Chapter II

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR
As the question of Kashmir was being debated at the international level, inside the state the centre state relations were discussed between National Conference and the Indian leaders and thus new developments were taking place. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the head of the emergency administration was appointed the Prime Minister with a council of ministers on 5 March 1948.\(^1\) On 27 May 1948, the Indian Constituent Assembly decided to fill up the four seats allotted to Kashmir on the basis of nominations by the head of the state in consultation with the cabinet, and four Kashmiri representatives including Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah took their seats in the Constituent Assembly on 16 June 1948.\(^2\)

On 20 June 1949, the Maharaja issued a proclamation announcing his decision to leave Kashmir for reasons of health, installing Yuvraj Karan Singh in his place.\(^3\) By January 1950, the Indian constitution was finalized and put into effect. Kashmir was treated as an integral part of the territory of Indian Union as defined in article I of the constitution. Though there was politico-ideological affinity between the National Conference and the Congress (Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Pandith Nehru) the leadership of the former did not want that instrument of accession signed with India should obliterate their regional-cultural pride. Thus they favoured accession but with

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1. The first cabinet consisted of the following: Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, Mirza Alzal Beigh, Sham Lal Saraf, G.L. Dogra, Sardar Budh Singh and Colonel Pir Mohammad Khan. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah’s appointment took formal effect on 17 March 1948.

2. Pakistan lodged a protest with the UNCIP on this account.

3. Sheikh Abdullah told the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir on 5 November 1951, that his exit was due to his (Maharaja’s) inability to reconcile with the democratic system of government.
autonomy. They demanded special status because they were afraid that the cultural glory of Kashmir would not be secure if they did not have the full freedom for their cultural prosperity in every respect. This special status was accorded to the state by way of article 370—the article which has been a matter of controversy ever since. According to this article, the law making power of the Union parliament in regard to Kashmir would be specified by the President in consultation with the state government. On January 26, 1950, the President accordingly promulgated the constitution (application to Jammu and Kashmir) order 1950, specifying in two different schedules the powers of the Union and the applicability of the constitution. The central subjects included defence, foreign affairs and communication. On April 20, 1951, the new ruler of Jammu and Kashmir proclaimed his order of holding elections for a Constituent Assembly "forthwith". The elections took place on October 15, 1951. All the 75 seats were captured by National Conference-73 unopposed and two after contest. These elections were boycotted by the Praja Parishad of Jammu as it had announced on 9 October that it would boycott the elections as the state government had brought undue pressure, resorted to illegal practices, and rejected Parishad nominations wholesale. In his opening address to the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah talked about three alternatives with regard to the future of Kashmir. To him these three alternatives were open, accession with India or accession with Pakistan or to remain independent. Though in his analysis he preferred accession with India as against the other two alternatives yet the emphasis on Kashmir being an entity separate from both India and Pakistan was unmistakable.


5 Besides Praja Parishad the other opposition groups in the Valley also accused the ruling party for large scale electoral malpractices and thus challenged the fairness of the 1951 elections as a whole. However, the severest criticism of this election came from Pakistan where the central minister Qurmani described it as a "Fraud and Farce".

Delhi Agreement

In regard to political and constitutional issues the fundamental question was: What would be the constitutional structure of the state and how it would fit into the overall frame-work—political, legal and financial—laid down by the constitution of India. Sharp differences had started to crop up between Sheikh Abdullah and the central leaders particularly in regard to the issues of fundamental rights, citizenship, jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, Election Commission, Comptroller and Auditor General, Emergency Provisions etc. In a bid to overcome these differences and reconcile Kashmiri aspirations with the demands of Indian nationalism, Nehru initiated a dialogue with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. After hard bargaining by both the sides, Nehru and Abdullah entered into what became known as the Delhi Agreement on centre-state constitutional relations in July 1952. The provisions of this agreement included abolition of the hereditary rulership, vesting of residuary powers in the state, continuance of special citizenship rights for the ‘State subject’, flying of a separate flag for the state with a national flag also finding a supremely distant place and subject to certain limitations and restrictions, extension of provisions of the Indian constitution in respect of fundamental rights, emergency powers of the President and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.7

Discontent in Jammu

There was a strong agitation in Jammu led by the Praja Parishad against the grant of special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The termination of the monarchy and the transfer of land to the tiller without compensation had affected the interests of the feudal leadership of Jammu. But the status reversal also affected the psychology of some common people.8 Thus they joined their hands together and launched an agitation under the banner of Praja Parishad Party. The main demand of the Praja Parishad in the agitation was that either constitution of India be applied to

Jammu and Kashmir in its entirety or Jammu be detached from Kashmir and merged with the Indian Union with the status of a part ‘B’ state. The slogans like *ek desh mein do vedhan, ek desh mein do nishan, ek desh mein do pradhan nahin challenge* (in one country two constitutions, in one country two flags, in one country two Prime Ministers cannot be tolerated).*9*

The agitation also received a massive support at national level. The Jana Sangh which was highly critical of Delhi Agreement supported the Praja Parishad demands and its President Syama Prasad Mukerjee also proceeded to Jammu. He was arrested on May 11, 1953, and put behind the bars where he died under mysterious circumstances on June 23, 1953. His death was followed by a wide spread of violence in many parts of India.

These developments certainly shook the foundations of the nationalist traditions in the state and for a moment even Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah expressed his doubts over the accession to India.10 In 1947-48, Sheikh Abdullah was a worried man because Hindu communal lobby (including Patel), in Delhi was trying to gift Kashmir away to Pakistan. Now it is the same lobby which had launched an intensive campaign against Sheikh Abdullah and his government.11 The Jana Sangh, The Hindu Mahasabha, the Rashtriya Swamsawak Sawng (RSS) supported the campaign and even the Akali Dal leader Tara Singh called for the assassination of Nehru.12

In a series of public speeches and statements, Abdullah gave expression to angry reaction in the Valley against the merger slogan of the Parishad which was a new threat to freedom and liberty of Kashmir for which they had sacrificed their each

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10 On August 7, 1953, S. Abdullah said that if the accession was dissolved, the responsibility would be wholly of the Indian communalists who by demanding a complete merger with India had shaken the foundations of the Indo-Kashmir relationship. *The Hindu*, August 9, 1953.
and everything. Abdullah called the demand ‘unrealistic, childish and insane’. In his speech at Rambir Singh Pora in Jammu on 10 April 1952, he said:

_We have acceded to India in regard to defence, foreign affairs and communication in order to ensure a sort of internal autonomy... if our right to shape our destiny is challenged and if there is resurgence of communalism in India how are we to convince the Muslims of Kashmir that India does not intend to swallow us._

Similarly addressing a National Conference rally on 25 July 1952, he said:

_The confidence created by the National Conference in the people (regarding accession of the state), has been shaken by the Jana Sangh and other communal organisations in India._

In some of his angry moments, Abdullah equivocated on the issue of accession. He also rejected the offer of the government of India, conveyed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his letter of 9 July 1953, to the effect that the ‘special status of Kashmir will be made permanent’. Abdullah argued that at that stage the declaration would not suffice to dispel the fear that has arisen in the minds of the people of Kashmir.

Sheikh Abdullah was also suspected of planning a session of Constitutional Assembly, which instead of ratifying the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to India, would declare the Vale of Kashmir complete independent. On top of these reports came the highly inflammatory rumors that the United States was backing the idea of Kashmir’s independence and that Sheikh Abdullah had been encouraged in it when Adlai Stevenson had visited Srinagar in May. In this

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13 Khidmat, 13 August, 1952.
atmosphere of mutual distrust. Sheikh Ministry was dismissed and he was arrested on August 9, 1953. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad the Chief Organizer of National Conference and deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister of the state was sworn as the Prime Minister.

The dismissal and arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was protested strongly by Kashmiris and there was a massive agitation in the state. Sheikh began to think that Kashmir's safe future lies in the separation rather than in further integration. This insensitive and discriminative treatment by the centre in return further alienated the people of Kashmir and they wholeheartedly supported Sheikh and his other party workers in their struggle against India. Thus immediately after the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah, the situation turned tense leading to widespread disturbances involving arrests, coercion and loss of life and property in the Valley. The actual number of people killed in this agitation varies from source to source. However, Abdullah puts the number between 2,000 and 3,000, whereas the official sources say that only 70 persons were killed.17

Politics of Integration

Immediately after taking over as Prime Minister of the state Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad lost no time in strengthening his hold on the government. He imprisoned Abdullah's all political friends and reshuffled various committees of National Conference. On the other hand he partially restored free trade, eased food rations, abolished import duties on salt, raised government wages and promised investigation of corruption and nepotism and initiated reforms in education. All these majors were introduced just to win over the hearts of the betrayed people.18 Besides taking these "populist" measures he also succeeded in establishing some important institutions in the state. He was able to secure large scale assistance for the economic development of the state. However, serious doubts have been expressed over the proper utilization of these funds.

18 Korbel, n. 16, p. 244.
Bakshi Ghulaiti Mohammad took the very drastic steps of Kashmir's integration with India. All these hasty decisions were taken just to please the leaders of the central government and thus have a firm grip over the government of the state. On 6 February 1954, the Constituent Assembly dominated by the ruling party ratified state's accession to India. Two months later, the longstanding custom barrier between the two areas was eliminated. Kashmir's new position as part of the Indian Union was endorsed in an order issued by the President of India on May 4, observing the legalities of article 370. A state constitution was drafted and adopted on November 10, 1956. After the adoption of the constitution several new majors were taken to strengthen the ties of the state with the rest of the country. These steps include application of fundamental rights, extension of jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India, approval by the Planning Commission, transfer of services to the union list, extension of the authority of the Auditor General of India, financial allocation from the centre and abolition of the customs barrier. Further integration of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union was brought about on 26, January 1960, when a Presidential order promulgating the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and Election Commission over the state came into effect. Similarly before he left the office, he send a memorandum to Dr. Karan Singh in 13 October, 1963, in which he demanded that the designation of the head of the state (Sadri Riyasat) and that of the head of the government (Prime Minister) shall be changed to Governor and Chief Minister respectively.

Thus Bukshi worked on the problem of bringing state of Jammu and Kashmir under the greater control of Indian Union. After his exit the other two leaders Shams-ud-Din and Sadiq also followed the suit. In 1964-65 article 356 and 357, of the Indian constitution were also extended to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. These articles empowered the central government to dismiss elected government of the state and also assume all the legislative functions of it. Article 249, under which the central government can legislate even in subjects on the provincial list (not just the union and concurrent lists), was also made applicable to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The designation of head of the state (Sadri-Riyasat) and head of the government (Prime
Minister), were finally changed to Governor and Chief Minister respectively. Furthermore, the Governor is to be appointed by the centre rather (as agreed before), a nominee of the (elected) Kashmir legislature. Thus the right of autonomy was considerably reduced from the people and the state of Jammu and Kashmir was brought close to the union of India like other states (excluding in some minor areas).

The mounting discontent in the valley, against measures and moves of constitutional integration of the state with centre, had one main outlet—separation. The years between 1953 and 1975, were largely the years of Kashmir's fight for self-determination. This movement of self-determination was carried forward through the platform of Plebiscite Front.

The Plebiscite Front

Immediately after the arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the state of Jammu and Kashmir began to be run almost in conformity with the centre's directions. The new Prime Minister of the state Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad kept on saying that "our decision to join India is irrevocable. This is a matter of principal with us and we shall stick to it, even if we are hacked to pieces". The same held true about the other decision makers in the state. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was opposite to the complete merger of the state with the union of India. Immediately after his arrest on August 9, 1953, a 'War Council' had been set up by his party colleagues to muster support for his cause. It was this 'War Council' which was converted into Plebiscite Front by Mirza Afzal Beg on August 9, 1955, for which the blessings and patronage of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were also obtained. The basic objective of the Front was to press for the demand for holding a free and fair plebiscite under United Nations auspices to decide about the future of the state. The slogans like 'we want freedom', 'long live Abdullah', so on and so forth were raised. Each year 9th August was observed as 'black day' by the Front's activists. They maintained that without the settlement of Kashmir dispute through the right of self-
determination, neither the people of the state would be able to overcome their
politico-economic uncertainties nor the Indian nation as a whole would be able to
achieve durable peace and stability. It favoured peaceful and democratic methods and
pleaded that a free and fair plebiscite should be held as early as possible.

The Front emphasized that the sovereignty belongs to the people and they
should be given the right to decide about their future. The era of Plebiscite Front
politics signaled a phase of withdrawal from Indian system and the emergence of a
formidable challenge to the accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the
Indian union. Reminding Pt. Nehru of the assurance he gave to the people, Sheikh
Mohammad Abdullah said, “what about the assurances? Let me tell you that the
future of the country cannot be decided in Karachi or Delhi, it will be decided by the
people through an impartial plebiscite”.20 In one of his Idd addresses he said. “I will
either secure a life of freedom and dignity for the Kashmiri nation or die”.21

Till the end of sixties, the Front boycotted all the state assembly and
parliamentary elections. The Front rejected these elections on the ground that they
were ‘fraud and false’. Any change in the state’s politico-administrative and
constitutional status made by Sheikh’s successors like Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad
(August 1953-October 1963), Shams-ud-Din (October 1963-January 1964),
G.M.Sadiq (February 1964-December 1971) and Mir Qasim (December 1971-
February 1975), were strongly criticized and condemned by Sheikh’s supporters. The
Front opposed all the efforts of diluting the state’s special position since 1953.

The Plebiscite Front also sought the close co-operation of other separatist
groups like the Mir Waiz Moulvi Farooq’s Awami Action Committee, G.M.Kara’s
Political Conference, Jama’at-i-Islami etc. The Plebiscite Front described the Indian
army as the army of occupation and also justified the infiltration of Pakistan into the
Valley in the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. The Front is alleged to have kept secret links


with Pakistan from whom it received substantial financial and propaganda support. According to a report published in Pakistan in 1976, the Front had received about 7.5 crores of rupees from Pakistan during the period between 1954 and 1974.22

The Plebiscite Front received a massive support of the people from all over the state immediately after the theft of the sacred relic (Moo-i-Muqadas) from Hazratbal shrine on December 27, 1963. The entire Valley in the matter of this ‘relic episode’ witnessed a massive mass upsurge during which a large number of persons were killed. Demonstrations were also held across the border against the theft of relic. An unrest, doubt and tension increased, the authorities tried to suppress the movement by force, this resulted in several deaths and injuries, and as a reaction there were riots in East Pakistan against Hindus which caused a chain reaction in the Eastern towns of India where Muslims became targets.23 The spread of communal tension created a sort of gulf between the Hindus and Muslims of the state which also effected the political situation of Jammu and Kashmir. The Hindus became more and more hostile towards the Plebiscite Front, while as the Muslim support towards the same increased largely. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his application for the Haj pilgrimage in 1965 described himself as a Kashmiri and not an Indian national.24 Even outside India, he continued to carry the ‘anti-India’ campaign in foreign press25. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah embarrassed India by suggesting, in a press interview at Cairo, that President Nasir of Egypt should intervene to bring about unification of the two parts of Kashmir. He also demanded that the Algiers Afro-Asian Conference (1965) should discuss Kashmir as a problem of divided people. On March 28, 1965, he even met Chou-En-Lai, Prime Minister of China to elicit his support for his view on Kashmir. The later invited him to Peking. The government of India took strong

22 Quoted in Indian Express, June 26, 1976.
24 Ibid, p. 50.
exception to the hostile activities of Sheikh and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg. Their passports were cancelled and on their return they were arrested at Delhi airport on May 9, 1965.

When in 1971, the Plebiscite Front was banned, a militant organization Alfatah came to light. This organization commenced its activities in 1966, gradually its ranks swelled. By 1969, it had become a full-fledged organization. A spate of Bank dacoits took place that year (1971). The hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane also took place on 30 January 1971. It was described the handiwork of Alfatah activists. Mohammad Ashraf and Mohammad Qureshi. who demanded the release of Alfatah Cadres arrested in Kashmir in earlier January. The hijacking, in addition to bringing about deterioration in the Indo-Pak relations, was the beginning of militancy in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. After the burning of the plane in Lahore, New Delhi retaliated by withdrawing the permission for Pakistani flights over the Indian territory. Later on Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) also came to light. However, both these organizations were having a common manifesto of fighting for the right of self-determination and believed in armed struggle for the ‘liberation’ of the state from Indian control.

The objectives of the Plebiscite Front were well known. The main slogan of the Front was right of self determination for the people of Kashmir under United Nations auspices. In 1958, on his release, Sheikh Abdullah advocated the right of self-determination in a long statement. In its analysis his statement had the following three main features:

(i) until the future of Kashmir is decided, the people of the state would be protected against uncertainty, economic degeneration, mental crisis and other troubles.

(ii) the future relations of the Jammu and Kashmir state be determined by the people of the state. The only way to take the decision was to permit the people to

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exercise their right of self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations as agreed by the concerned parties and

(iii) as long as the schism between India and Pakistan existed not only Asia would be

instable but it would be even responsible for the annihilation of the state. 27

After his release in 1968, Sheikh Abdullah started rethinking on the entire issue of Kashmir. He initiated the process of sponsoring people’s conventions for ascertaining the views of diverse groups and people in order to find out some solution to the ongoing crisis. Two such conventions were held in October 1968 and June 1970. In the first convention, most of the Hindu delegates insisted on sticking to the 1947 accession of the state with India whereas the Muslim participants laid emphasis on plebiscite, independence, etc. However, most of the delegates from the Valley agreed on a consensus which suggested that any solution of state’s future should be “peaceful, democratic, just and realistic and keep in view the interests of all the religions, strengthen secular, democratic forces, foster communal harmony and be in conformity with the values of the freedom” 28

In the second convention which was held on 8-13 June 1970, in Srinagar, differences had arisen between the leaders of Plebiscite Front and some pro-Pakistan and pro-religious organizations when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah asked these organizations to work for strengthening the ‘secular democratic forces’. 29 The word secular was however, strongly objected by the pro-Pakistan Jama’at-i-Islami’s General Secretary, Mr. Saif-ud-Din Quari, who was supported by Moulvi Abass Ansari, a religious leader of the Shias in Kashmir and the followers of Mirwaiz Moulvi Farooq. Mr. Quari in fact called the resolution as endorsement of India’s ‘hollow secularism’ and alleged that an impression had been created among the people that the convention had already set its heart on India and the introduction of

28 Tribune quoted in Puri, n. 19, p. 175.
29 Verma, n. 23, p. 54.
the word 'secular' would further strengthen this belief as the Indian constitution talked of 'secular democracy'.

In the parliamentary elections of 1972, the Plebiscite Front was outlawed and its members were banned from entering the contest as the ruling party suspected that the Plebiscite Front would win the thumping majority and wreck the constitution from within. It was only after India's victory over Pakistan and latter's split in December 1971 war and signing of Shimla Agreement, that the Indian leaders began to negotiate with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and his party men. The intention to return to position of power made Sheikh Abdullah to give up the demand for self-determination and so he began to demand autonomy for the state within Indian union. In an interview to Peter Hezechurst, correspondent of the London Times, on 10 March 1972, Sheikh Abdullah said, "our quarrel with the government of India is not about accession but it is about the quantum of autonomy."

The Kashmir Accord

Thus after protracted talks, extending up to almost three years, G.Parthasarthy and Mirza Afzal Beg representatives of the then Prime Minister Mrs. Indra Gandhi and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah respectively, signed a six point accord on 13 November 1974, at New Delhi known as Kashmir Accord. This new accord accepted the state of Jammu and Kashmir as a part of the Union of India which was to continue to be governed by Article 370 of the constitution of India. This was possible after the restoration of pre-1953 autonomy to Kashmir about which the government made no mention; it merely gave the provisional government the authority to 'review' laws on the concurrent list extended to Jammu and Kashmir after 1953, and 'decide which of those might need amendment or repeal'. Even this was probably no more than a token gesture, given that no substantive action to this effect was even taken. Instead various restrictions were put on the jurisdiction of the provisional government, which was

31 Verma, n. 23, p. 55.
patronisingly permitted to legislate on welfare measures, cultural matters, social security and personal law. The Accord however, paved the way for resumption of power by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah on February 25, 1975.\textsuperscript{13}

**Islamic Wave**

The reverberation of what is called the 'Islamic Wave' swept across the Muslim world, were felt in Kashmir as well. This Muslim wave in the state started some what after the origin of Jama'at-i-Islami. This Islamist organization was established in 1942, at Shopian by Moulvi Ghulam Ahmad Aharar in collaboration with Syed Saad Din and other like minded persons.\textsuperscript{34} It is this organization which has planted its 'green flag' in the Valley and campaigned for Islamic state of Jammu and Kashmir. Most of the Arab countries especially Saudi Arabia, in the late seventies, made plenty of money available for the cause of Islamisation from abroad and in Jammu and Kashmir, these benefits were given to Jama'at-i-Islami.\textsuperscript{35} This group began to act independently of its counterpart in the rest of India. Both in theory and practice, the Jama'at-i-Islami of Jammu and Kashmir, is on the same wavelength as of Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan. It is opposite to secularism and socialism. It denounces what it calls 'Indian colonialism' in Kashmir. Specifically, Jama'at-i-Islami of Jammu and Kashmir was seeing itself as part of wider Islamic movement like that of the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen (Muslim Brothers) in Arab world, Jama'at-i-Islami of Pakistan and the forces which were fighting for the Islamic revolution in Afghanistan. Their common denominator is the commitment to introduce Islam as a comprehensive system of life and to struggle for the creation of Islamic states in their respective countries.

The Jama'at-i-Islami considers Kashmir's accession to India as disputed. It believes in Islam-inspired political mobilization. It entered assembly elections for the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Kashmir Accord, February, 1975, (For full details see appendix V).
\item \textsuperscript{35} Ajit Bhattacharjea, *Kashmir the Wounded Valley*, (New Delhi, U.B.S. publishers, 1994). p. 177.
\end{itemize}
first time in 1972 and captured 5 seats, about 9.85 per cent of valid votes. But in 1977, it captured only one seat in the state assembly. It has a committed cadre and sound organizational infrastructure to spread its influence far and wide in towns, mohallas and villages. In the districts of Kupwara, Baramulla and parts of Srinagar, Anantnag and Pulwama, the Jama’at had established dependable base of its own. Moreover, it had established a chain of educational institutions which socialised the upcoming generation of Muslims in the Valley under somewhat in Islamic oriented influence. These institutions concentrated on preaching the youth the principles of Islam. All these institutions were managed under a separate body called ‘Falah-i-Aam Trust’.

The student’s wing of Jama’at-i-Islami Jama’it-i-Tulba (Islamic Students Organisation), came into being in 1977, under the leadership of Mohammad Ashraf Sahrai. In his inaugural address to the first annual session of Jama’it-i-Tulba held at Srinagar in 1978, the founder President Ashraf Sahrai said that despite change in the country’s leadership following the victory of Janata Party at the polls, the Kashmir dispute remained unresolved. A leaflet issued by the Jama’at-i-Islami’s Srinagar office welcoming its new members was even more specific. It said, as Kashmiris it is our duty to struggle for the independence of oppressed, dependent and enslaved Kashmir and to establish that social order in the state which we would like to see triumphant in the whole world.

After the partition, even the actual founder of Jama’at-i-Islami Moulvi Maududi had himself visited the Valley. However, the party received a major boost only when the international ‘seerat conference’ was organized by it in 1980 and attended besides others by the Imam of the Ka’aba.

The Jama’at-i-Islami challenged the 1975 Accord with the government of India and stepped into the ground vacated by the erstwhile leaders of ‘self-determination’. But it was not in a position of reviving the separatist tempo as in the

36 Verma, n. 23, p. 74.
37 *Islami Jamaat-i-Tulba, Khutaba-i-Sadarat* (Presidential Address), Srinagar, July 1978.
aftermath of the execution of Z.A. Bhutto in Pakistan in 1979, it became the victim of mass fury. The property of the members of Jama'at became the special targets for destruction at the hands of the protesting people in Kashmir. Their orchards were felled down, their T.V. sets were set at fire, their Jersey cows were slaughtered. Many were forced to shave their beards. It was a horrible situation which cost the Jama'at activists very dearly in both men and material. Most of the leaders of Jama'at were insulted in public and some adherent were subjected callous spitting by rude young people. Islamic libraries were burnt down and Quran-i-Sharif was blasphemed publicly. Like Jama'at-i-Islami, the Ahmadia Muslims also became victims of this mass fury.

Besides the Jama'at-i-Islami, the rise of late Mirwaiz Moulvi Farooq in the early 60's also gave an impetus to the Islamic consciousness in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. For a couple of years he followed the pro-Pakistani line and anti-India stance and called himself a citizen of Kashmir. His sermons to the congregations in the Friday prayers at the Jamia Masjid became a good source of anti-India and pro-religious campaign. The Moulvi and his core group in the Awami Action Committee came from a committed section located mainly in the old city. His influence among the common Muslims in the downtown localities of Srinagar city on account of his being the supreme religious leader had been enormous. Baring some occasions, he like his uncle late Mirwaiz Moulvi Mohammad Yousuf Shah had always opposed Sheikh Abdullah and his group. The Sheikh had used the platform of famous Hazaratbal
Shrine, whereas Mirwaiz used the pulpit of Jamia Masjid. Similarly Sheikh was opposite to the accession to Pakistan, whereas Mirwaiz was in favour of it.

The other pro-religious parties and groups which later on came to the forefront and succeeded in moulding the public opinion to a great extent included the People’s League, the Islamic Students League, the Umat-e-Islam, the Tahfaz-ul-Islam, the Islamic Study Circle, The Mahaz-e-Azadi, Tabligi Jama’at and the Anjumane Itihade Muslimeen. The only thing common in all these parties and groups was that they claimed to be working for the establishment of Nizam-e-Mustafa, the system as enunciated by the Prophet Mohammad. The People’s League which was founded on September 30, 1974, by Nazir Ahmad Wani, one of the accused in Alfatah case and the leadership of which was subsequently taken over by Farooq Rehmani and Shabir Shah, proclaimed that the duty of the followers of Islam was to throw out the Indian forces from Kashmir. Most of these parties and organizations wanted to create such a state where there will be the supremacy of Qur’an and Hadith. This was only possible by educating more and more people about the importance of such a system. Thus these forces concentrated towards the establishment of their own schools, colleges and libraries. They also published books in Urdu and English on the Qur’an and various facets of their ideology. Some of the parties and organizations even started publishing their newspapers and journals. This kind of process helped them to send their message to the people and gain their support for their respective viewpoints regarding Kashmir and other important issues of their concern.

44 Jagmohan, n.34, p. 183.