Figure 4.1

Figure 4.2
4.1: The Regimes during Sell-Out took Place

The chapter is presented in tables for easy understanding of the regimes (Governments) during sell out took place.

Table No. 4.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEADERS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>OPPOSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The sell-out of Amritsar</td>
<td>16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; March 1846, 17 Rabi- ul - Awwal 1264 Hijri.</td>
<td>Amritsar (Punjab)</td>
<td>The resistance was shown by the then Governor Sheikh Imam-din at Srinagar and by people at all places.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Document time line of rulers SPS museum at Srinagar and book of Saraf “Kashmir fights for freedom”.

4.2: Avocation of sell out on British side

Everyone has justified the sell out deal during his time. British justified treaty of Amritsar in following ways:

1. We the East India Company wanted to weaken the Lahore Darbar.

2. It was difficult to hold it during crises.

3. Its large size and its defence was a challenge.\(^1\)

4. Biggest threat of Russia. Great Britain and Russia had conflicting interests in the Balkan region of Europe. Each country tried to check the other’s extension of power and influence in that direction. Russia had, however, an alternative field to compensate her set-backs in the Balkan region, viz. Central Asia. Henceforth, every Russian move in Central Asia was considered dangerous to the security of the British
in India. Consequently there was an urgent need to strengthen the British defenses on
the northwest of India and strategic position of Kashmir in the defense of the
northwest frontiers gave it a great importance. Kashmir was then the meeting point of
the three great powers British, Russia and China.²

Table No. 4.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEADERS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>OPPOSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Conference was changed into National conference which was considered as sell-out. It took place within the party (Muslim)</td>
<td>June 10, 1939</td>
<td>Pather Masjid (Srinagar)</td>
<td>It was opposed by Maulvi Abdullah Advocate, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Ganai Baderwahi, Shaikh Ahmad Din Banihali and Chaudri Hamidullah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Justification of this sell-out

To throw open membership to non Muslims believing in the common programme. It was in June 1939 that the party was changed and its membership was thrown open to all people of the state irrespective of their religious differences. The aim was to widen the scope of the freedom movement in the state Jammu and Kashmir.

It will secularize the Kashmir politics and will frustrate the designs of the minority of the leadership which was keen to maintain communal character of the organization.³

The National Conference leadership regarded Kashmir’s struggle for freedom in the broader perspective. Such an attitude of the leadership will bring it close other organizations. Another advantage in viewing Kashmiris struggle in the broader perspective will be that it will help in focusing the attention of the rest of world on the sufferings of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State.⁴
The final objective of this movement (NC) is the attainment of absolute accountable government.

Our change of movement is fundamentally a movement of peace and goodwill. Straight away, it aims at securing the elementary and basic rights of citizenship. It shall certainly try to bring about such a state of affairs in this country as would make it possible for even the humblest subject of His Highness to contribute to the making of his own destiny. However much we may be enfeebled in body, our souls have never been, nor will ever be killed. Our movement has a gigantic urge behind it.\(^5\)

In an article Ab. Qayoom Khan in Greater Kashmir on April 2016, with title, The Men Who Ruled Us. As far back as the restrictive Accession of Jammu and Kashmir with the union of India, for most recent seven decades, the J&k got in a political turmoil, was governed by 11 men as Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers, whose disappointment of legislative issues, political strength, convection and compassion has made Kashmir to consume on numerous occasions. These rulers affirmed that in a simply measurable sense, inspecting files of destitution and other social prudent indicators, Kashmir is improving the majority of other Indian states and dependably requested devotion of the residents to the status – quo' by power and compulsion. The reality remains that over year’s peace and regularity in Kashmir remained a nomic largesse enticed the general population, especially the more youthful era to purchase unconvincing political contention. The present government officials and political need to comprehend the baffle of the young, who are battling for their political moving presence, and it is these adolescent who will at last choose the eventual fate of Kashmir.\(^6\)

Sheikh Abdullah ruled Jammu and Kashmir state as first Kashmiri Prime Minister from fifth March 1948 to ninth August 1953. And then as CM from 25 February to 1975 to 26 March 1977 and ninth July 1977-8 September 1982. As an engineer of Accession and accords, with union of India, he carried on with his political existence with the trademarks of Azadi, plebsite, and self-governance bringing forth political vulnerability and obviously having achieved none of these till he kicked the bucket on eighth September 1982.
Table No 4.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEADERS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>OPPOSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The biggest sell-out among all was accord of 1975. It took place between Sheikh Abdullah and Mrs. Indra Gandhi. Plebiscite movement was sold after 22 years long struggle.</td>
<td>February, 1975</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>It was opposed almost by all the people of valley. Even call was given by Pakistani leaders to observe hartal this day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.3: Justification of this sell-out on side of Sheikh Abdullah

Since I have failed to secure the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir, which have been advocated for more than two decades, the events of 1971 provided me with an opportunity to give up the demand and make efforts to undo the erosion of the state’s autonomy during his absence from active political life. I however failed to impress upon central leadership the fact that, “Kashmir’s position is unique since it initially limited its accession to finite heads...” and that his demand to restore the constitutional position of 1953 could not be equated with the demand for autonomy by other states of Jammu and Kashmir. Though I adopted a stiff attitude for some time, I ultimately …. “Relented and accepted what was for all intents and purposes, the state –quo”
How I was able to get two things:

The Article 370 of the constitution would be treated a permanent feature of the constitution;

That the state legislature could review certain laws extended to the state after 1953. In this case I have been promised, sympathetic by central leadership.  

Bakshi Gulam Mohd, After the dismissal and arrest of Sheikh on 9th August 1953, his deputy Bakshi ruled the state of Jammu and Kashmir as prime Minister for eleven years from ninth August 1953 to twelfth October 1963. He is known as sell-out to Delhi, got the Accession, ratified by the constituent get together on the sixth February 1954, he blended NC with Congress. He was to made resign on twelfth October 1963 by Nehru under a plan of broadly known as 'kamaraj design.  

Congress party had never been against the full, but gradual, integration of the state with the Union and in fact maximum erosion of the autonomy of the state had taken place during its rule.  

### Table No. 4.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEADERS</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>OPPOSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Article 370 was sold mostly by Bakshi Gulam Mohammad. Most of Articles were introduced during this time. Out of 395 Articles Introduced to J&amp;k were 260. Out of total 97 entries of union list, 94 applied to J&amp;K. 47 concurrent list 26 are applied to J&amp;K.</td>
<td>1954-1963</td>
<td>New Delhi as well as Srinagar (capital of Jammu and Kashmir)</td>
<td>Its opposition was all times done by plebiscite front.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Autonomy Report 2000 of Jammu and Kashmir Legislative assembly.
Khawaja Shams-ud – Din; he was Prime Minister of Kashmir from twelfth October to 1963 to February 29th, 1964. Relic pbuh was stolen from Hazratbal shrine amid that time.

Gulam Mohd Sadiq, Prime Minister from 30 February 1964 to 29th March 1965 when PM, sadr-e-Riyasat were abrogated by sixth amendment of j&k constitution which came in actuality from 30th walk 1965. He was again sworn as CM delighted in office from 30th March to twelfth December 1971. He permitted the disintegration of j&k constitution. He broadened 94th, 97th sections of the central list and 260 of 395 articles of Indian constitution. He merged NC with congress.

Syed Mir Qasim, He became Chief Minister from 12 December 1971 to 25 February 1975. Who offered to resign from the office of Chief Minister in order to encourage institutionalize the Indra-Sheikh Accord 1975, and brought sheikh back into Indian politics.10

Farooq Abdullah inheriting power from his father and stayed three times Chief Minister. First time from eighth September 1982, to 2th July 1984, Second time seventh November 1986 to January 1990. 3rd time ninth October 1996 to eighteenth October 2002. During his first tenure he was overthrown by his brother in law by splitting National Confrence. He is remembered for infamous rigging of Muslim united front (MUF) election in 1987 after “Rajiv- Farooq Accord”. After having promised “Autonomy with sky as limit”, he got elected through managed elections in 1996, but failed to push through his autonomy resolution in 2002. Farooq’s politics for fun push the state into the worst turmoil as witnessed never before.11

Gulam Mohd Shah, He remained the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir from 2nd July 1984 to 6th March 1986, when he ousted his brother in law by managing a split in National Confrence but could not remain in power with support of congress, only for a brief period 20 months with frequent curfews.

Mufti Sayeed, The life time congressman and a trusted Indian face in Kashmir, to counter insurgency floated a new political party namely Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in 1999 and emerged as new leader, promising resolution of the Kashmir conflict through his self ruled doctrine and porous borders. He remained chief minister of the state from 2, November 2002 to 2, November 2005.and 1, March
2015 to 7 January 2016. When to the betrayal of the electorate, in attempt to make North Pole South Pole meet, he took the decision of alliance with BJP.


Omer Abdullah, a third generation leader of sheikh family. Who inherited a shattered house of (NC) was 11th chief minister of j&k, from fifth January to 2009 to eighth January 2015. Having failed in delivering promises both on political issues and governance, he faced humiliating defeat in 2014 elections. He is remembered for BOPE Scams destructive spurious drugs, 110 innocent killings of 2010 unrest, for not resisting hanging of Afzal Guru, misleading of 2014 floods, for 68 years these ruled us double-crossed, the seven decades in length protection development in Kashmir is an endeavor to bring the locus and unit of power of unified Kashmir to Srinagar. As long as there remains a partitioned Kashmir with locus and unit of sway, somewhere else neither any political nor military arrangement will last. The seven decade long resistance movement in Kashmir is an attempt to bring back the locus and unit of sovereignty of undivided Kashmir to Srinagar.12
ENDNOTES

2 Ibid p 33-34
3 G.R. Najar “Kashmir accord 1975 a political analysis” Gulshan, Srinagar 1988, p 4
4 Ibid p 5
5 Abdullah, Sheikh Mohammad, “Aatish-i-Chinar” (Urdu), press Taj company, Turkuman Gate, Delhi 1986 p 234-35
7 G.R. Najar, OP.cit; p 90-91
8 Greater Kashmir (daily news paper) April 2016
9 G.R. Najar, OP.cit; p 71
10 Greater Kashmir (daily news paper) April 2016
12 Greater Kashmir (daily news paper) April 2016