “domination of Kashmir over Jammu”. The Muslim un-employed educated youth whose number by mid-sixties had risen to thousands were poised to reinforce the ranks of Plebiscite movement, and, what is more, in 1965 Pakistan infiltrated thousands of its soldiers in civilian garb across the ceasefire line into Kashmir to carryout subversive activities. They were called mujahidin by Kashmiris. A section of Kashmiri youth had got radicalized and was carrying out underground activities to overthrow the Indian rule in Kashmir. Owing to the internal and more importantly the extreme external support, they organized themselves into a militant outfit called Alfath.

It was in this difficult situation that the leftist, unflinching centrist and a critic of Bakshi’s corrupt and goonda-raj, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq had to function. Following the footprints of his predecessors, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq also followed the socialist policy as enumerated in the National Conference manifesto “Naya Kashmir Programme”, however with greater zeal and enthusiasm. Sadiq was without
any doubt more liberal in comparison to his predecessors and certainly begin his administration in the state with the announcement of liberalization and normalization of government policy towards all elements of the state’s political structure. Infact, his government in the state is labeled as the “first liberal” government ever since the formation of popular rule and more importantly after the National Conference assumed power in the state.

In his policy statement issued on March, 1, 1964 Prime Minister Gulam Mohammad Sadiq stated that his government “would do its best to ensure that the fundamental rights guaranteed to the citizens under the constitution become a reality so that opportunities of greater and freer participation in the economic development and social progress of the state are open to them”. He said that “it shall be the earnest endeavor of my government to ensure the rule of law and respect for the rights and liberties of the people”.

In pursuance of this declaration the Sadiq government took the following steps:

1. Curbs on freedom of speech and assembly were removed.
2. All détentes belonging to different political parties were released.
3. Special police force (Peace Brigade) organization organised by earlier regimes which, had gained notoriety as an instrument of repression was disbanded.
4. The Kashmir conspiracy case, Hazratbal murder case and the Kashmir bomb case were withdrawn.
5. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg and other political detenues were released; and
6. The Preventive Detention Act of the state was made more liberal and brought at par with the law in force in the rest of the country. The removal of restrictions on civil liberties in the state ushered in a new era of freedom, accommodation and toleration which is the essence of democracy. To encourage freedom of expression and opinion in the state, Sadiq government abolished all curbs imposed on civil liberties by earlier regimes. These measures enabled the people of state to freely participate on terms of equality in the broader perspective of collective national life. The measures taken by Sadiq government in the state to normalise the political order were the restoration of freedom of press and expression and an environment to meet the political challenges by political rather than dictatorial and forcible methods. By removing restrictions on the freedom of press within a period of five to six months, almost three dozen new newspapers, periodical, journals banned by earlier regimes began to appear in the scene giving space to different voices and political trends. Moreover, State Preventive Detention Act had been made more liberal in order to bring it at par with law in force in the rest of the country. Thus the repressive laws and regulations imposed in the state by earlier regimes who did not form the part of laws in the rest of the state statutes and had been promulgated in the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the aim of exercising dictatorial powers at the cost of expenses of civil liberties, were been done away with. The restoration of democratic freedom served as an outlet for vocal expression of public opinion in the press and platform. Government of state under the Prime Ministership of Gulam Mohammad Sadiq completely disbanded the peace brigade (Special Police force), organized and installed by former Prime Minister of State Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad to crush his critics and political opponents with iron hand, and had

7 Ibid. pp. 1-2.
acquired an unsavoury reputation as an instrument of repression. By all these, a new era of intense political activity was witnessed in the state for first time since the establishment of popular rule.

For the first time in the state, panchayat election were held in the August, 1969. In this election Plebiscite Front, who boycotted in almost all the previous held periodic elections in the state upto 1959, after its existence in 1955, enthusiastically took part and used it as platform to mobilise the public opinion. According to Karan Singh they played a part in these elections “with a view to wrecking the constitution and disrupting the present relationship of the state as an integral part of India”. Karan Singh (Sadri-e-Riyasat) being a vocal critique of Sadiq’s policy of “liberalization” says that the involvement of Plebiscite Front in these elections led to the spread of Front’s “tentacles into the rural areas of the valley”. The policy of liberalization, says Dr. Karan Singh, “can obviously not mean allowing secessionist parties to hold the valley to ransom whenever they decide to escalate their opposition”. Indeed, Sadiq’s policy of giving space to Plebiscite Front as a safety value and a way out to mainstream the secessionist voice, stuck, with exceptions, in the gizzards of Jammu Dogras regardless of their secular or communal credentials.

The other priorities of the Sadiq Government were development of education and promotion of different sectors of economy, rural development, de-politicization of bureaucracy and preventing the politicians from undue interference in the functioning of the officials, transparent and accountable governance, price control and generating employment opportunities. The efforts made towards the realization of these objectives are discussed in below mentioned headings.

**Appointment to Government Services**
Sadiq government in order to eliminate nepotism and favoritism in the matter of recruitment to government services in the state, ensured that merit and ability would be made the sole criteria in future. Similarly, to ensure transparency and accountability in the appointments to government services, State Subordinate Service Selection Board for making appointments in the state subordinate services were established, as at that time with the establishment of State Public Service Commission during Bakhshi’s regime only gazette appointments had been institutionalized. It was entrusted upon all the heads of departments to place their demands for recruitment within the Board. Besides recruitment, Service Selection Board was also entrusted to rendered advice to government departments regarding the qualifications and criteria for recruitments to non-gazettee services. The departments had also been made to seek the advice of State Service Selection Board on matters of promotion and transfers from one service to another service. In the same manner, District Selection Boards were been also setup in all districts for making appointments to district services. Special attention was paid towards the welfare of low grade employees. To afford welfare to these low grade state employees, the rates of dearness allowances were increased in a manner which had conferred the maximum benefit on the lowest paid employees. Such benefits were also extended to the low paid pensioners, industrial labourers and also to theose employed on need and casual basis. Merit and ability was followed as the only criteria for making admission of the students to Medical, Engineering and other colleges and universities both within and outside the state. The nominations of students for studying outside the state were being made on the principle of “bringing out the best from all sections of the population”. Special efforts were also being made to provide what is due to students belonging to backward classes and from downtrodden communities of the state.
Anti-Corruption Measures

To promote good governance in the state men of integrity and accountability were encouraged. In order to check the menace of corruption and malpractices in state administration, it was made mandatory upon all the government servants and Ministers to submit the details of their assets on annual basis. Ministers holding different portfolios were also been made to submit not only the details of their personal assets but, it was also made incumbent upon them to submit the statement of the assets of their dependents and families. Moreover, Ministers and the Members of the State legislature holding recognized political parties were debarred from buying government property or selling personal property to the government, however were such a unavoidable condition erupts that the deviation from such rule become necessary, it was made incumbent to render the advice of Chief Justice of State High Court on the matter which would be binding on the government.

The seriousness of Sadiq government to check rampart corruption and malpractices in the government services is also indicated from the fact that wide powers been delegated to the State Anti-corruption Commission and by strengthening of Anti-Corruption Investigating Agency. Moreover, in order to ensure speedy action against officials found guilty of making corruption, the Chief Secretary of the state was empowered to issue suspension orders in favour of Gazette officers against whom *prima facie* cases were established by anti-corruption commission. Significantly Sadiq government also adopted a convention that any recommendation that would be made by the commission in respect of any official, whose case would have come before it for probe, would be accepted by it as a rule. To provide further impetus to anti-corruption measures a Central Vigilance Committee composed of Chief Secretary of State, Home Secretary, Forest Secretary, Secretary Works and Power, Inspector
General of Police (Anti-Corruption organisation) and Deputy Inspector General of Police (C.I.D) was convened in order to coordinate the measures undertaken by various departments of the government to fight against the menace of corruption. It was also entrusted upon the committee to ensure the compliance of code of conduct prescribed for government servants, besides reviewing the working of the Anti-Corruption organization and making sure that the complaints against government servants relating to corruption were disposed off promptly. The activities of Sadachar Samiti were also extended to the State. Various branches of the Samiti were been set up in the state in order to elicit and canalize the public cooperation in weeding out the menace of corruption from its roots. Prompt response had received by Samiti from the people of all the sections of society, irrespective of their personal differences. This signifies the seriousness of the people of the state, to make their contribution in the countrywide crusade against corruption. Sessions courts in almost all the districts were been set up with an intention to provide easily and timely accessible justice to the people in the state. Sadiq government also amended Cr. Penal code to bring about necessary reforms in it. Further, in order to eradicate the evil of corruption and malpractices from is roots in all aspects of public life, Sadiq government took various other effective measures. The most glaring examples of malpractices related to the misuse of road transport permits and import licenses of raw materials. As during the Bakshi regime in the state route permits were being provided to the relatives, party workers and influential people and theose who actually operated transport had to pay huge rents to the owners and permit holders. Gulam Mohammad Sadiq immediately after assumed the administration of the state issued necessary orders regarding the issuance of route permits to all such persons who were actual operators of vehicles but were either denied or not possessing such permits. In the same manner small scale
industrialists were being provided import licenses to obtain raw materials for fair and genuine use. Further, in order to check the misuse of forest wealth in the state, Sadiq government completely abolished the system of forest leases which were provided to party supporters by earlier regimes on meager rates. Timber trade and lumbering were been made a state enterprise. During the same period the Jammu and Kashmir Construction Corporation were established. The rationale behind the establishment of JKPCC, Jammu and Kashmir forest Corporation and such other organisation were checking corruption and saving national wealth from plunder, besides minimizing the gulf between classes.

**Rationalization of Ration System**

The government also updated food rationing, as food rationing was based on obsolete figures of population and in smaller towns there was either no arrangement for rationing or the number of fair price shops of food grains were too small to meet the needs of the population inhabited in these towns. In order to address this problem well in time Sadiq government took necessary steps. As a result of these well acknowledged efforts, in Srinagar city the ration strength got increased by about 60,000, and in Jammu city by about 7,000. In addition, various suburban villages with a population of about 6000 who had not been covered so far under the rationing arrangements were been also covered for the purpose of food rationing. By these efforts the ration scale in *mufasillas* were also being increased from 6 to 12 KGs per head per month. Government also increased the number of fair price shops from 67 to 147 in order to cover entire state population under its ambit and to maintain availability of ration items to the masses of state at their covenant places.

**Price Stabilization**
Various constructive efforts were employed to hold the price-line of various essential commodities including mutton, edible oils and milk according to the affordability of the masses. To ensure price stabilization in the state a Special Price Stabilization Committee was constituted, with a specific aim to revive the trends in prices from time to time and also to provide advice to government on various measures for the purpose of ensuring price stability. A special officer for stabilization and control of prices was appointed. Besides, to ensure regular free flow supply of mutton in the state, especially in the valley and that too on reasonable rates 73 (seventy three) fair price shops were opened up by the State Cooperative Department. The number of milk depots in the state to provide milk on reasonable rates and as per the rate list issued by government was increased from 54 to 76.

**Providing Employment**

When Gulam Mohammad Sadiq took over the administration of the state, the problem of unemployment was the most important challenge confronting the state. To provide a comprehensive response to this challenge and with a view to increase the employment opportunities in the state Sadiq government launched the “Works Programme Scheme”, to provide work for 2,40,000 main days. This scheme was however completely financed and sponsored by the central government. Employment was also provided to various sections of people in many ongoing construction projects. To provide employment opportunities to the young educated youth in the state, District Employment Exchanges in all districts were established, besides the already establishment of two employment exchanges in Jammu and Srinagar.

**Employee Transfer Policy**

In the interest of efficiency and accountability, Sadiq government implemented a new pattern regarding postings and transfers. Alongside this, the inter
district pattern of transfers and postings was followed. The officers holding vital and important positions at tehsil and district level machinery including deputy commissioners were debarred from posting in their native tehsils and districts. However, this rule was not made applicable in respect of professors, teachers and clerks. Non-gazette employees working in State Police and Revenue Departments were also not allowed to be posted in their home village or Halqa to which they belong. In respect of women employees’ exceptionality regarding their postings was followed. They were generally posted to the places nearer to their homes, and in case both husband and wife were in government services, it was made that the women employees should have to be posted in the same Jurisdiction of her husband’s positing as administratively practical. In case of misbehavior shown by employees, their postings should be made at distant places (third zone) of the state as a sort of punishment. As per the administrative orders, it was made that transfers should be invariably made after every five years and in no case before two years.

**Education**

In the field of education special attention was also paid towards improving the teaching-learning standards in all government educational institutions in relation to schools, colleges and universities. Besides, considerable attention was also paid towards training of teachers and to address the identified problems of secondary education in the state. During the same period, under the Ganguli Report recommendations two Universities were set up, one at Srinagar and the other at Jammu with autonomous faculties of post graduate teaching, which helped considerably in achieving balanced growth of university education covering the entire state.

**Industrial Development**
During the same period under review, with a consideration to provide further impetus to state’s industrial development; 18 (eighteen) industrial units had been setup in the state, besides more than 672 small scale industrial units were been also registered upto March, 1968. To improve the functioning of existing industrial units and to encourage and emphasize the establishment of new industrial units on modern standards, the Sadiq government sanctioned loans under the State Aid to Industries Act from 1964 onwards. To put further stress towards state’s industrial development, the State Finance Corporation bestowed loans to various small scale industrial units to meet their equipmental expenditure, expenditure of construction of buildings and other fixed assets. During the 3rd Five Year Plan, a wool spinning mill with a capacity of 12000 spindles was accomplished and commissioned upon. During the same five year plan, a factory (kiln) for manufacturing bricks and tiles was also established at Srinagar. Moreover, special machinery imported from Belgium for manufacturing woolen clothes and worsted spinning machinery imported from U.K was also installed in the State. A significant increase was also witnessed in the power generating capacity of state. The power generating capacity of state which was only 4 Mega Watts in the year 1947 significantly increased upto 37.838 Mega Watts by the year 1969. The construction on Kalakote Thermal Power Project with a power generating capacity of 22.5 Mega Watts were also completed and commissioned upon in the year 1969. During the same Five Year Plan as many as 548 villages in the state were electrified.

**Release of Political Detenues**

One important provision mentioned in the declaration made by Prime Minister, Gulam Mohammad Sadiq on March 1, 1964 was the release of all political detenues belonging to different political parties. To materialize this promise in real
terms, Sadiq government adopted a liberal attitude towards all political detenues and withdrew cases against many of them including the Kashmiris stalwart political leader Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who had been detained in 1953 with a brief spell of four months freedom in 1958, was detained again on 21st May, 1968 in Kashmir Conspiracy case. He was alleged of working for the secession of Kashmir from Indian Union. Gulam Mohammad Sadiq, Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir, recognised that “Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is a strong political force and it is important to release him in order to restore public confidence in the government of state”. Even the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru was also feeling uneasy about Shaikh Abdullah’s trial in the Kashmir Conspiracy Case, which had been going on since May, 1958. Prime Minister Nehru realized, more specifically after the incident of the disappearance of Holy Relic (Mo-e-Muqadas) from Hazratbal Shrine, when the entire politico-administrative system of the state got collapsed, that the further integrative measures would be proved counterproductive. He publicly acknowledged the efforts of Shaikh Abdullah and believed in his friendship towards India and his faith in secularism. Jawahar Lal Nehru was also well aware of the fact that without the support and full cooperation of Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, no lasting solution of the Kashmir issue is possible. It was in this context, Prime Minister Nehru strongly advocated that “Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is still a popular leader and in the changed situation of Jammu and Kashmir, no political accord is possible without his participation”. Moreover, Jayaparakash Narayan, including many other leaders was among the strongest advocates of the release of Sheikh Abdullah and this act (detention of Sheikh Abdullah without trial) was generally viewed as against the spirit of Indian Constitution to kept him detained without trial. Indian opinion has always regarded it an unfortunate that a colleague in the national movement and a strong
political leader like Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah should have not been detained in the prison in free India and a sense of guilt oppressed many that he had not been given the freedom to function in the state, even though he had differed fundamentally with the positions of his colleagues in the National Conference and his own position in the initial years of freedom. Considering the issue of Kashmir as a black spot on the beautiful face of free India, Jayaprakash Narayan championed the cause of the settlement of the issue of Kashmir through diplomatic negotiations between Government of India, State of Jammu and Kashmir and also with Pakistan. But in order to release Sheikh Abdullah it was important to withdraw cases against him. One day Prime Minister Nehru called upon Gulzari Lal Nanda, then Home Minister of India and inquired about the Kashmir Conspiracy Case which was filed against Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. However, Gulzari Lal Nanda was not in favour of withdrawal of Kashmir Conspiracy Case. Sensing this Nehru felt very angry and he threw the Kashmir Conspiracy Case file on the face of Gulzari Lal Nanda and shouted “Let this file go to hell, I want Sheikh Abdullah to be released”. This clearly shows Jawahar Lal Nehru’s concern for Shiekh Mohammad Abdullah.

After Visualizing the whole situation, Prime Minister of State Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq issued a statement on 5th April 1964, saying that Kashmir Conspiracy Case could be withdrawn soon. Accordingly on 8 April, 1964, Shaikh Abdullah along with his co-defendant Mirza Afzal Being was released from detention after a long duration of about eleven years. The move of releasing Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was hailed by people from all streams and opinion in the valley as a good move, although some people in India criticized this calculated move taken by the Sadiq government. However, Government of India acknowledged the action of Sadiq government and Shaikh Abdullah was invited to New Delhi by Prime minister of
India, Jawaharlal Nehru. The president of India S. Radhakrishnan on April 2, 1964, described this action “as an act of faith in which we expect Sheikh and his friends to justify our faith”.

After his release Prime Minister of India, Jawahar Lal Nehru invited him to New Delhi as his personal guest, but he declined and wished first to visit valley of Kashmir. He first paid a visit to Jammu city where he met his Ex-deputy and former Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir state, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad to condole the death of his mother. Addressing a press conference in Jammu, he clearly stated in a vocal language that he stands exactly where he was before arrest. He clearly declared that it was for the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their future. In his speeches after the release sheikh Abdullah maintained that the accession of Kashmir with India was by no means final and that of Kashmiri’s will is still needed to be ascertained in order to determine the future of state. He, however, emphasized the fact that he was totally opposed to the non-secular outlook in politics and that he was conscious of the many complexities of the Kashmir question. According to Sheikh Abdullah the realization of the goal of self-determination by the people of Kashmir needed a general improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations and any settlement of the Kashmir problem had to be accepted to India, Pakistan and Kashmir alike. His speeches evolved a great strife in the valley. He paid a visit to New Delhi in April 1964 and met some important political figures in the capital. He had long talks with Prime Minister Nehru, with whom he stayed, and later on visited Wardha and Madras for talks with Vinoba Bhave and C. Rajagopalachari respectively. His position with regard to Kashmir question was summed up by him in a statement issued by him on 12 May 1964 at New Delhi.
“Since our release from jail, we have tried to tack stock of all things and assess facts in relation to the Kashmir problem, repercussions on the people of the subcontinent and on the relations between India and Pakistan. We have come to the inescapable conclusion that all efforts and energies should be concentrated on bringing about an amicable solution of this problem so as to ensure lasting friendship and amity between the two neighbors. Such a solution should be of course, reflect the will of the people of the state and satisfy their aspiration. we are faced with grim situation, and our progeny will not forgive us if we allow the present deterioration in Indo-Pakistan relations to continue. It rests heavily on the leaders of the two countries to make earnest and early efforts not only to arrest this deterioration but also to devise and implement all effective means in order to establish lasting amity and friendship between India and Pakistan”.

He further states;

“I must express my gratitude to all the leaders and other distinguished citizens who had given me the benefit of their views during my stay here. I am returning Kashmir with the hope and confidence that I shall continue to receive effective help and cooperation from all quarters here to end the unhappy state of affairs that is facing us all”.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Lal Nehru welcomed the efforts of Sheikh Abdullah and read out statements in Parliament and in the AICC, indicating his attitude to the problem of Kashmir and Indo-Pakistan relations, with particular reference to the activities of Sheikh Abdullah.

However in opposite to the speeches which Abdullah made after his release from detention Prime Minister of state Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq while addressing a press conference on 6th April stated in clear terms that “no power could move us from
the path we have chosen. We are as much part of India as Bombay and Calcutta. We occupy an honored place in India and you should believe that we stand like rock on our position”.

Thus, the whole politico-administrative setup in the state in effect had got subverted. A situation has arisen in the state in which Sheikh Abdullah enjoying popular support, Bakshi Ghulam Mohdammmd holding party machinery of National Conference and Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq running government of the state. The other political forces present and pulling the state towards different directions were Political Conference headed by Ghulam Mohiuddin Karra and the Action Committee led by Maulana Masoodi. All these political forces were completely overshadowed by the individual personality of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah; however, they also hold their individual identities to a great extent.

Thus the liberal attitude adopted by Sadiq government, on one hand encouraged the dilapidate democracy to revive but on the other hand, provided an opportunity to anti-India and pro-Pakistan elements in the state to come into open and to lay the foundation of their new platform in order to popularize their thought. Such liberal attitude also helped Plebiscite Front established under the patronage of Shiekh Mohammad Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beigh to revive their stand of grant of right to self-determination to the Kashmiri’s.

So, Sadiq’s government in the state had an edgy time, because some secessionists leaders and also Sheikh Abdullah including his close associates gave excel to anti-India feelings. Many ultra-nationalists throughout India declared Sadiq’s government in the state as completely failure that proved unsuccessful to deal with the prevailing situation. However, Sadiq and his close associates never gave up their stand of liberalization, indeed they remained determined and adamant to deal with any
disruption and disturbance of peace. To ensure it, Sadiq’s government felt the need of using force and coercion in the state during number of times.

**Removal of Regional Disparities**

Ever since the establishment of popular rule in the state, there was a peculiar feeling among the people of Jammu in general and that of Ladhak in particular that they had been neglected by the successive state governments. In this connection, Khushal Bhukla, a famous leader of Ladhak in August 1947 threatened the state government that if the state government failed to redress their genuine problems well in time, the people of Ladhak will declare a complete separation from the state. So in order to introduce administrative changes, especially to meet the ethno-regional disparities of Jammu and Kashmir and with a view to improve the lot of backward sections of society, a commission under the chairmanship of Gagendargadkare was appointed by Sadiq government on 6\(^{th}\) November, 1967 with the active support from New Delhi. This commission is popularly known as *Gagendargadkare Commission*. Besides chairman the other two members of the commission were Bhadur-din-Tyabji, former president of Indian National Congress and famous Shankar Prasad. The commission was established with a mandate to have an assessment of all the three regions of the state in respect of developmental programmes and also to recommend necessary measures needed to be undertaken to ensure the equitable distribution of available resources. Besides, the commission was also entrusted to examine the state policies regarding employment and admission to the institutions of higher education, to find out the causes that led to conflicts and tensions between regions and also to recommend necessary measures. After the completion of one year extensive study of all these areas entrusted upon, the commission submitted its report on 6\(^{th}\) December 1968. The commission besides other things recommended interalia establishment of
State Development Board, Regional Development Boards for three regions Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh and grant of equitable share to all the three regions in respect of government employment, educational and judicial facilities. This report was finally made public by Sadiq government on 19th January, 1969. The commission recommended that Regional Development Boards should work under the headship of Chief Minister of the state or the Planning Minister and should be consisted of legislators from all the three regions, economists, experts and concerned officials. Regarding the functions of Regional Development Boards the commission in its report recommended:-

i) To formulate regional plans.

ii) To consign priority to various schemes and projects enumerated in the proposed regional plans

iii) To ensure the supervision of the implementation of these regional plans and

iv) To prepare a report enabling the details of the progress of the plan programmes and plan expenditure on yearly basis.

Regarding the appointment to state services, there were complaints regarding the prevalence of discrimination on communal lines and regional grounds followed by successive government in process of appointment, existence of corruption and nepotism in promotions and lack of any well-defined reservation polices for the schedule castes and backward classes in the state. The Commission recommends;

i) Recruitment rules for all state services especially for those whom there exist no rules should be framed and also implemented as early as possible.
ii) Departmental wise seniority list in favour of all the services should be prepared correctly well in time and maintained up to date.

iii) Article 335 of Indian constitution should be extended with immediate effect to the state of Jammu & Kashmir and reservations should be given to the Schedule castes in the state services in proportion to their population in the state.

The Gajendarghadkar commission also recommended the provision of reservation in educational and professional institutions for the students belonging to schedule castes and other backward classes of the state. It also recommended the grant of scholarships and educational loans in favour of students, especially belonging to scheduled categories.

Further, in order to remove regional disparities, the Commission recommended that a convention should be made which describes that if the Chief Minister belongs to one region, the deputy Chief Minister of state should belong to other region of the state. Similarly, cabinet Ministers should be selected from both the regions on equal numbers. Besides, one full-flagged Cabinet Minister should be nominated from Ladhak region. These steps will certainly ensure greater integration among the regions of the state.

The commission in its report clearly recommended that the decision regarding the abrogation and abridgement of Article 370 of Indian Constitution; should be taken by the people of state and the government mutually. However, the commission in its report does not in its report recommend the abrogation of Article 370, in view of the developments undertaken over the years towards the integration of Jammu and Kashmir State with the rest of India. Moreover, the commission also recommended that the sincere efforts should be taken by the government to hold
elections for local bodies in the state as early as possible. Besides, elections should be held by the state government regularly in future. Furthermore, it has been also made that the state government should review the entire policy of food grain prices, in respect of both for purchase as well as sale, and introduce uniform prices for food items in entire Jammu & Kashmir state.

In the area of higher education the Gajendarghadkar Commission recommended that in both the regions of state, Jammu as well as in Kashmir two separate full-flagged universities should be established by the government with immediate effect. One of them more importantly, established in Jammu region should immediately start the faculty of law as in the Jammu region there was not any professional college. The commission also recommend the establishment of a new medical college in Jammu town. On the same lines in order to provide higher education facilities to the students of Ladhak region at their door-steps, the commission recommended that government should set up two new degree colleges on at Leh and other one at Kargil.

In the area of Judiciary the commission recommended that when the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir remain stationed at Srinagar (as in J&K because of Darbar Move the offices got shifter to Jammu in case of winter, to Srinagar in case of summer) there should be a minimum of one high court judge stationed at Jammu to deal with the cases arising at Jammu, similarly when the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir functions at Jammu, there should be atleast one High Court judge stationed at Srinagar to dispose off the cases promptly, arising at Srinagar.

The Gagendargadkare Commission in its report also recommended that the single line administration which was introduced earlier in the Ladhak region should be revived entirely. The post of Deputy Development Commissioner should be fused
with the Deputy Commissioner and the incumbent of the post should function as the head of the all Departments in Ladakh region. Secretary of Ladakh affairs should be entrusted with the responsibility of managing all the subjects of Ladakh region. All the officers of concerned region should work under the overall supervision of Cabinet Minister holding the charge of Ladakh affairs. Necessary improvements should also be brought out in the transport facilities available to Ladakh. An increase in the number of buses and trucks supplying essential commodities between Srinagar and Ladakh should be made with an immediate effect.

The demand for regional autonomy within the state was raised earlier in 1953 on the eve of the finalization of the Delhi Agreement. This demand was put forth by Balraj Puri, an eminent writer and political activist of state, who met Jawaharlal Nehru when Delhi Agreement was at its final stage and demanded the regional autonomy within the state on the same basis on which Kashmiri leaders are demanding greater autonomy for the state. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India agreed to this demand and in this context while making the text of Delhi Agreement 1952 public, stated at the press conference held on 24th July, 1952 in the presence of Kashmiris stalwart political leader Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah that “the state government was considering regional autonomies within the State”. This statement was endorsed by all leaders including Sheikh Abdullah. It was believed to be the ideal way of reconciling the regional aspirations of all regions within the state. However, Jammu based Praja Parishad (who were in favour of compete merger with the union) protested against the Delhi Agreement and launched a massive agitation for “one nation, one flag, one Constitution, and one president” for Jammu and Kashmir and rest of India.
Gagendargadkare Commission in its report stated that regional autonomy in the State “may lead to greater consolidation of the Jammu region with the rest of the state”. However, the commission in its report clearly refused the demand of autonomy for Jammu region because of two main reasons,

i) because of lack of popular support and,

ii) It may ultimately be proven harmful for the integration of state

Sadiq government took various effective measures to implement the recommendation made by the commission, by establishing Regional Development Boards in each Region and by providing reservation to the backward regions and classes. The policy of granting reservation to the scheduled and backward classes in the state services were also introduced in the year 1968 when state government notified reservation of 5% in favour of schedule castes and 2% in favour of permanent residents of Ladhak in state services respectively. In 1970 the state reservation policy received a major fillip when the government announced 8% reservation for SC’s and 42% for backward classes including 2% for Ladhaki’s in state services. Being a strong advocate of socialistic ideology, Sadiq adopted the policy of progressive taxation by exempting the small land holders assessed below Rs 10 lakh from payment of land revenue reducing the annual land revenue of the state by about Rs. Thirty lakhs.

Erosion of State Autonomy

Besides these developmental works undertaken in the state under the Sadiq regime, there is other side of the story as well. Amid the crises ridden situation in the valley, the process of greater integration initiated by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, former Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir state continued during the regime of Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq and even after his term. Under Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq
the process of coercive homonization and assimilation set forth by previous regimes reached its peak. As in 1953, the leaders of Indian government sensed an opportunity in the internecine struggles of the Kashmiri Muslims elite. In December, 1964 India’s interior ministry in the Parliament announced that the union government had decided to bring Jammu and Kashmir in line with other states of the union. During the period (1964-1971) in the state, Sadiq government took various steps in order to put state’s relationship with Indian Union at par with other states. Many provisions of the India Constitution with a view to erode the autonomy of the state were extended to Jammu and Kashmir, that too with the active consent of state government. Article 249, which empowers Union Government to legislate on any matter enumerated in the state list (not just on union and concurrent list) were made applicable to Jammu and Kashmir. In the late 1964, the Sadiq government felt the need of extending the emergency provisions of Indian Constitution over the State of Jammu and Kashmir because of both internal as well as external pressures. In a statement the Prime Minister of State, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq stated “the state of Jammu and Kashmir is passing through times which cannot be called normal and besides, it has also its internal problems. The state has been the victim of aggression by Pakistan and China. In Bengal, Madras and Kerala, there are no abnormal conditions. But article 356 and 357 are still in force. We feel that the extension of these articles to this state in view of its abnormal conditions is more necessary”. After the issuance of such statement the state legislature passed a resolution regarding the extension of emergency provisions enumerated in Indian Constitution under article 356 and 357 to the Jammu and Kashmir state. Therefore, the two most centrist provision of the Indian constitution (still controversial) article 356 and article 357 were been made applicable to the state of Jammu and Kashmir in its totality, through the constitutional (Application to
The Jammu and Kashmir (Amendment) Act issued by the President of India on December 21, 1964, empowered the President to proclaim presidential rule under Article 356 of the Indian Constitution in case of failure of constitutional machinery in the state. Further, Article 357, empowering the Parliament to confer on the President the power of the State legislature to make laws and also delegate powers to specified authorities, was also introduced. The extension of these two articles of the Indian Constitution over the Jammu and Kashmir State met with strong criticism from both the Plebiscite Front established in 1955 by Shiekh Mohammad and his close associate, Mirza Afzal Beigh, and from the Awami Action Committee led by Maulana Maoulvi Farooq. A joint protest call was given by both the Plebiscite Front and the Awami Action Committee to observe a protest day on January 15, 1965, against these “unconstitutional and undemocratic measures” adopted by India to completely grab the Jammu and Kashmir State. In protest of it, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, while addressing a protest rally at Hazratbal Srinagar, said that “India had started tightening its tentacles over Jammu and Kashmir and this reverted from the path of late Pundit Nehru who believed that the Jammu and Kashmir issue be settled peacefully and honourably”. He further stated that “it is futile to expect anything from new leadership in New Delhi”.

As a step further towards erosion of state autonomy and with a view to remove the impression of distinctive constitutional pattern created by somewhat different nomenclatures of Sadri-e-Riyasat and Wazir-e-Azim of the State, in April 1965, the sixth amendment to the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir was enacted. This amendment introduced for reaching changes in the State Constitution by bringing the constitutional position of state in harmony with the pattern established in all other states of the Indian Union. By this amendment, the office of Sadri-e-Riyasat was abolished and in that place a provision was incorporated in the State Constitution.
that provided for a Governor to act as the head of state. It also abrogated the provisions of section 27 of the state constitution which laid down the procedure for the election of the Sadri-e-Riyasat and his recognition by president of India. Such provision of the constitution was replaced by a fresh provision which provided that the governor of the state would be appointed by the president of India and should hold his office during the pleasure of president. This amendment enacted in the State constitution also abolished the office of Wazir-e-Azim (Prime Minister) in the state, replacing it with Chief Minister, thereby changing the basic structure of government.

In 1952, by the efforts of Constituent Assembly the hereditary rulership in the state got transformed into democratically elected Sadri-e-Riyasat, a change which was generally viewed as historic change in the character of government that gave death knell to the feudal and hereditary rule of the Dogra dynasty. Accordingly, Article 370 was amended and Maharaja was substituted with an elected Sadri-e-Riyasat. However, this 6th constitutional amendment act (Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir) has not brought about simply a change in the designation of head of the State (Sadri-e-Riyasat) and head of the government (Prime Minister), it changed the vary character of the government from a democratic to a non-democratic, which ultimately produced a deteriorating effect on the autonomous status of the state. Thus these were the figurative measures in India federalism devised to bring the state more closely at par with other states of the Indian Union, however with due concurrence of state governments.

Here one may not gloss over the fact that unlike Governors of the other States of Indian Union, the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir had draconian powers enumerated under Section 92 of the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution. Originally, elected Sadri-e-Riyasat responsible to the state legislature was entrusted with
extensive powers under section 92 of the state constitution. Under this provision, in case of failure of constitutional machinery in the state, the governor may by proclamation assume to himself all or any powers vested in or exercisable by anybody or authority in the state. Further, any law made by him in exercise to that power will continue to have effect until two years have lapsed from the date on which the proclamation ceases to have effect, unless sooner repealed or re-enacted by an act of the legislature, and any reference in the constitution to any act of a law made by the legislature, shall be construed as including a reference to such law. In short, like an absolute monarch, he is transformed into Supreme Executive, Supreme Legislature and Supreme Judiciary under section 92 of the constitution. Thus the transfer of such powers to the nominee of centre (Governor), who holds office at the pleasure of President and is usually a factotum of the ruling party at the centre was a gross violation of Article 370 and destroyed the republican character of Jammu and Kashmir government. Similarly, in December 1965, the President of India issued an order (Application to Jammu and Kashmir State) in order to extend certain entries including trade union and labour disputes, social security and labour welfare, factories and professions such as medical and legal, in the union and concurrent list to expedite the extension of some Central Government acts to the state.

The process of erosion of autonomy of the state right from 1953 under Article 370 of Indian Constitution continued unabashedly, however with active consent of successive state governments. Almost more than 28 Presidential orders (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) were enacted from 1953 to 1971. Each of these orders were issued to extend more provisions of the Constitution of India to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. On the same lines, 262 central laws were extended by
Parliament to the state from a period of 1954 to 1977. The worth mentioning among them are:

In February 1967, with the concurrence of state government three sections of the Jammu and Kashmir Representation of Peoples Act were amended to bring it at par with the Central Government law. These amendments placed state elections under the jurisdiction of Election Commission of India. Sadiq also remained contributory in extending the Code of Civil Procedure to the state with the result Jammu and Kashmir Civil Procedure Code was amended in August 1964. In addition to this with the efforts of Central government and by the active cooperation of Sadiq government the Central Advocate Act was also extended to the Jammu and Kashmir State during the same period under reference. The act enabled the legal practitioners of entire country to practice in Jammu and Kashmir High Court and vice-versa. During the same period the Central Press Bill was also extended to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and by virtue of which the jurisdiction of Registrar of Newspapers were been extended to the Jammu and Kashmir state as well.

During the regime of Gulam Mohammad Sadiq the fifth schedule of State Constitution dealing with oaths and affirmations for ministers, deputy ministers, candidates contesting elections, members of the State Legislature and judges of the State high court was also amended by the state government to enable the emotional integration of state towards Indian Union. The words on all oath forms “that I will uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India” were being inserted after the already existing expression “that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the state as by law established.” With the insertion of first expression on oath forms all the oath seekers were been made responsible to uphold the sovereignty and integrity of the India, which is union of states including Jammu and Kashmir.
New Delhi showed its policy of radical centralising strategy by arrogating the Kashmiri’s historical political movement, National conference. The working Committee of National Conference (Sadiq faction) under the patronage of Gulam Mohammad Sadiq announce o 3rd January 1965 that the National Conference party would dissolve itself and merge into India’s ruling party Indian National Congress. Sadiq remained instrumental in conversion of Kashmiris main political organization into the unit of Indian National Congress. To put it in simple words the name and identity of Kashmiri historical national movement would cease to altogether and National Conference would be captivated into India’s Congress as a provisional branch. By the joint efforts of both Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq and stalwart leaders of Congress party, the Indian National Congress was formally launched in Jammu and Kashmir State on 26th January 1965. The induction of Indian National Congress in place of state’s main political force National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir was believed to be the most important step for attracting the people of state towards mainstream politics in India, thereby putting an end on the scrappy and parochial character of state politics. “The people of Kashmir did not accept this onslaught. On the contrary the people of Kashmir reacted with unprecedented anger against what they observed to be an assault on their identity, but their massive protested were again suppressed with brute forces and large scale arrests”. Sheikh Abdullah stated that “a muslim who becomes a member of congress party will dig his own grave, not only for his own his family but also for his nation”. He gave a call of practising a complete social boycott with theose persons of Kashmir valley, particularly Muslims, who become or intended to become the members of Indian National Congress and said “theose who refuse to join the boycott will be traitors”. While obeying the boycott call given by Abdullah people in different areas of valley did not participate in marriage,
religious functions and funerals of those persons who were the members of Indian National Congress in Kashmir valley. Visualising these massive exploitation of democracy and forced centralising policies certain political leaders hailing from different political streams within India could not stop themselves from criticising the New Delhi’s policies. In this context Jayaprakash Naryan in 1966 wrote to Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi.

“We profess democracy, but rule by force in Kashmir….we profess secularism, but let Hindu nationalism stampede us into…..establishing it by repression…..Kashmir has distorted India’s image in the world as nothing else has done……the problem exists not because Pakistan wants to grab Kashmir, but because there is deep and widespread discontent among the people”.

**Election Riggings**

Making mockery and rigging in elections continued throughout the period without any restraints. The rigging of elections in Kashmir went beyond the crude casting of fake votes that take place in say, Pakistan or Bihar. In Jammu and Kashmir such things were done with style and imagination. In 1967 elections to State Assembly 39 out of total 75 seats were declared elected without any contest as the ruling party has created such an environment that opposite candidate filled nominated papers against the ruling party candidates in the state. In 22 out of 42 seats in the valley the candidates sponsored by Congress (candidates of Sadiq-Mir Qasim led faction) were returned unopposed. During this election the nomination papers of 118 candidates were arbitrary rejected on flimsy grounds. Among these 118 candidates, the nomination papers of 55 candidates were rejected on the reason that the candidates
had completely failed to take obligatory oath of allegiance to India. Out of total 75 seats ruling party won 62 seats in the legislature.

In 1967 simultaneous elections in the state for the first time were held to elect 6 candidates from Jammu & Kashmir in Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha). The reconstituted National Conference party under Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad also contested in these elections. On account of Bakhshi’s organizational knack and the emotional appeal of a regional party on the one hand and the shunned integrational measures by Sadiq on the other, Bakhshi gathered enough mass support and posed a serious threat to ruling party. In spite of the large scale rejection of the nomination papers of his party candidates, detection of duplicate votes and other malpractices, Bakhshi was elected to the Lok Sabha from Srinagar. Eight members of his revived National Conference were elected to state assembly from the Kashmir region. From Ladakh and Anantnag Congress candidates were elected unopposed. Another three seats were also won by Congress however, through undemocratic means. Thus Congress which earlier does not enjoy any popular support and whose base in Jammu & Kashmir was very weak, won five seats. Some scholars, journalists, professionals and social activists consisting of Rajni Kothari, Sister Gupta, Khushwant Singh, Frank Maraes, M.C. Setalvad, Balraj Puri etc. also raised their voice against the conduct of the fourth general election in the state. The opposition groups like PSP, Jana Sangh and the National Conference led by Bakhshi even demanded annulment of the assembly elections of 1967. Balraj Puri says:

“As part of Sarvodaya observers team deputed by Jayaprakash Narayan, we met several officers of the state who told us that Bakhshi had to be defeated
in the national interest. Prime Minister Indra Gandhi publically stated in her election tour that there was no need for an opposition party in Kashmir....”

He further states:

“When I showed the chief election commission, K. Sundram, a bundle of duplicate ballot papers, he argued that Bakhshi also used to do the same. To this I retorted that I was not representing Bakhshi’s case but rather that of citizens of the state who had been deprived of their democratic rights by Bakhshi as well as by Sadiq. Instead of taking cognizance of my complaint, Sundram threatened to take action against me. He said that it was illegal to possess ballot paper. Obviously he too believed that “the national interest” was more important than the demands of democracy and his office”.

Such irregularities and riggings in elections were practiced not only during the Assembly elections but even the panchayat elections of August 1969 aroused similar protests and accusation. During the Panchayat election 1969 most of the seats were filled without any contest and in few places were voting took place allegations of bogus voting, stuffing of ballot boxes, false results, purchasing of opposition’s candidates etc. were made. Shaikh Abdullah alleged:

“...his supporters fought the ruling party in panchayat elections and....had secured overwhelming majority, practically routing the ruling Congress. But the vested interest was too deep; the rulers completely reversed the results in their official announcement made four days after the voting”.

In 1971, a member of Jamat-i-Islamia decided to contest in elections to the National Parliament from the Anantnag Constituency. This was an exceptional decision from Jammati. There was a huge groundswell of support for him. The ruling party in the state was well aware that this candidate will definitely win and its party
candidate will lose. So they stand its workers in jeeps all over Anantnag, claiming to be the workers of Jamat-i-Islamia. They announced on microphones that Jamat-i-Islamia had decided to boycott the 1971 elections as well. As a result most of the Jamati’s workers and voters stayed at home and secular party’s candidate won in the election. It is worthwhile to mention that even the ruling Congress president did not consider these elections as democratic. In an interview with the editor of the “Aaeena”, a local weekly he pompously asked:

“If Sadiq is such a democrat and regards liberation as the basis of his government, where was this democratic temperament during the panchayat elections? You (editor) yourself know what happened during these elections….?”

Ironically, Shaikh Abdullah (former Prime Minister) who earlier initiated the policy of manipulating elections and hushing all opposite-voices in the state remarked in 1968:

“The fact remains that Indian democracy stops short at Pathankote. Between Pathankote and Banihal you may have some measures of democracy, but beyond Banihal there is none. What we have in Kashmir bears some of the worst characteristics of colonial rule”.

The rejection of nomination papers of opposite candidates, advance distribution of ballot papers, rejection of polling agents of opposite parties, which facilitated many unopposed returns election after election, was carried out on rickety grounds. The victims of rejections were, however, the opposition candidates.

Having observed the full-bloom election campaigns of different political parties at Delhi on the eve of 1970 Parliamentary elections, the editor of Kashmir
based newspaper *Ajeena* and the emerging political personality of Kashmir, Shamim Ahmad Shamim repented over the bizarre situation prevailing in state which he portrayed in the editorial under the rubric “The distance between Delhi and Srinagar”. After narrating the electioneering scenes at Delhi, he wrote:

“In Kashmir too the elections for three Parliamentary seats are going to be held. But [alas!] here the practice of elections is quite different. Here the election results are being announced before the votes are polled. Here there is no ‘need’ for election rallies, campaigns, posters, speeches and other electioneering activities. Here only the writ of the ruling party prevails. And when the ruling party feels that the presence of a party, candidate or individual is harmful to their monopolistic project, they clear their way by exiling, imprisoning and disempowering them. Presently, well before the commencement of electioneering, all the opponents were put behind the bars so that the favorites of the ruling party can go around without fear and fight the election by misusing their position. In all the three districts of Kashmir the Article 144 has been imposed, and the anti-ruling party candidates are not permitted to hold election rallies and mobilize the people. The Congress candidates say it openly that ‘we have no need of votes; we can win elections without votes’. How can one win without votes? This cannot be understood by anyone in any part of India. But since in Kashmir it is a commonplace that generally the candidates win without having got the votes, it is, therefore, easily understandable to every Kashmiri. From this you could have well imagined that there is not just seventy minutes distance (by air) between Srinagar and Delhi; but it is [actually] the distance of seventy years”.

**Conclusion**
To conclude, in terms of governance Sadiq’s period was a period of tolerance, transparency, accountability and institutionalization of the system, pro-poor and pro-marginalized sections of the society. It was enough to clean the administration from misuse of power and deepen democracy in Kashmir but the political instability, infiltration, opposition of Jammu Dogras and Kashmiri pundits to his policy of liberalization and deep seated corrupt mentality in the political class and the bureaucracy applied breaks to the zealot democrat and clean man Sadiq, till this period stands out. However the rigging in elections and massive integration of State with the Union by way of abrogation of Article 370 of Indian Constitution and by enactment of various Presidential Orders (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) produced a scare of betrayal and alienation on the psyche of people in the state that refused to and is still refusing to heal. Even today separatists in the state are vocally demanding the revocation of these Presidential Orders enacted after 1947 and restoration of Article 370 of Indian Constitution to its original position (that grants special constitutional position to Jammu and Kashmir), that severely eroded the autonomy of state. However, the fact remains that these enactments were undertaken with due concurrence of the successive state governments. During his tenure, the governance in the state developed closed proximity with the central government and most of the Central government agencies began acquiring more space in the state. For these reason Sadiq was dubbed by his political adversaries in the state as ‘stooge’ and ‘quisling’.
Conclusion

Governance is the function of a cluster of factors. The priorities of governance and their hierarchical order vary from nation to nation and region to region depending upon their respective specific contexts. Jammu & Kashmir state is essentially a conflict state having both exogenous and endogenous dimensions. There is dispute on Kashmir, dispute with the Centre and the dispute among the regions creating permanent instability in Kashmir. The conflict began with the partition and it continues to stay. In July 1952 Nehru stated in the Indian Parliament, “If you go to Kashmir you will find normalcy and that the state is functioning adequately; but behind this normalcy is the constant tension because of the enemy trying to come in to create trouble and disturb”. This statement was somewhat modified by Prem Nath Bazaz, the contemporary of Nehru saying this “enemy” is not any outsider, but the victimized, suppressed and wronged people of Kashmir”.

Though decades passed since P.N. Bazaz quoted Nehru, the political and administrative conditions of Jammu and Kashmir State has not shown any improvement; instead it worsened further since last three decades, taking different forms and damaging the chances of any amicable solution to overcome the instability. Therefore, the priorities of successive regimes right from the establishment of popular rule in the state have been to win normalcy amidst troubled conditions by following the policy of coercion and consent. While coercion was and is being used against those who represent counter voice and challenge the dominant discourse, material development and socio cultural policies were deployed to create social consent and establish moral leadership with the ultimate purpose of overcoming the sources of opposing political forces to establish hegemony. The coercive measures included use
of armed forces, police, courts, prisons, denial of democracy and civil liberties to dominate or eliminate the hostile groups. Besides the use of coercive apparatuses the state also made use of what the French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu called ‘symbolic violence’ by marginalizing, discriminating and shaming the outsider groups both for reproducing its authority as well as for imposing silence, even generating consent. While the use of coercive apparatuses and symbolic violence have been regularly used in the troubled conditions of Jammu & Kashmir with a difference in intensity depending on the nature of challenge. Thus while for about a half a century (with the exception of 1977 election) grant of democracy was regarded as serious threat to peace, the deepening of democracy is conversely today regarded as the effective instrument for restoring order.

Realizing that mere dependence on coercive and authoritarian means to enforce the rule seriously compromises the credibility of the government besides producing a deceptive peace, it was rightly thought by the policy pundits that both the Centre and the state governments should in harmony shore up the rule in state through whatever ideological, economic, cultural, social, political and legal resources it has at its disposal to resist/create social consent. To invoke these resources there was nothing to be innovated. The socio-economic programme of the Indian National Congress and the Naya Kashmir Programme of the National Conference were identical, and the same is true of the Indian constitution and the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir.

During the early and difficult years when the reigns of the government were handed over to the popular political party of the state, National Conference headed by its most prominent leader, Shaikh Abdullah, the Kashmir dispute was high on the
international agenda, serious Pakistan was antagonistically pursuing its irredentist
claims on Kashmir, and in the state there was also a vocal section of population
favoring Kashmir’s accession with Pakistan or stand for its complete segregation from
Indian Union. Though Shaikh Abdullah was a popular leader for his role in relieving
the people from the feudal monarchical, sectarian, discriminatory and oppressive rule,
the maintenance of this popular support was at a stake in the new situation when India
was preferred to Pakistan and that too at an emotionally surcharged moment. The
support of Muslims was crucially important to deny Pakistan the local support base to
provoke trouble in Kashmir. It was also important to challenge the claim of Pakistan
on Kashmir and legitimize Kashmir’s accession to India. To attain this purpose
together with following the policy of crushing the pro-Pakistan and anti-
accession forces, Jammu and Kashmir State was granted a special constitutional position to
satisfy its autonomous urge and political sentiment of the Muslims of the state.
Equally important was the policy to implement those provisions of Naya Kashmir
programme which were aimed at improving the condition of the oppressed and
marginalized section of the society. Since these measures mainly benefited the
Muslim masses, Abdullah succeeded to retain the public consent even in those trying
times. The abolition of feudalism, the transfer of land to the tiller without
compensation, scaling down rural debts, patrimonial behavior of the state,
infrastructural development, freedom from the obsessive and repressive officialdom,
appointment of Muslims in large numbers in service sector, promotion of crafts and
agriculture and similar such measures taken by National Conference government
(1947-53) headed by Shaikh Abdullah made much change in the conditions of the
Muslim masses in particular and others in general. Verily to the general public it was
these reformations that brought home to them the meaning of the word azadi
(freedom) which chartered the air after the takeover of the government by National
Conference. This is the reason that even though Abdullah favoured Kashmir’s
accession to India and despite having suppressed the pro-Pakistan groups in Kashmir,
he continued to command the same mass support which he enjoyed during the hey
days of freedom struggle.

However, on the other hand Shaikh Abdullah as Prime Minister of state
proved unsuccessful in the field of democratization of state politics and ruled over the
state through undemocratic means that created serious consequences in the decades
after. The deliberate absence on any healthy opposition and crushing political
opponents with iron hand turned Abdullah into an authoritarian ruler. Deeply inspired
by Jacobian model of popular sovereignty, he made the made the party (National
Conference) inseparable from administration. To enforce its totalitarian policy
Abdullah government created some organizations both officially and unofficially. His
government suppressed and banned many newspapers and periodicals who did not
correspond with him and his government thereby breaking the back bone of
democratic government. The state administration functioned arbitrarily without any
settled and defined constitutional powers. He used all foul means to suppress
opposition and win elections by rigging and mockery, as contrary to democratic
norms. He governed state as a party state. Even the internal dissent was not tolerated.

However, his disposition in 1953 and replacing him by Bakshi Gulam
Mohammad created a storm in the state followed by the formation of Plebiscite front
under the patronage of Shaikh Abdullah and Afzal Beigh. At the same time the Centre
government had the urgency to further integrate Jammu and Kashmir with India
which the popular leader, Abdullah had resisted. Thus emerged the need of Gramsci’s
‘expansive hegemony’ to obtain the consent of the great mass of the people willingly and actively to the ruling establishment. Not surprisingly, then, immediately after taking over as Prime Minister, Bakhshi announced a series of populist measures including the abolition of procurement and provisioning policy of staple food – rice of the previous government which was considered a contradiction in the policy of improving the condition of the masses. Importantly, the Central government showed ideal generosity in filling the coffers of state government to usher in a new era of unprecedented infrastructural development, patrimonial behavior of the state, cheap provisions, free education, enhanced wages, expansion in service sector and entertainment. Indeed, there was hardly any section of the society whose material interests were not addressed by Bakhshi, and thus revealed consciousness of the fact that for manufacturing the popular support and maintaining law and order it is very essential to take into account multiplicity of dispersed wills and varies interests to bond them together with a single aim. Undoubtedly he did succeed in creating calm and even goodwill though not extricating the political sentiment from the collective consciousness of the Muslim community. All was not rosy during his regime. He cultivated corruption in the state administration by giving key administrative and party positions to his own relatives for which his government earned a sarcastic name, Bakshi Brothers Corporation (BBC). He also cultivated goondaism to win loyalties and silence his political opponents thereby shattering the moral fabric of state and the very character of democratic government. During his regime he used brute force and denied democracy to theose elements who refused to given their consent and many newspaper and periodicals who remained critical to his misconceived policies and autocratic acts were seized the right to publish. He continued the legacy of former Prime Minister and made use of police force and Peace Brigade to crush his
opponents thereby turned the whole state into a police state and prison house for his opponents. In is pertinent to mention here that the denial of democracy to the people, institutional wreckage, and structural corruption during Bakshi regime fueled the dissent and separatist voices in the state. Not surprising then the Plebiscite moment, patronized by imprisoned Shaikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beigh become very popular during and succeeding periods in the state.

Bakshi had been discredited and therefore irrelevant. Hence it was regarded necessary to change the leadership in the State and install Gulam Mohammad Sadiq whose alternative views on repressive policy and misuse of political power were clearly known. Infact Sadiq’s position against repression had softened imprisoned Abdulla’s views towards him offering a promise to act as a bridge to bring Abdullah back to the mainstream which was of crucial importance, more so Nehru had never discounted the importance of Shaikh’s crucial role in restoring order in the state. As expected Sadiq signaled his rule by following the policy of ‘liberalization’ – set Abdullah and other leaders free, withdrew cases against them, disbanded the notorious militia, gave freedom of speech and expression, besides strengthening the anti-corruption measures, institutionalizing the recruitment of the subordinate staff, discouraging the license raj, institutionalizing the transfer policy and considerably increasing the reservation quota for the economically backward classes for appointment in state services. Yet the policy of liberalization did not improve the political weather of state, instead the Plebiscite Front made full use of right to expression to deepen its ideology and create disturbances. Sadiq’s policy of fully cooperating with the Centre in further integration of Jammu & Kashmir with Indian Union intensified the Front’s mobilization against India. Abdullah declared social
boycott against the Congress party (which was established in Kashmir by Sadiq) and its leaders. Meanwhile the Front also established an underground wing- Al-Fatah to bring further pressure upon the government. The failure of ‘liberalization’ to neutralize the dissident voice further convinced the central leadership that despite deploying all persuasive measures by the governments from Bakhshi onwards peace in Kashmir was only hanging on its eyelids.

To be brief, despite the fact that Jammu and Kashmir state witnessed a remarkable development in every facet of life during the period 1947 to 1971, the fact remains that the system of governance was marred by certain grave infirmities on account of which on one hand, the intended results could not be achieved and on other hand Jammu and Kashmir become a smoldering volcano as the dozens of development generated consciousness against flawed system which by itself refused to learn to change with the changing times and to respond to new challenges. Perhaps no other factor has so overreaching influence in shaping post 1947 governance in Jammu & Kashmir, as is political instability which constitutes its defining feature. It produced a series of consequences namely deficit of peace, denial of democracy, intolerance of opposition and installation of what Summantra Bose call “cliental” governments of their established factions and because of political instability the institutions of governance functioned differently as compared to other states of the union. After revisiting the political history of Kashmir one is stunned to see that Jammu and Kashmir hardly possessed even a single criterion of democratic government. The process of ruling state through undemocratic means remained the defining feature of successive governments more especially till 1977. Making mockery and rigging in elections, curbing civil liberties, crushing political opponents
with brute force, existence of rampant corruption and encouragement to goondaism remained the characteristic features of post 1947 governance in the state. It was because of these grave infirmities in the governance that people of the state feel betrayed and alienated from the mainstream politics and began to take different odd ways to fulfill their intentions. The existence of dissent and separatist tendencies in the state is a clear proof regarding it. The most important result of the betrayal by successive regimes for the prize of power was the formation of Muslim United Front (MUF) coalition as an independent pro-people organization to fight NC’s opportunistic alliance with Congress. The elections of 1987 mark a watershed in the political history of Jammu & Kashmir. It was the culmination of fraud and resulted in the beginning of new phase in Jammu & Kashmir – arms struggle. The large scale rigging turned Yusuf Shah into Syed Salaud-din and united four young men to form the core of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front to start an armed struggle in the state. Yusuf Shah was the Muslim United Front candidate for Assembly election of 1987 from Amirakadal Constituency. As counting started it became clear that Yusuf Shah was winning by a landslide margin. His opponent Ghulam Mohiuddin Shah, National Conference candidate, sure of rout left the counting centre in a dejected mood, only to be summoned back (to his surprise too) to be declared winner by presiding officials. There was a widespread protest and police suppressed it ruthlessly arresting MUF candidate and supporters in wholesale, including Yusuf Shah’s election manager Yasin Malik. Both were imprisoned until the end of 1987 without any formal charge or court appearance. Yasin Malik, a young boy from downtown Srinagar, during his imprisonment met three other youth – Ashfaq Wani, Hamid Shaikh and Javid and decided to fight India by armed struggle and formed nucleus of Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). Yusuf Shah who now goes by his
nondesguerre, Syed Salahudin Din, was also firmly convinced by his experience that “slaves have no vote in the so-called democratic set-up of state” crossed over the LOC and is since 1990 the Commander in Chief of Hizb-ul-Mujahidin – the largest indigenous guerilla force fighting India. Same betrayal and alienation provoked other leaders like Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Chairman Hurriyat Conference (G), Mirvaiz Ummar Farooq, chairman Hurriyat Conference (M) and many other who took the stand of secessionism from the Indian Union and continued to follow the same to fulfill their intentions.

Further by playing the fraud the successive governments did succeed to retain the consent of old generation, but to the young people the alienation and the actual reality got unfolded with each successive day, and with this the recruitment to the oppositional groups both underground and above ground increased. But the weight of old generation was heavy until the successive governments (more specially Abdulla’s, & Bakshi’s) intolerance of opponents, use of coercive and symbolic violence against opponents, regimentation of the state service, political and bureaucratic corruption and their failure to strike a balance between centre and regional aspirations considerably eroded their credibility among the young educated and unemployed youth, benefitting the opposition forces who were seeking consent of the broad masses but had failed to fulfill it. When the democratically expressed dissent of the opposition was suppressed, it got radicalized. Thus result was insurgency under which state has been reeling since 1990.

Sumantra Bose, one of the leading authorities on contemporary Kashmir, echoes the same conclusion, “The political history of Jammu & Kashmir clearly does not fulfill even the procedural minima of democratic
governance”. To sum, the history of governance in state presents a dismal picture of denial of democracy, intolerance of opposition, installation of cliental governments and curbing of civil liberties. Had democratic governance being given a chance in the state the situation would have been something different. One last word, Unless the technology is put to use for taking away discretion from humans and controlling their behaviour, and until the mind-set of the people – both of the rulers and the ruled – gets free from the narrow prism of selfishness, the institutions, rules and regulations for good governance would make little difference. They may even be misused. While the developed states are vigorously pursuing the policy of technolization of governance, which has been making impact upon India too, but the changing of mind-set has yet to receive a serious attention. The mind-set is a structure which does not change easily unless appropriate counter structures are created and put in place to force the stubborn mentality to change. This needs to be accompanied by the use of ethical resources present in all religions. These resources need to be invoked and given respectability under state patronage to create a new reference culture.