

APPENDIX 1: STEERING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION
AS ADOPTED BY THE 2ND PLENARY SESSION
OF THE J & K STATE PEOPLE'S CONVENTION,
8TH–13TH JUNE, 1970

“Whereas after having heard the various papers and speeches delivered by the delegates, on the issue of the State’s political future, the Jammu and Kashmir State’s political future, the Jammu and Kashmir State people’s Convention instructed the Steering Committee, by its resolution dated 17-10-69, to tabulate the presented material for submission to, and discussion in the 2nd session of the convention (Document ‘A’).

Whereas, thereupon, the Steering Committee in their meeting of 17-12-68, appointed a sub-committee for purpose of tabulating the said material, complete in every respect,

And accordingly the Sub-Committee submitted its report to the Steering Committee of the Jammu and Kashmir State People’s Convention (Document ‘B’).

The Steering Committee, after consideration of the various proposals regarding the internal constitutional set-up of the State, laid down the broad guidelines defining the regions of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and broad character of the internal constitutional set-up of the State in their meeting held on 13th and 14th May, 1969, and

Appointed a sub-committee to set out the broad outlines of the draft Constitution, including the measure of devolution of power and functions in favor of various tiers.

And whereas, pursuant thereto, the Sub-Committee submitted a draft dated 23-10-69 broadly defining the regions, units, and other tiers, and

indicating generally the nature and character of powers, responsibilities, and duties assignable to the various tiers.

And the Steering committee after deep consideration of the Sub-Committee's said draft on internal constitutional set-up of the State, approved the same with some alterations (Document 'C').

And now, therefore, in pursuance of the further implementation of the 17th October, 1968, Convention Resolution, the Steering Committee commends the Documents 'B' and 'C' to the 2nd Plenary Session of the J & K State People's Convention for its approval.

The Steering Committee further requests the delegates of the Convention to guide, through expression of free views and concrete proposals, the Committee in the task of evolving a formula for a peaceful, democratic, just, lasting, and realistic solution of the State's political future, keeping in view the interests of all its regions, as also the fact that such a solution should strengthen the secular democratic forces, that is to say such forces that stand for equal rights to members of all religions and other persuasions, and should foster communal harmony, not only within the State of Jammu and Kashmir, but also in the subcontinent and should be in conformity with past traditions and abiding values of our freedom movement."

APPENDIX II (DOCUMENT B): EVALUATION REPORT BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE

PREAMBLE

In its meeting held on 7 December 1968, in Srinagar, the Steering Committee decided to appoint a sub-committee consisting of us three (Mirza Afzal Beg, Balraj Puri, and Prem Nath Bazaz) for the purpose of scrutinizing the tabulation work done by members of the Steering Committee with regard to the papers submitted to and the speeches made in the first session of the Jammu and Kashmir State People's Convention. We were further instructed to prepare a summary of all the proposals and suggestions which had been made by the delegates to the Convention and submit the same by the end of January 1969.

As the material did not reach us in time and certain unavoidable circumstances intervened, this report could not be submitted earlier.

We closely studied in our three meetings the report on the papers and speeches as also the comments of the Steering Committee on them. We drafted the report and finalized it on 17th February.

In framing our report, we have, as far as possible, avoided repetitions and tries that every original proposal or suggestion is included in the summary. We, therefore, hope that every participant will find his view substantially stated though at times these may have been split into parts under different heads.

Despite our best efforts to classify the proposals, certain suggestions put under one head could have found place under another head also. This is so because some of the suggestions can fit in at two or more places, but to avoid repetitions, we had to include them under one head only.

PROPOSALS AND SUGGESTIONS

We have found that the proposals and suggestions made by the delegates regarding the political future of the State broadly fall under the following heads:

- (a) Settlement through a plebiscite; (b) Accession to India;
- (c) Accession to Pakistan; (d) Independence for the State;
- (e) Interim arrangement with final solution after a specific period;
- (f) Some other methods of solving the problem.

We shall now state the various proposals and suggestions under these heads serially.

(a) Settlement Through a Plebiscite

It has been stressed that the political future of Jammu and Kashmir State should be finally decided by the democratic method of a fair and free plebiscite. To this solution, the following conditions have been set by way of explanation or amplification:

1. Pressure should be brought to bear on the U. N. to get its resolutions implemented by India and Pakistan.
2. The plebiscite should be held in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Security Council on the issue.
3. The plebiscite should be held not only for the alternative of accession to India or Pakistan but also with the third choice to keep the State independent.
4. While generally overall plebiscite for the entire State is demanded, zonal plebiscite is also suggested, zones being as follows:
 - (i) Azad Kashmir; (ii) Kashmir Valley; (iii) Doda; (iv) Rajouri; (v) Poonch; (vi) Askardu; (vii) Kargil; (viii) Gilgit; (ix) Astor; (x) Boonji and, (i) Udhampur; (ii) Jammu; (iii) Reasi (excluding Rajouri); (iv) Kathua (v) Ladakh

5. The pre-requisites of the plebiscite suggested are as follows:
- (i) Withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan troops from all parts of the State;
 - (ii) Replacement of outside troops by State troops;
 - (iii) Defense against foreign aggression to be the joint responsibility of India and Pakistan under U. N. auspices;
 - (iv) Resettlement of displaced persons on either side of the cease-fire line;
 - (v) Restoration of traffic and trade on Srinagar-Rawalpindi Road;
 - (vi) Free elections to Jammu and Kashmir Assembly, and formation of a representative government to conduct the internal administration;
 - (vii) Holding of a round table conference of all political parties for settling details of the plebiscite;
 - (viii) Meetings of the leaders of India, Pakistan, and Kashmir to be held by rotation in the three places to create a friendly atmosphere before the plebiscite is held;
 - (ix) the two parts of the State to be reunited before the plebiscite is held;
 - (x) UN should hold charge of the State for five or ten years prior to the plebiscite;
 - (xi) A federal type of government comprising three units: Kashmir, Jammu, and Frontier *illaqas* be set up in the State;
 - (xii) While exercising the right of vote in a plebiscite, the State's people should take note of the emotions of millions living in the subcontinent.
6. For the supervision of the plebiscite the following suggestions are made:
- (i) It should be held under UN auspices;
 - (ii) It should be supervised by two administrators, each from Ceylon, Burma, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Egypt, Abyssinia, and Kenya;
 - (iii) It should be held under the directions of a supreme council with the composition of the following members:
- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| a) U. N. O. | 1 |
| b) India | 1 |
| c) Pakistan | 1 |
| d) Kashmir Valley | 3 |
| e) Azad Kashmir | 3 |
| f) Jammu Hills | 1 |
| g) Jammu Plains | 2 |
| h) Northern territories | 1 |
| i) Ladakh | 1 |

7. After accession through the plebiscite and before transferring the sovereignty of the State to India or Pakistan, as the case may be, the UN should secure the guarantee from the concerned power that the autonomy of the State shall be fully preserved.

(b) Accession to India

It is proposed that the present relationship of the State with India should continue forever with the following provisions:

1. The Cease-fire line be made the permanent border of Jammu and Kashmir State.
2. Special position guaranteed to the State under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution should continue.
3. Autonomy of the State restored to the 1947 position, changes in Article 370 after 1953b cancelled; jurisdiction of the Election Commission, Supreme Court, and grant of fundamental rights (in so far as they do not affect progressive measures like land reform and debt legislation) should not be affected by it.
4. Largest measure of autonomy should be guaranteed.
5. A truly representative government should decide the measure of autonomy.
6. The content of autonomy should be acceptable to the State Muslims.
7. A solution within the framework of the Indian Constitution wherein the people of the State, who are mostly Muslims, would be able to maintain their own cultural, linguistic, and religious entity.
8. Both India and Pakistan should bind themselves by a covenant regarding the inviolability of autonomy in their respective areas.
9. Firm assurance to be sought from the Indian leadership that it shall allow Kashmir to pursue its social, economic, and political goals according to the genius of her people. Possibilities of the fulfillment of the ideals enshrined in New Kashmir to be explored. If guaranteed to this effect from India are not forthcoming, a determined battle to be launched.
10. Full assertion of Kashmir's personality within the Indian Federal system and democratization of the State's set up to be tried through participation in elections at all levels.

11. The State should enjoy power and authority to enter into reciprocal trade arrangements with authorities in Pakistan within the broad framework of the trade policies of the Indian Union.
12. The pledges given by the leaders of Kashmir and India during the early years of mutual relationship should be re-affirmed.

(c) Accession to Pakistan

Proposals have been made favoring the State's accession to Pakistan, but, at the same time, such accession is subject to a plebiscite with options to accede to India, Pakistan, or to remain independent.

(d) Independence for the State

It has been proposed that the State of Jammu and Kashmir should become independent. The following suggestions have been made in connection with this proposal:

1. A Federal Independent Republican State should be formed with six semi-autonomous units, namely,
 - a) The Valley
 - b) Azad Kashmir
 - c) Jammu Plains
 - d) Jammu Hills
 - e) Northern Territories
 - f) Ladakh

Excepting the Valley, each unit will have a right of secession from the State and accession to either India or Pakistan. The Valley should have to vote on accession only if after 10 or 20 years of UN supervision, it rejects independence in a plebiscite.

2. Independent Kashmir should comprise all parts of the State, exactly as it existed prior to partition in 1947.
3. The State comprising three units, namely Jammu, the Kashmir Valley, and Ladakh, should become independent.
4. A Federal Independent State should be set up with three units, namely Jammu, Kashmir Valley, and Ladakh.

(e) Interim Arrangements with Final Solution After a Specified Period

Proposals have been made to postpone the final settlement of the problem to some future date, and, in the meantime, we have made some suggestions to run the State administration:

1. UN supervision has been suggested for varying periods—5, 10, or 20 years—as an interim measure.
2. For defense during the interim period, State troops or militia should be employed, or, alternatively, defense should be the joint responsibility of India and Pakistan. One delegate had suggested that we have an army comprising 2,000 each personnel from Ceylon, Burma, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Egypt, Abyssinia, and Kenya for the purpose.
3. For internal administration, convening of a National Constituent Assembly elected freely and fairly, which will form a representative government.
4. Such subjects as defense, elections, judiciary, public services, economic development, audit and currency should be the joint responsibility of India and Pakistan. The State will not enter into any agreement with one country which would adversely affect the other country. Further, agitation in the subcontinent against the Constitution of the State or against the Constitution of the two countries should be considered as treason.
5. Full autonomy within existing constitutional framework be granted till a congenial atmosphere is created for a final settlement of the accession dispute.
6. All Indian laws extended to the State since 1953 should be withdrawn.
7. Status quo should be maintained for five years, and Sheikh Abdullah should be provided facilities to tour India and Pakistan during the period at the end of which a plebiscite will be held to decide the issue further.
8. Regional autonomy for Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh should be granted to create an organic, composite, and harmonious personality of the State before attempting to decide the question of overall status.

(f) Some Other Methods of Solving the Problem

Some of the proposals made for the final solution do not fall under any of the above categories and should, therefore, be grouped together as follows:

1. A round-table conference of representatives from India, Pakistan, and Kashmir should be convened to thrash out de novo the issue and evolve a solution.
2. Status quo should be maintained for five years, and Sheikh Abdullah, accompanied by two representatives each from Jammu, Kashmir, and Ladakh, should be allowed to tour the two countries, meet the leaders there, and evolve a solution to the problem.
3. Elections to the State legislature should be held under neutral auspices to pave the way for resolving the dispute.
4. The leaders returned to the State legislature through a fair and free election should sit at a round-table and start a purposeful talk with India and Pakistan for settling the dispute.
5. A struggle should be launched to get the right of self-determination for the State people conceded by India and Pakistan. Thereafter, a convention of leaders from both sides of the cease-fire line should be held to evolve a solution.
6. The present Legislative Assembly should be dissolved and President's rule imposed on the State. Thereafter, a democratic government should be established in the State which would create an atmosphere conducive to the final resolution of the dispute.
7. A series of conferences, conventions, and meetings should be held with delegates from India and Pakistan with the purpose of creating a congenial atmosphere for a settlement. Meanwhile, fullest autonomy should be granted to the State by India.
8. A Constituent Assembly should be convened to establish a representative government for Jammu and Kashmir State. The government will enter into treaty relations first with India and afterwards with Pakistan.
9. India and Pakistan should be persuaded to resolve their differences over the future affiliations of Kashmir to the satisfaction of the State people.
10. The leaders of India and Pakistan should arrive at a settlement on the basis of the pledges given to each other in 1947. This should be followed by negotiations with India (including Kashmir) and Pakistan for a final settlement of the dispute.

11. Independence of the whole State with joint control of (India and Pakistan) of foreign affairs and defense.
12. Dixon plan with independence for the plebiscite area.

Submitted

SD/-

1. Mirza Afzal Beg
2. Balraj Puri
3. Prem Nath Bazaz

PS.

Nos. 11 and 12

Added with permission of other members

Sd/-

Mirza Afzal Beg

APPENDIX III (DOCUMENT ‘C’): INTERNAL CONSTITUTIONAL SET-UP (BROAD OUTLINES)

1. There should be a Head of State whose nomenclature and functions should be set out in the Constitution.
2. Provision should be made for an independent judiciary as a limb of the State.
3. Subject to the future status of the State to be evolved, all powers and authority shall vest in the State, except those delegated to lower tiers in accordance with provisions contained in the Constitution.
4. Maximum powers and functions that may gradually be assigned to the various tiers functioning under the State may only be listed, but, at the present moment, only such of the said powers and functions shall actually be exercisable by the respective authorities as would be manageable by the constituent concerned. This area of powers and functions may be expanded from time to time, as experience is gained.
5. The law making power of the unit legislatures shall be limited to framing legislation on subjects delegated to them in accordance with the principle laid down in the Constitution. They shall also perform executive and supervisory functions in their respective jurisdictions.
6. The unit legislatures shall be called Councils.

1. AT THE STATE LEVEL

The State shall comprise all those territories that were included in it before August, 1947.

- a) The State shall be represented by its chosen representatives, elected on the basis of adult franchise.
- b) Provision shall be made for special representation of backward communities and classes.
- c) There shall be an Upper House at the State level comprising an equal number of members from the three units.

The House will exercise non-legislative powers and will be of a wholly advisory character to deliberate over and make recommendations for the preservation of security, integrity, and inter-regional harmony of Jammu and Kashmir State.

- d) The State government shall function as a cabinet on the basis of collective responsibility.

2. AT THE UNIT LEVEL

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is to consist of three administrative units, viz., (a) Kashmir; (b) Jammu; (c) Frontier *Illaga*, which shall comprise the following zones:

Kashmir Unit

- a) Kashmir Unit shall comprise the province of Kashmir.
- b) The zones of Kashmir Unit shall comprise broadly the present districts of the province, subject to minor adjustments and keeping in view common language and cultural affinity of the people.

Jammu Unit

- a) The Unit of Jammu shall comprise the province of Jammu.
- b) The zones of Jammu Unit shall broadly comprise the present districts of the province, subject to minor adjustments of areas on the basis of common language and cultural affinity of the people.

Frontier Unit

- a) The Unit of the Frontier *Illaga* shall comprise the following zones: Gilgit, Skardo, and Ladakh.
The boundaries of the zones shall be subject to adjustments keeping in view the common language and cultural affinity of the people.
- b) Each unit shall have a council comprising such number of elected members as may be determined in relation to a unit of population.
- c) Provision for special representation for backward communities and classes should be made.
- d) For the Frontier Unit, on account of its much smaller population and wider area than the other units, the unit of population for determining a constituency shall be smaller.
- e) The Executive Council in each unit shall be responsible to the Unit Council on the basis of collective responsibility.
- f) Maximum number of Executive Councilors should be fixed in the Constitution.
- g) Legislative powers at Unit level shall be limited to the subjects transferred to the Unit.

At the Zone Level

1. Each unit shall comprise zones roughly co-extensive with the present administrative districts in the State.
2. A district committee shall be set up for each zone consisting of not less than 11 and not more than 21 members, to be appointed as follows:
 - a) Two-thirds to be elected by local self-governing bodies or blocks.
 - b) One-third to be elected by direct vote.
 - c) Suitable representation to be provided for women and backward classes.

Functions

1. A district committee shall be a coordinating body exercising general supervisory powers over working or block committees.
2. It may be given executive functions for the establishment or maintenance of schools at high level.
Its functions may also include:

- a) Advice and supervision of execution of developmental works, approval of the budget of Block Committees. Distribution and allotment of funds among the Blocks.
- b) Consolidation of Block plans.
- c) General supervision of the activities of Block Committees.
- d) Matters relating to the development of agriculture, animal husbandry, preservation of forests, social welfare, secondary education, public health, protection of State property, minor irrigation works, local industries, matters relating to cooperatives, community development, etc.
- e) The sources of finance of District Committees will be mainly grants from the government, loans from the government, and small cesses.

At the Block Level

1. Each District shall be divided into Blocks, coextensive with the present administrative tehsils.
2. For each Block, there shall be a Block Committee consisting of not less than 7 and not more than 11 members to be appointed as follows:
 - a) One-third to be elected by direct vote on the basis of adult franchise.
 - b) One-third to be elected by *Panchayats* in the area.
 - c) One-third to be nominated for special representation for women and backward classes.
 - d) Government may associate from time to time technical experts in order to advise Block Committees requiring such knowledge. Such persons shall participate in the meetings of the Committee, but shall have no vote.

Functions

Block Committees may be entrusted with

- a) Developmental functions of their own or on behalf of higher bodies.
- b) Preparation of development plans for the Block.
- c) Management of primary education, health, sanitation, small means of communication, and local irrigation.
- d) Supervision over *Panchayats*.
- e) Scrutiny of *Panchayat* budgets.

Finance

The source of finance of the Block Committee shall be the following:

- a) A share earmarked from the District Committee budget.
- b) A share from the land revenue allotted by the government.
- c) Grants and loans from the unit government.
- d) Levy of small cesses, such as water rates, etc.

AT THE *PANCHAYAT* LEVEL

- a) For such number of villages as may be prescribed, a *Panchayat* Committee shall be set up, which shall comprise not less than 7 and not more than 11 members to be elected by the adult population in the *Panchayat* area.
- b) As far as possible, election to the *Panchayat* shall be by secret ballot.

Functions

The following functions may be assigned to a *Panchayat*:

- a) Municipal administration, cultural matters, social, and developmental activities.
- b) Matters relating to sanitation and promotion of crop yields.
- c) Promotion of cottage industries.
- d) Registration of births and deaths.
- e) Agency functions on behalf of higher tiers or organs of the State.
- f) Collection of land revenue.

Finance

The sources of finance of the *Panchayat* shall be as follows:

- a) Allotment of funds from District or Block revenues.
- b) Cesses.
- c) Small taxes on vehicles and professions.
- d) A levy on social functions approved by the unit.
- e) Loans or financial aid from higher tiers of the State.
- f) A levy on bazars and fairs.

APPENDIX IV: FOUNDER OF THE BHARATIYA
JANA SANGH (BJP) SHYAMA PRASAD
MOOKHERJEE'S CORRESPONDENCE
WITH JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, FIRST PRIME
MINISTER OF INDIA, JANUARY 9, 1953,
AND SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH,
PRIME MINISTER OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR,
FEBRUARY 4, 1953

“The Praja Parishad rightly puts a pertinent question. If the ultimate accession of the State to India continues to be undecided and if decision will have to be based on a general plebiscite of the people, what will be the fate of Jammu in case the majority of the people, consisting of Moslems, vote against India? A general plebiscite on a highly controversial issue, which may easily give rise to communal passions, especially on account of Pakistani propaganda, is not at all a safe criterion for knowing the real will of the people. ... The other question relates to the extent of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir with India. No doubt Article 370 lays down that apart from defence, foreign affairs, and communications, accession with regards to other matters will be determined with the previous consent of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. As you will remember, this is a temporary provision and Shree Gopalaswamy Ayyangar who had moved the adoption of the Article had clearly indicated that this was so and that it was the hope and wish of everybody concerned that the State of Jammu and Kashmir would finally accede to India just as other States had done. ... The provision for an elected President or a separate flag has to be looked at from the point

of view of those who honestly feel that this may be destructive of the political unity of India which it must be the duty of every State and citizen to maintain at any cost.”

In his reply to Mookherjee, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote on January 10, 1953,

“Surely it does not require any proof to substantiate the fact that violence on a widespread scale has been indulged in by the Praja Parishad people. The fact that a large number of officers and policemen have been injured and damage done to public buildings, is adequate proof of violence. What happens in Jammu is not a local matter. It has the largest implications on the whole Kashmir issue, on the future of the Jammu and Kashmir State, on Pakistan, on the U. N. etc. The question has to be viewed in that larger context. To me it seems perfectly clear that the Jammu agitation, if it succeeded, would ruin our entire case relating to the State. ... the case of Jammu and Kashmir cannot be considered in exactly the same light as other States in India. ... it is not some kind of legal decision or change in the Constitution that will finally settle this question of the State. There are other factors that are at play, including international factors. Foreign policy does not just mirror our wishes, nor is it a mere exhibition of temper.”

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in his reply to Syama Prasad Mookerjee on February 4, 1953, says,

“You have referred to the legitimate demands of the Praja Parishad and have pleaded that they should be accepted. Before I touch this aspect we might pertinently examine the attitude of the Parishad to the question of accession itself. There is conclusive evidence to show that the Praja Parishad is determined to force a solution of the entire Kashmir issue on communal lines. Its leaders have expressed their views publicly to this effect

... Let me mention here that there seems to be a fundamental difference of approach to the Kashmir problem between various political parties in India. You refer to the Kashmir question being a national question. This would naturally presuppose a uniformity in the viewpoints of different parties in India. But, unfortunately, much ill-informed and contradictory comment has been offered in regard to the position of the State. Not only is there lack of unanimity in regard to the objective but also in the methods suggested for achieving it. This adds to the obscurity of the issue nationally as well as internationally.

It is the legitimate right of every Indian to understand properly the Kashmir problem. But when such understanding becomes vitiated, it natu-

rally warps judgment. I understand that the Jan Sangh has secured the cooperation of Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader. It is interesting to know what Masterji has to say about Kashmir. In his speech at Lucknow, he is reported to have said, 'Kashmir belonged to Pakistan. It is a Muslim State. But I claim it in lieu of the property that the refugees have left in West Pakistan.'

Once the ranks of the State's people are divided, any solution can be foisted on them. ... While agreeing that the balance in the State should not be disturbed, you, at the same time, plead for the acceptance of the demand of the Praja Parishad for the complete merger of Jammu irrespective of what happens to the rest of the State. You even believe that this course would compel Pakistan to give up its claim finally. ... We cannot ignore that the activities of the Praja Parishad, which you justify, are meanwhile working as a dangerous influence against the unity and integrity of the State. ... I do not know how the present constitutional position of the State can be adjusted with a demand for merger. Whatever has been done by the Government here is strictly in conformity with the Indian Constitution. And yet you speak about this position in a manner which suggests that we have been flouting the Constitution. It is painful for me to note that even a person of your eminence should have been carried away by an emotional slogan like *ek pradhan, ek bidhan, ek nishan* (February 4, 1953). By virtue of the State's accession and its constitutional relationship with India, all these symbols are supreme as much in our State as in any other. If internally there have been some variations in the policies of the State Government, it is precisely because the right has specifically been conceded to the State by the Indian Constitution. This arrangement has not been arrived at now but as early as 1949 when you happened to be a part of the Government.

When talking about the constitutional aspect, it is sometimes conveniently forgotten that the Praja Parishad wants that Article 370 should be expunged from the Constitution. So far as we are concerned, we have maintained that the special position accorded to the State can alone be the source of a growing unity and closer association between the State and India. The Constituent Assembly of India took note of the special circumstances obtaining in the State and made provisions accordingly.

To entertain the doubt that the Muslims of Kashmir would now give up their secular ideals would be uncharitable, although the statements and the pronouncements made by the leaders of communal parties in India from time to time and the inspiration and guidance they are providing at the moment to the Praja Parishad leadership in Jammu is, no doubt, giving them a rude shock. But let me assure you and the people of India that the Muslims in Kashmir will not falter from their ideals even if they are left alone in this great battle for secularism and human brotherhood."

APPENDIX V: EXTRACTS FROM SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH'S SPEECHES

AGAINST AUTOCRACY AND AGGRESSION: AS "QUIT KASHMIR" PRISONER

"Oppressed by the extreme poverty and lack of freedom and opportunity of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State, I and my colleagues of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, many of whom are behind prison bars or in exile today, have humbly sought to serve them during the past sixteen years. We have endeavored to give faithful expression to the growing consciousness among the people of their imprescriptible rights, aspirations, and desire for freedom. This has attracted the penal and preventive provisions of law. Where law is not based on the will of the people, it can lend itself to the suppression of their aspirations. Such law has no moral validity even though it may be enforced for a while. There is a law higher than that, the law that represents the people's will and secures their well-being, and there is a tribunal of human conscience, which judges the rulers and the ruled alike by standards which do not change by the arbitrary will of the most powerful. To that Law I gladly submit and that tribunal I shall face with confidence and without fear, leaving it to history and posterity to pronounce their verdict on the claims I and my colleagues have made not merely on behalf of the four million people of Jammu and Kashmir but also of the ninety-three million people of all the states of India. That claim has not been confined to the people of any particular

race, or religion, or color. It applies to all, for I hold that humanity as a whole is indivisible by such barriers and human rights must always prevail.

The fundamental rights of all men and women to live and act as free beings, to make laws and fashion their political, social, and economic fabric, so that they may advance the cause of human freedom and progress, are inherent and cannot be denied though they may be suppressed for a while. I hold that sovereignty resides in all people, all relationships political, social, and economic derive authority from the collective will of the people.

It is a small matter whether I am imprisoned and tried and convicted. But it is no small matter that the people of Jammu and Kashmir suffer poverty, humiliation, and degradation. It has been no small matter what they have endured during the violent repression and horror of the past two months and more, and what they are enduring now. These very events have demonstrated the justice of our demand and of our cry "Quit Kashmir." For a system of Government that can subsist only by pursuing such methods stands condemned. If my imprisonment and that of my colleagues' serves the cause to which we have dedicated ourselves, then it will be well with us and we shall take pride in thus serving our people and the land of our forefathers.

Kashmir is dear to us because of its beauty and its past traditions which are common to all who inhabit this land. But it is the future that calls to us and for which we labor, a future that will be the common heritage of all, and in which we as free men and women, linked organically with the rest of India, will build the New Kashmir of our dreams. Then only shall we be worthy of the land we dwell in" (quoted in Bedi and Bedi, 17-19).

AS KASHMIR PREMIER, ADDRESSING THE OFFICIALS AND PUBLIC REPRESENTATIVES ON HIS SWEARING-IN CEREMONY AS THE FIRST POPULAR PRIME MINISTER

"We shall reckon communalism and its propagation as a serious offence. We will not tolerate an outlook which makes a distinction between one community and another. My aim is to provide equal opportunity to all. The poor will not be denied advancement merely on account of the fact that poverty is a social disability" (ibid. 19).

ADDRESSING AN AUDIENCE, WHICH HAD COLLECTED TO GREET
SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH, ON THE FIRST DAY OF HIS VISIT
TO THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL SECRETARIAT, SRINAGAR,
AS PRIME MINISTER

“You are guiding not only the destiny of the forty lakhs of people living in the State, but you are today the beacon light for the whole of India. Even that great saint—Mahatma Gandhi—repeatedly stated this. Men of the eminence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have very often praised you for the wisdom you have shown in keeping yourselves free from the evil influence of communalism which swept the Punjab and other parts of India. They have not said this to please you. They have said this because it is true” (ibid. 19).

TO THE PEOPLE IN THE WAR-TORN TOWN OF URI

“While we have only heard of the atrocities committed by the raiders, you have been their victims. The raiders say that they came here to support the Muslims against Dogra autocracy. They used it as an excuse to loot and destroy our villages and commit atrocities on the people. It is known to you that when the people of Kashmir, particularly the down-trodden, were in the midst of a bitter struggle against autocracy, Pakistan leaders never thought it worthwhile to come to the aid of the Musalmans of the State. Instead they gave moral support to the machinery which was crushing them. And yet they claim to be the supporters of the Muslims of the State: A true Muslim is one who has no ill-will toward others. In view of their unIslamic deeds, the raiders have brought a slur on the fair name of Islam” (ibid. 20–21).

OUR CONVICTIONS AND IDEOLOGY

“Our war is not a war of territory. We cast no covetous eye on other’s territory. This war is for vindication of high principles. It is a war between hatred and love, between truth and untruth. We will wage it to the last drop of our blood” (ibid. 21).

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