

**Jammu & Kashmir**  
**State and Society**  
(Communist Movement in Kashmir)

PEER GIYAS-UD-DIN



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### Dedication

To the memory of Late Dr. K.M. Ashraf, B.P.L. Bedi, Fazul— Ellahi Qurban, Rajbans Khanna, Freedom Fighters, Revolutionaries who built 'Left' Bridges between the J&K National Movement and the Peoples Movement in the rest of the Sub-Continent.

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## A Background

The modern history of Kashmir has been the outcome of an interplay of complimentary as well as supplementary forces. The interaction of centripetal and centrifugal trends gave to the movement for freedom a distinct personality and style of its own. Though the freedom struggle of Kashmiri people bears the distinct impress of healthy influences from outside but it continues to be the inheritor and perpetuator of local traditions. What we inherited and subsequently preserved in spite of heavy odds is the tradition of tolerance and secular humanism. The unique geographical situation and configuration has created in this area a certain regional complex which has been the receptacle of contradictory as well as cohesive processes. The elements of contradiction are perhaps a little too apparent and superficial study tends to note only this aspect of a complex reality and miss the basic elements of cohesiveness. The contradictions still persist but with the development of modern mass media of communication they are increasingly getting weakened. However, the discordant notes in the symphony still remain.

The features of the ancient and the mediaeval phases of the history of Kashmir need not be analysed here. But one distinctive feature of the tradition spread over these periods should be kept in mind while analysing modern developments. Unlike other mountainous regions of the Indo-Pak sub-continent, which were more or less "refuge areas" or blind alleys of social development, Kashmir due to its strategic location at the hub of Asia, has been the recipient of major cultural influences from the surrounding regions. They still persist and can be easily discerned in the spiritual, ethnological and cultural life of the people. Though the valley has been imbibing external influences, it has succeeded in preserving its individuality. It has absorbed the healthy elements from outside but never got submerged in them.

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It is a commonly held belief that the Kashmir struggle for freedom and emancipation dates back to 1931. This view is probably not correct. The 1931 explosion and mass upheaval was a continuation and the nodal point of a series of previous struggles for political freedom which took place in the State since 1870. In the wake of the Franco-Prussian War, Europe was overtaken by a great economic slump. Consequently, the main exports of Kashmir to the outside world i.e. shawls got a great set-back. Internally, the shawl industry was the victim of heavy taxation. These economic factors generated great mass discontent directed against the government. The economic aspect of the struggle was augmented by the sentiments of political freedom. Unfortunately, this healthy content of the incipient movement got diverted into wrong sectarian channels by certain machinations of the ruling class. It is, however, interesting to note in this connection that in this episode, the Shia-Sunni sectarian conflict had an economic basis in as much as the Shias constituted mainly the Karkhandar employers and the Sunnis predominantly the artisans. The continuing impoverishment of the people led to many other forms of discontent including food riots. This was followed in the early twenties by a mass outburst of the silk factory workers against the then ruling class. The nobility of Srinagar, taking advantage of such mass discontent, made attempts to ventilate their grievances and make a representation to the Viceroy of India. As a consequence of this incident certain respectable persons were exiled. These incidents were the precursors of the mass upheaval which shook the Valley in 1931.

Naturally, such a major event in the modern history of Kashmir has provoked conflicting approaches and divergent loyalties. A section of intellectuals, engrossed in appearances and perhaps incapable of deeper probings in the social process, consider the 1931 outburst to be essentially communal in character. In a region with a predominant Muslim population it is only natural that the movement for emancipation was spearheaded by the Kashmiri Muslims. It may be noted that the religion of the ruling

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dynasty happened to be Hinduism and the main educated class in the valley, who were manning all the rungs of the administration, also happened to be Kashmiri Pandits. In such a historical context the movement appeared to be the out-burst of the oppressed Muslims against Hindu Rulers. But this is a very superficial view which ignores the basic social and political processes operating under the surface. Similar was the error of the Muslim communal historians of modern India who failed to discover the basic motivations behind the Hindu sources of inspiration of *Tilak* or *Savarkar*. Such notions of history have fed and still feed the irrational and obscurantist Two Nation Theory. This approach takes various garbs and sometimes its exponents appear to be arrayed against each other in opposite camps of modern historiography. But in its essential character, this trend is a unified whole and arises out of the historian's inability to recognise the limitations of social backwardness and its compulsions on the freedom struggle of a stagnating social organism. The only scientific method of studying such movements is to analyse their sources, their basic motivations as also the alignment of the various component classes which participate in such struggles. Basing ourselves on such a scientific methodology, the conclusion is inescapable. The 1931 revolt was the authentic revolt of the people of the State against the political, social and economic oppression by the ruling class and their henchmen. The rebellious element were the Muslim intelligentsia, the trading class and the mass of the peasantry who were groaning under the yoke of feudal rule. Hence, seen historically, the characteristics of the revolt were essentially neither unhealthy nor communal but sound progressive and national. The limitations imposed by the communal form were important but the logic of its national content was of far greater significance.

This analysis does not hold good for Kashmir alone. In many other parts of feudal India, differences in the religious persuasion of the people coincided with class and social differences. After the advent of Islam in India, some of the larger states were headed

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by Muslims governors and some of feudal nobility in Northern India was also Muslim. The merchants, moneylenders and the bulk of the population, however, continued to be mostly Hindu, while many peasants and artisans embraced Islam. Take the case of pre-partition Bengal where a large section of the small land holders were Muslims. The struggle of the Muslim peasant against the *Hindu jotedars* in Bengal may have tended to acquire a communal character and may have even been exploited by communal parties but its basic character, nevertheless, remained rooted in socio-economic realities. The orthodox Indian tradition, persisting from early times, has left a legacy which was utilized by early pioneers of the freedom struggle to justify and promote programmes and theories of political action, which tended to blend Hindu Nationalism and Indian Nationalism. In Ken's biography of Savarkar, he relates an interesting example of the early mixture of anti-British and anti-Muslim sentiments in the background of Hindu-Muslim riots. It is clear from the above that in a socially backward milieu, the blending of national and religious nuances is natural and such distortions should not blind us towards the real nature of the movements. The phenomenon of the 1931 Kashmir struggle should be analysed and examined in this context and this context alone.

There has been very little study of end research on the period from 1931 to 1938. These years were crucial and formative for the movement. It is quite common in some Pseudo-nationalist circles to dub this period as a period of communal dominance over the Kashmir movement for freedom because in this period it was led by the Muslim Conference. A close study, however, reveals that this nascent movement fought its way to assume a progressive and secular complexion. The essential content proved too powerful for the form. The form was rendered absoete and thrown in the dustbin of history.

During these crucial years, the movement was reared and nurtured by political elements in the neighbouring province of the Punjab. It is, therefore necessary to examine the emerging con-

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tours of the Punjab politics of the thirties — its nature and characteristics. The main religious-cum-educational organisations of the Punjab which supported the Kashmir Movement were the *Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam*, the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* and other anti-imperialist Muslim nationalist organisations. Another great factor which gave impetus to the movement in Kashmir was the poet philosopher, Doctor Iqbal, who through his poetical writings and speeches depicted the Kashmir tale of woe. These organisations and personalities from the Punjab exerted great influence on and helped to mould the freedom struggle in Kashmir. The *Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam*, formed in 1890, had an anti-British character. The Ulemas and early muslim educationalist in Punjab, who were associated with the *Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam*, attacked the Ahmediya Movement for the latter's support to British colonial rule. The society was strongly influenced by Syed Ahmed Khan whose ideas were keenly felt in the Punjab Movement for social reform. The *Majlis-i-Ahrar* was also a militant anti-British Muslim Nationalist organisation. Many of its important leaders were emigrant Kashmiri Muslims residing in Lahore, Sialkot and Amritsar. It gave a militant battle to support the Kashmir struggle under the Kashmir State Muslim Conference. During the darkest days of oppression when the Burma Ordinance and Martial law were in operation and flogging was the order of the day in Kashmir, the *Majlis-i-Ahrar* gave the slogan of "Kashmir Chalo." Thousands of patriots entered the State. Mass arrests were made and the situation became so dangerous for the State authorities that they had to approach the British government to seek their help to control the situation in the Punjab and avert the inflow of Ahrars in the State of Kashmir. Bloody battles took place between the British police and the army on the one hand and the Ahrars on the other. In the Punjab, a Kashmir committee was formed to support the Kashmir struggle for freedom and the committee was headed by prominent personalities from the *Anjuman-i-Himyat-ul-Islam*, Dr. Iqbal, and some leaders of the *Majlis-i-Islam*, Dr. Iqbal, and some leaders of the *Majlis-i-Ahrar*.

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The British and the feudal henchmen got so scared of the progressive character of the Kashmir Movement that they tried to counter-balance it. Under this inspiration, the propertied Muslim elements the Punjab initiated a new muslim sectarian movement — the Ahmediya or Qadyani Movement. It is not the intention here to evaluate the religious ideas of the movement but only its political role. The followers of this Movement set out to adopt Islam to the new socio-economic and political setting. While preaching the Muslim faith among the people of other religions, mainly Christian and Hindus, they also sought to provide an ideological justification for the political cooperation of Muslims with the British. They upheld the view that Jahad was contrary to the Quranic doctrine. Members of this propertied sect attested that the presentation of this theory was the greatest service they performed for the British government. This sect, in order to counter the anti-British nature of the Kashmir Movement, professed their sympathy with it. Their powerful organ *Al-Fazal*, through units columns supported the movement but tried to eliminate the influence of Ahrars from the Kashmir Movement. Scores of Kadiani Mubaligs came to the Kashmir valley to strengthen their movement and secure hegemony over the Kashmir Muslim Conference. A great political battle raged inside Kashmir between anti-Ahmediyas and pro-Ahmediyas. Outside Kashmir, this battle extended to the whole of the Punjab as between the Ahrars and the Ahmediyas. The pro-Ahmediya leadership was thrown out from the leadership of the movement in Kashmir and in the Punjab the Ahrars succeeded in exposing their pro-British character. This was a crucial period in the history of the Kashmir movement and it was during these times that its essential features emerged. It maintained its anti-feudal, anti-British character even if it was functioning under the banner of the State Muslim Conference.

A very important factor which exerted considerable influence on the movement was the fact that the main leadership of the Muslim Conference and later of the National Conference (and even today of the National Congress and the other political par-

ties) mainly comprised of those who have been educated at Aligarh. They form the main political ideological leadership of the various parties in the State and during the period under review, they were the main leaders of the movement. It will not be out of context here to give a critical appraisal of the role of the Aligarh school of thought in the national politics of the country. Muslim intellectuals were reared by and large on the ideological content as propagated by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's journal 'Social Reformer.' This school of thought attacked religious bigotry and advocated secular education and the modern values of western culture. According to Dr. Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advocated industrial development and commerce and appealed to his countrymen to do some thing about the wretched plight of the masses. He was a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. "Do not forget that Hindu and Muslims are names referring to the religious denomination," he said in one of his lectures, "but whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian, so long as these people live in our country they form one nation regardless of their faith. And since they are all one Nation, they must also be one in their concern for the general political interests of their country. We must unite to solve the common problems. If we do so we will survive and if not, such relations will be disastrous for Hindus and Muslims alike." This was an important element of the ideology of the Aligarh school which from the very beginning exerted great influence over the politics of the state and led to a serious conflict within its polity. The Maulvis or higher Ulamas opposed the Movement led by the Muslim Conference and the broad-based majority of Muslim clergy called Peers — more or less the muslim intelligentsia — supported the movement. The higher clergy stood for a compromise with the feudal government and opposed the main demands of the Movement. They were supported by the Muslim feudal elements who got scared of the progressive nature of the freedom struggle. This process led to the lower clergy becoming the bed-

rock of the anti-feudal movement and the upper clergy collaborating with it. This is analogous to the French Revolution where the lower clergy supported the revolution and the upper clergy opposed it. This process was not only confined to the political sphere but extended to the sphere of education and culture as well. The feudal elements in collaboration with religious Mullahs opposed modern trends in culture, education, social reforms and even opposed Sir Syed's concept of re-orientation of Islam. It was not an accidental phenomenon that the landlords who took the lead in Muslim communal movement of North India were allied with the upper crust of religious Mullahs while a section of the muslim intellectuals was opposed to the Muslim communal movement and was willing to cooperate with the All Indian National political organisations. In Kashmir as in other parts of India, traders, civil servants and some of the minor landlords owed their interest in social affairs to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's ideological influence. A generation of muslim intellectuals throughout India and specially in Kashmir was reared in the Aligarh tradition. Many of them later turned their backs on religious sectarianism opposing Mullaism and adopting an Indian national viewpoint.

In 1937—38 a group of enlightened, politically active and mostly intellectual Kashmiri Brahmins came nearer to the Muslim Conference. They succeeded in realising its progressive potentialities and its popular character. After a series of discussions and debates the stage was set for converting this mass organisation into the National Conference. What they added to its mass character and more or less popular programme was the fact that it should embrace all the people of the State irrespective of castes, creed and colour. All these deliberations were concretised in a charter called the charter of 'National Demands'. It was a historical coincidence that in the same year Dr. Iqbal passed away. It will be apt to note here that the ideological inspiration which permeated our movement during this period was that of this great Kashmiri Brahmin who remained a unique inspirer of the Movement from 1931 till his death in 1938. If this

period should be called the Era of Iqbal in our Movement it would not be incorrect to designate the period following as the Nehru Era like his predecessor this great Kashmiri Brahmin, through his political acumen, put the stamp of his ideas on the political scene from 1938 onwards.

In 1938, the first political struggle was launched for the establishment of a responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja. The Movement was suppressed and the leaders arrested. After their release, the leadership of the organisation of the State participated in the Conference held at Ludhiana under the auspices of the All India State Peoples' Conference. It was here that the leadership of Kashmir came closer to the personality of Pandit Nehru and was impressed by his ardent anti-imperialism, anti feudalism and ideas of socialism. With the approach of World War-II the ideas of socialism, spread to the State and particularly to the Valley. The leadership of the National Conference built a Trade Union Movement and organised peasants in rural organisations. This was the period when ideas of Marxism were spreading fast throughout the country. The enlightened leadership of the National Conference evolved a detailed socialistic programme called Naya Kashmir. This programme was in a way more advanced and radical than the programme envisaged by the Indian National Congress and its allied organisations. With the adoption of this programme the organisation became socialistic in its outlook and approach. With the outbreak of the war and repression unleashed by British government, the Kashmir Movement supported the stand taken by the Indian leadership for complete Independence of the country, while maintaining a clear explicit anti fascist stand. With the defeat of fascist powers and the spread of mass upsurge throughout the country inspired by the INA, and the revolt of RIN ratings, the Kashmir Movement forged ahead in its battle against feudal autocracy and imperialism. The National Conference, by initiating the quit Kashmir Movement made a departure from the establishment programme of All India's State Peoples Conference. The quit Kash-

mir Movement was not only a slogan to establish responsible government within the monarchical frame work but a clarion call for complete liquidation of the feudal autocratic structure. The slogan was supplemented by a battle cry to the peasantry for abolition of landlordism without compensation. This slogan was more or less radical compared to the agrarian policy of the All India State Peoples' Conference and the Indian National Congress. It is an accomplished historical fact that in comparison to other States of India the land policy enunciated earlier was practically implemented in this State and land was distributed among the tillers without compensation.

On the basis of the foregoing study, the following conclusions can be drawn :

- (a) The freedom struggle of Kashmiri people was an integral part of the anti imperialist movement in the sub-continent. It got sustenance from and, in its turn, gave new directions to this struggle.
- (b) Within the framework of the national anti imperialist struggle and as an integral part of it, the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people maintained its individuality and its distinct character.
- (c) The Kashmir struggle for freedom acquired its mass character because it had an anti-feudal economic content.
- (d) The freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people, had a communal form in its embryonic stages because of the compulsions of social backwardness but it soon broke the shackles of obscurantist communalism and became a worthy inheritor of the secular and humanistic legacy of its history.

#### **END OF RELIGIOUS NATIONALISM :**

In 1947, the partition of India was a half hearted admission of religious nationalism, it created Hindu majority State (India) and

a Muslim majority State — Pakistan. But the movement led by radical nationalists in Jammu and Kashmir working in National Conference and led by S.M. Abdullah in fact revolted against religious politics. "The State of Jammu and Kashmir, predominantly Muslim (66.85%) was integrated with the Indian Nationalist aspirations through an anti-feudal struggle against the Hindu prince. During the merger-negotiations the prince toyed with the idea of independence, while the National Conference, led by S.M. Abdullah, threw its lot with India. The Union was qualified by the retention of a vast amount of autonomy by the State, and although strains have occasionally appeared over the question of autonomy, the accession to India has never been in doubt. In spite of three religious concentrations in Jammu and Kashmir State division of State on this basis were turned down in the past by all Kashmir leaders, leaders in other two regions and government of India. This new historical phenomenon is not an historical accident but logical conclusion of the movement led by radical nationalists initiated by Kashmir working class and intelligentsia.

### **THERMODOIR REACTION AND ITS CAUSES :**

However, in spite of such a commendable role of Radical Nationalists, what were the reasons that such a leadership having at its back anti-imperialist, anti-monarchy, anti-feudal role could not sustain the historical continuity of the movement and could register further advances in these directions but vacillated? This is a relevant question which needs elucidation and elaboration.

Firstly there are historical constraints on the role of Radical Nationalists imposed by their class character and social origin. These restraints never allow them to rise to the position of Revolutionary democrats. This was the case with the outlook of Pt. Nehru, Subash Bose, the Congress Socialists and anarchists of thirties, especially those under the leadership of Bhagat Singh. The definition of Revolutionary Democrats is a political force of

active members of the Urban petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia who not only support antifeudal, anti-imperialist but also anti-capitalist struggle. It is here where Radical Nationalism fumbles.

Secondly, partition of India gave a serious jolt to Kashmir Radical Nationalists, erosion in the base immediately in wake of formation of Pakistan on religious basis. At that time to face secession was not an ordinary affair but herculean task. The Kashmir issue being in U.N. Anglo-American Imperialists through Pakistan not only unleashed barrage of communal vicious anti-secular propaganda against Kashmir Nationalists but organized subversion which led to the revival of the activities of the forces of obsolete feudal society, obscurantists, nobility and clergy.

Thirdly, from Jammu region, where prior to 1947, due to weakness of anti-feudal movement, R.S.S. a militant Hindu organisation had entrenched itself within the ranks of middle class merchants; the All India Right reaction, inside the then Congress and outside got a strong handy vital handle to intervene and operate through these decadent reactionary forces. In Jammu region ensuing economic crisis, a section of careerist politicians were also serious factor to destabilise the situation and escalate it and act as a grist to the Mill. The radical land reforms in the State alarmed the feudal class of the country.

Fourthly, as already elaborated, the political consciousness in the state being uneven, regionwise and classwise after independence, half backed political activists, opportunists, erstwhile lackeys of feudal lords, political careerists to make hay while sun shone, wormed their way into political organisation for favour of loaves and fishes to make riches in the rat race competition. Unknown, obscure figures without any tradition or past became overnight prominent. Rank opportunists, who had ruthless lust for power and money, resorted to various political acrobatics, acted as agent provocateurs, cunningly and surreptitiously exploited strain between Centre and State on the one hand and

on the other hand erstwhile anti-secular forces succeeded in creating schism in the secular ideological integrity of the leadership and thus could make secession a lucrative trade and thriving proposition.

Imperialism does not only intervene physically, materially but subtly and indirectly. Immediately in post independence period, such a situation was ideal for the forces of disruption, reaction and intervention. Not to speak of further progressive advances after abolition of Landlordism, philosophy of 'New Kashmir' was buried deep; democratic rights were trampled; rule of the baton was the order of the day. In this critical hour, democratic breezes came to the rescue of Kashmir people from rest of the country (1957—1965), liberal and democratic progressive forces of Jammu in alliance with democratic forces of Valley gave a new turn to the situation for further advance. These political segments of the Jammu region not only represented the democratic aspirations of Jammu but of entire State. Such a reciprocal process of democratization had evolved and is evolving two divisions into a historical community. It should be kept in mind that State is not yet free from "un-natural" Hot house politics." Last but not least in such a situation, Radical Nationalists who constituted sections of petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, do not possess ability to identify and paralyse the reactionary and anti-progressive forces, do not find bearings in conditions of sharp struggle between forces of reaction and progress. They are not revolutionary democrats.

In the past history, the people of the State were palanquin bearers of Hindu, Muslim, Budh monarchs and Mughal rulers. It was the old generation of the recent past who accepted the challenge not only changed political regime, from monarchy to democracy but smashed the old socio-economic formation — a dead weight on the State people for centuries.

#### **LUMPEN DEVELOPMENT—LUMPEN BOURGEOISIE (MERCHANT COMMERCIAL CUM SMUGGLER)**

In post independence period, State of economic affairs is dominated by a class representing "Charas smuggling, corruption, Tax evasion, black marketing, profiteering, non-taxable orchard money, accumulation in transport sector monopolised by a class, land speculators round the major cities, a certain shady class of contractors, carpet, apple and forest kings who have already denuded the forest wealth. It has created a new exploiting class called lumpen bourgeoisie in place of old feudalists and money-lenders. This class by and large is counter productive, not capitalists in the modern sense. The recognised influences in the present society are basically : (beyond the pale of law no doubt) bribery, promotion, private interests. The lumpen bourgeoisie or in other words financial aristocracy is sluggish in its development. Its psycho-social temper is vulgur and not original. It finds its friend and mentors in petty bourgeoisie dross (Muslim obscurantists and Hindu revivalists). The only dexterity and competence it has is in its traditional crafty money-making. May it be the sphere of morality, value system, compassion, humanity, ethics, politics its slogan is :—

'Citizens, "Business is business," such a socio-economic atmosphere breeds in politics mediocres, phlistines, lumpens, who have every likelihood of losing their dominance if political life were conducted on a larger scale. Marx analysed such state of affairs in 1948 France, "Unbridled assertion of unhealthy and dissolute appetities manifested itself, particularly at the top of society, lusts wherein wealth derived from gambling (by gambling Marx, I think meant easy money acquired through unproductive means) naturally seeks its satisfaction, where pleasure becomes detached, where money, filth and blood commingle. The finance aristocracy in its mode of acquisition as well as in its pleasures, is nothing but rebirth of the lumpen proletariat on the height of capitalist society.

The last generation with its limitations imposed by logic of history had an ideal and clear perspective. Today in the state the present generation by and large is devoid of ideals and has a blurred perspective.

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The last generation with its limitations imposed by logic of history had an ideal and clear perspective. Today in the state the present generation by and large is devoid of ideals and has a blurred perspective.

To change present socio-economic formation as analysed above is posing challenge to the present generation today. Governments may come and go— system of black and easy money is to be changed and given a direction to non-capitalist path and true socialism. Such an ideal cannot be achieved unless system which has generated, "break-neck race for property, status and personal advantage, is not smashed. The characteristics of the last two decades had not become in pre-1947 phase a powerful factor in shaping social behaviour of the valley, so they were able to create new records of self sacrifice for the common good.

#### **POLITICAL SITUATION ON THE EVE OF HISTORIC ACCORD OF 1975 :**

In 1974 there was not a single party in the country which had not expressed itself on the dialogue between the representatives of the Prime Minister and of Sheikh Abdullah.

On the eve of historic Accord, there was, however, a missing link in this chain-- the traditions of the national movement, the great saga of freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people, hand in hand with the people of the rest of the country, against feudalism autocracy and imperialism. In order to understand Kashmir politics of today and the character of its leadership it is necessary to see it in its historical perspective; otherwise, the entire picture would get distorted. This is precisely what the reactionary and obscurantist forces in the country are trying to do.

During the independence struggle, Sheikh Abdullah alongwith a band of devoted and dedicated colleagues and workers, with a radical perspective and a socialist programme, and committed to a progressive ideology, formed a national organisation — the National Conference. It evolved a platform, popularly called "New

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Kashmir," which envisaged a radical socio-economic transformation in the State. It raised the slogan "Quit Autocracy," and organised a powerful movement around it. It may be noted that this slogan was more far-reaching and revolutionary than those raised by the other Praja Mandal movements, organised under the All India States People's Conference.

The core of the "Naya Kashmir" programme was the slogan of "land to the tiller without compensation." It was the radical mass movement of the Kashmiri people, unleashed by such a programme, which made it possible for them to opt for India, reject the two-Nation theory and maintain communal peace during the post-Partition holocaust. The leaders of the people of Kashmir approached the central leadership for help to drive away the Pakistani raiders from the State.

The obscurantist and reactionary forces and parties of India are now trying to conceal or distort this glorious page of Kashmir history. The Jana Sangh, for example, did not acknowledge the role of the Kashmiri people in the process of accession of the State to India, but gives the credit for it only to the army and the Maharaja. This is a gross distortion of history.

The leadership of Kashmir headed by Sheikh Abdullah, after assuming power, launched a radical programme of socio-economic transformation — its most important component being the abolition of landlordism without compensation, cancellation of peasants' debts to moneylenders, massive redemption of mortgages, abolition of monarchy, and the formulation of the State Constitution. Such measures shocked the reactionaries inside and outside the State. Even inside the Congress, a strong lobby, led by the Rightists, was against such measures.

Though considerable progress was made, the problems of socio-economic transformation were too complex to be tackled by Legislation alone. It is a historical fact that with a corrupt bureaucracy parliamentary democracy suffers from grave limitations. In spite of generous assistance from the Government of

India, the burning problems — political and socio-economic— were only partly solved. In this background, the reactionary offensive from Hindu and Muslim communalists, and corrupting influence of power-seekers, accentuated the existing strains and stresses.

The massive communal popaganda beamed from across the cease-fuire line confused the Kashmiri people to a certain extent. It became clear that for genuine socio-economic transformation and healthy political development, financial assistance alone was not enough. The main ingredients of socio-economic development are rapid industrialisation, Power generation and cultural rejuvenation. In the absence of these factors no genuine political development can be achieved.

With the constraints of an essentially parasitic economy, a corrupt bureaucracy and a diseased political system, the glorious traditions of the movement faced serious problems. The economy of the State did not register an advance ensuring an adequate rate of economic growth. The government and the party organisation found itself incapable of tackling these complexities; and finally it all resulted in the 1953 crisis.

This reality should not be lost sight of in the maze of apparent causes. It is also a fact that in this uncertain situation, American imperialism tried to intervene and made attempts to utilise the situation in its favour.

At this critical juncture, the political leadership failed to evolve a proper line of action. Instead, it got involved in bickerings and finding scapegoats. In this desperate situation emerged the negative politics of "Independent Kashmir," secession and plebiscite, on the one hand, and, on the other, of massive corruption through economic doles and the petty politics of economic concessionism.

These approaches distorted the democratic movement and thwarted its growth. The opportunities of further advance of democratic movement became bleak. A new generation of youth, es-

pecially the new intelligentsia, which came up as a result of the spread of education, got disillusioned with the existing set up. It led to further discontent against the Government.

It is not being denied that there was some development during this period. What is being stated is that it was imbalanced and distorted. The entire process stagnated under the pressures of negative politics of plebiscite, secession and economic doles. The situation, including the measures evolved had only a marginal reference to the genuine aspirations of the people.

Across the cease-fire line, in the so-called Azad Kashmir, the situation obtaining in these years was considerably worse. The people, particularly the Kashmiris were (and still are) treated as serfs and second-class citizens. They were denied civil liberties and democratic rights. Such conditions have completely disillusioned the people in those areas, and there is a strong urge to unite with the Jammu and Kashmir State, though it is being sought to be crushed with an iron hand.

The Left and democratic forces inside Kashmir had developed under the impact of the "New Kashmir" struggle and within the framework of the National Conference. On the basis of subjective understanding during these years, they did not play their proper role but got divided and fragmented. The left in Kashmir did not cultivate the democratic consciousness of the people to enable them to understand the role of various classes in relation to Kashmir politics, like the attitude of Indian monopoly capital, the role of communal parties and obscurantists in contrast to the genuine role of the Left and democratic forces inside and outside the Congress.

The tragedy of the Left during these years has been that instead of consolidating itself, its votaries themselves became victims of opportunist power politics. This weakness of the Left further accentuated the already tense situation. The Left in Kashmir has to go a long way to build something new in the State. It needs heart-searching self-criticism and a sense of sacrifice.

The emergence of Bangladesh as an independent republic brought about a change in the correlation of political forces in the subcontinent, and it exercised a tremendous influence on the people of Kashmir. It initiated a process of rethinking. The people are intelligent enough to see that while civil and democratic liberties are being enjoyed in India, they have been greatly curtailed by the Pak ruling classes.

The orgy of oppression and repression against the Baluchs and Pathans by the dominant Punjabi ruling classes has hurt the sentiments of the Kashmiris and roused their real consciousness. They think that their position would have been pathetic, had they committed the blunder of acceding to Pakistan at the time of Partition. The present political situation and fresh breeze blowing in the valley is the result of this process.

It may be noted that inside the Central leadership and the Government of India there has existed from the very beginning two trends concerning the Kashmir question-- one calling for reconciliation and the other for confrontation. With the split in the Congress and the emergence of Bangladesh, a new correlation of forces has emerged on the Indian scene.

It was realised that the Kashmir tangle cannot be resolved with a "law and order" approach. Inside the State, this process was initiated by late Sadiq Sahib, and subsequently pursued by Syed Mir Qasim and Peer Giasuddin.

A new Polarisation took place in the State. On one side are ranged the Awami Action Committee, the Jamait-i-Islami and the Jana Sangh supported by vested interests. These forces are regrouping themselves and posing a serious threat to the process of democratisation. On the other side Sheikh Sahib and the vast majority of genuine Congress workers and leaders from all regions including the democratic and progressive elements in Kashmir life wedded to secularism and democracy.

These forces forged bonds of unity to face the challenge. There was no doubt that this confrontation will draw all genuine

elements into the national main-stream leading to the victory of the democratic forces. The process should be viewed as a political strategy for victory of healthy values in the national movement of Kashmir, in the perspective of its historical tradition.

The problem was permitted to be bogged down in legal and constitutional quibblings and petty bargaining. However, the discussion was not elevated to the level of raising healthy political issues and the process, the secular and democratic forces in the state and country were not strengthened. The historic accord did not succeed to nurture new shoots of the traditional movement in the spring of new hopes.

(a)

## PREFACE

This booklet is primarily intended for students interested in the study of Kashmir's past and recent history, but will also be found helpful in understanding the present crisis.

It consists of two parts, each serving the common purpose of providing systematic exposition of history of Kashmir from ancient to modern times in brief. Part first elaborates the theme of Kashmir's 'Society and State,' present class structure. part-II familiarize the reader with the emergence of Left Movement and its causes of failure to develop and make further advances. The part first has a double purpose - it is an attempt to explain history of Kashmir from ancient to modern times by economic theory and economic theory by history. Such a tie-up is important and vital to the understanding of socio-economic development, otherwise economic theory will remain incomprehensible, un-interesting as such, a method of study will amount to a phenomenon of historical vacuume. The book contains a philosophical analysis of the evolution and growth of kashmir State, its social formations till today. There has been a discussion on the formation of and functioning of bourgeois political consciousness, variants of radicalism, socio-political movements, locomotives and protooganists of historical change. It is a study of a Society as an integral system.

An analysis of the basic issues and directions of the revolutionary process has been indicated. The paper contains new approaches to many questions; application of the theory of 'Asiatic mode of production to the Kashmir Valley; genesis of feudalism, its varieties, 'feudal anarchy, and absolute monarchy. The growth of religious nationalism, its conversion to 'Radical Nationalism and impediments in its culmination to Democracy and Social justice. The book delienates the multistructural and heterogeneus nature of the social composition of the social forces in the Kashmir. The Problem of system and society is of the greatest

(b)

importance for modern social science. There is a inner unity of the system's approach and dialectics. Any system is a unity of the present, the past and the future. The paper elaborates this theme in its study in particular to Kashmir. Idealist, teleological and metaphysical interpretations of systems are now dominant in Western literature.

The specific trait of social systems is their complexity. It is an interesting philosophical, historical explanation of the above theme in particular to Kashmir society and State. Prediction and history are inseparable. There is a distinction between functioning of System and its development.

On the heels of freedom, a nascent, progressive, (Marxist group in its slant) grew within the womb of the then National Conference, though numerically small yet it could profoundly influence the direction of the movement. It was instrumental in evolving the 'New Kashmir Programme' with its radical peasant, worker and women charter. On the problem of nationalities it gave a progressive solution. The New Kashmir Programme is still a lighthouse for latin, South and West Asian Countries. Abolition of land-lordism without compensation was the result of this programme, still only an ideal in the sub-continent.

Such a unique development was slandered and feared by Indian reaction and indigeneous traditionalist forces. To arouse the wrath of vested interests, they dubbed such a course as "Kashmir" Yenana of India."

The Chapter-II boldly raises the curtain from the Kashmir scene, unmasking the parties, individuals involved in the struggle and reveals how Kashmir holds the key to Indian secularism, democracy and Social Justice.

It is a humble attempt in study of the 'Pioneer Communists forming left wing in-side all J&K National Conference during the freedom struggle and after. On the question of relations between communists and S.M. Abdullah, it is an interesting and detached

(c)

study. It explains the limitations of the radical nationalists incapable of touching the heights of Democracy due to constraints imposed by their social origin and Social backwardness. It delienates the theme of political thought, parties and politics in the J&K State from a left angle, not yet attempted or covered by any factual account on the subject.

Outlined in the book are specific versions of populist ideology and variety of ideological trends and socio-political movements that have gained currency in many regions of the sub-continent over the century.

Why reactionary, conservatives of all hues decried this phase of Kashmir history (evidently) what they feared was not so much the doctrine of communism in the abstract or communist group themselves but the spectre haunting them was that of an alliance between Nationalists and communists, pushing the whole movement to the left and imparting to it a radical socio-economic content.

— P. Giasuddin

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## CHAPTER- 1

# SOCIETY AND STATE

(Pre 1947 J&K)

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### 1. Configuration and Balance of Class Forces (Pre-1947)

The evolution of Democratic and progressive ideas in the Kashmir State presupposes an analysis of 'Socio-Economic Formation, existing in the State, since the inception of Feudal system. Socio-economic formations are successive progressive stages of development, based on productive forces, production relations, the unity of these is termed mode of production. The feudalism precedes Capitalism. Each socio-economic formation has its own political, and ideological superstructure, (ideas, organizations and institutions). Such a methodology makes it possible to examine human society at each stage of its development as a separate social entity. That is how structure presents itself to us. On the above mentioned premises, the history is no longer an art of interpretation of facts, mechanical periodization, mere chronology but rigorous science. Society existed before the state emerged as an institution. The tribal, ancient, feudal and capitalist societies can be distinguished with relation to forms of property.

Each stage of society is determined by specific mode of production. The stage may continue for several centuries or millennia. A society stagnates when it does not give rise to new formation, Marx and Engles tended to say "that country had no history, history for them is "progression from one social formation to another."<sup>1</sup>

It is in this sense that Marx said, "Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history of the successive intruders who founded their Empires on passive basis of that un-resisting and un-changing society"?

Throughout the lean Centuries of history Kashmiri people have been the palanquin bearers of Hindu Monarchs, Buddhists rulers, Sultans, Moghuls, Pathans, Sikhs and Dogras.

For thousands of years this form provided the basis for Despotism - i. Unity of pre-Capitalist culture, an obstruction in the process of transformation. It engendered submissive spirit as an integral part of the traditional way of thinking of the people. After its dissolution it had its effects. In Kashmir the un-invited presence of various rulers, — (Sultans, Moghuls etc.) who formed successive kingdoms the basis was furnished by the passivity and unchangeableness of Kashmir Society — Stagnant and vegetative as pointed out by Marx with reference to India. It is in this sense that in our social development States are transitory and society persists, unlike European Societies. The Kashmir history for a thousand of years; to be safe, in the light of above formulation has no history at all; 'as progression from one social formation to another is not amply visible from the scrutiny of historical facts. Such a statement, there is likelihood may hurt sentiment of any Kashmiri, but emotions apart, galaxy of Indian historians, (Dr. Kosambai etc.) could not refute the formulation enunciated by Marx as historian," "could not show any succession of uniquely identifiable social formations as distinguished from production techniques. Nor were they able to show any qualitative developments and progress in the ideological sphere reflecting a change in the mode of production and exchange."<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Society based on Asiatic mode of Production

Before we enter into the domain of feudal society in our State (tracing its origins in Kashmir, to be left to present and future

research Scholars), it is imperative to define feudalism as it emerged in India, its distinction from Western and some confusion regarding the term "Asiatic mode of production, among Scholars. The term 'Asiatic Mode of Production, first appeared in 1859, the social structure to which it relates had already been discovered by Marx and Engles at the beginning of 1850. Its surviving forms, in Marx's opinion, were preserved in India and in certain other Asian Countries.

This type of society being out come of combination of agriculture and domestic industry, such a type of society was very little dependent on external ties and was called a "localized Microcosm." A despotic state arose over the totality of such communities directly exploiting them by means of its bureaucratic apparatus. This type of despotism based on vegetation and stagnation of peasant has some similarities in Kashmir under various rulers. But the subject is still under close study and controversy in Marxist science. On the basis of Asiatic Mode of Production Karl Wittfogel draw reactionary conclusions in his book, "Oriental Despotism" and these were to be countered as Karl Wittfogel conceived Asian Societies hydraulic, conditioned for stagnation as compared to open Western Societies amenable to change. Some Indian Historians on the basis of this above formulation regarding social formations in India as a whole, when they talk about feudalism, distinguish this from European Feudalism, thus indirectly admitting that Indian Feudalism is not what Marx and Engles specified as Feudalism. In the above context it looks as though Indian History had moved without any recognizable social Formations.

Irfan Habib<sup>4</sup> in his paper, "India looks at Herself" does not agree with the contention of Marx's notion of the Indian village community and the stagnant self-sufficient social formation, and under a mistaken notion thinks that Marx contradicts his own theory<sup>5</sup> of History. But the fact of history is that Marxism does not determine periodisation so much on time and place as on the mode of production and the consequent social formation.

E.M.S. Nambodaripad<sup>6</sup> on this controversy pertaining to oriental despotism (Asiatic Mode of Production in his clarification is nearer to truth. He states that, "the difference between the Oriental or Asiatic pattern of social development and the European Form.. and what is the essential element in the Asiatic formation as defined by Marx — light is thrown on this in "Capital," Volume-III, in the chapter where the genesis of capitalist ground rent is examined :

"Domestic handicrafts and manufacturing labour, as secondary occupation of Agriculture, which forms the basis, are the prerequisites of that mode of production upon which the economy rests — in European antiquity and the middle ages as well as the present Indian community, in which the traditional organisation has not yet been destroyed. The capitalist mode of production completely abolishes this relationship.... (Capital Vol. III, P.P. 7860-87).

It will be noticed that Marx speaks here of domestic handicrafts and manufacturing labour as secondary occupations of Agriculture, being the essential element in natural economy as much of Europe in the ancient and middle ages of India. His reference elsewhere to the common ownership of land being the crux of the Asiatic mode of production should therefore not be taken in an absolute sense."

These pre-capitalist economic formations were the common feature in States of Greece and Rome, and finally culminated in the bourgeois Society and civilisation of Europe, did not take place in Asia.

"That is why Marx, in "Grundrisse" speaks of precapitalist formations — a term which covers the Asiatic, Ancient and Feudal. It is the mission of Capitalism to break the resistance of all the three pre-Capitalist formations."

"The simplicity of the organisation for production in these self-sufficing communities that constantly reproduce themselves, in

the same form, and when accidentally destroyed, spiring up again on the spot and with same name — the simplicity supplies the key to the secret of the un-changeableness of Asiatic societies, an unchangeable in the striking contrast with the constant dissolution and refounding of Asiatic states and never ceasing changes of Dynasties."

"The structure of the economic elements of society remains untouched by the storm clouds of the political sky."<sup>7</sup>

In Marx's preference to "A contribution to the Critique of political economy" according to E.M.S. Namabodaripad the term Asiatic denotes the epoch in the economic formation of societies which preceded the ancient.

In subsequent writings also Marx and Engles did not abandon it, as the difference between the Asiatic on the one hand and the ancient and Feudal on the other is woven into the major work of Marx and Engles, Capital.' Besides, the emergence and consolidation of the Asiatic formation according to Marx, prevented society in this part of the World to take those steps in the development as to lay the basis for further development of society via slavery, Feudalism and Capitalism.

Such an enunciation of the concept of Asiatic Mode of Production can be differentiated from Karl Wittfogels concept of 'Oriental Despotism,' which in essence considers the Asiatic societies permanently static and unchangeable. However, a vast amount of material accumulated over the last few decades will have to be mastered before the concept of the Asiatic Mode of Production can be elaborated.

The comprehension of this concept of Asiatic Mode of Production or Oriental Despotism or Hydraulic Societies, and its elaboration is not digression but relevant to the understanding of society in the Kashmir (Jammu included) and countering the wrong notions, about stagnation in Indian society of which Kashmir has been always a part. The problem of the Asiatic Mode of

Production does not only cover the phase of History of Ancient India, but may be seen in it the form of pre-Capitalist production, typical for India which prevailed right into the 19th Century in the form of the stagnant village Communities and as gradually dissolved by Capitalism. For thousands of years this form provided the basis for despotism from below. After its dissolution it had its affects. This factor was vital for submissive spirit which it engendered as an integral part of the traditional way of thinking of the masses as in Kashmir and in other parts of the country. It hindered their ideological development and runs counter to progressive democratic ideas. Such Agrarian Societies are essentially anti-intellectual. Thus the problem of Oriental Despotism, emanating from below and as well from above is an urgent contemporary problem which is of importance not only for underdeveloped countries but for Kashmir — as well also. It will not be irrelevant to quote a para from "The Valley Of Kashmir" by Lawrence "They (Kashmiris) yearn for personal rule centered in one man, and they are bewildered and disgusted when rule and power filter into many channels.<sup>8</sup> The above mentioned peculiar type of socio-economic set up leads to such psycho-social make up which has been characterised as despotic tendencies emanating from below from such social formations.

## CHAPTER-2

### GENESIS OF FEUDALISM IN KASHMIR

The specific origin of important leap from communal ownership of land of village communities to feudalism in Kashmir — a new qualitative phase of social economic formation and periodization may be left to present history researchers and of future.

For origin of Feudalism in India in general may be applied to the Kashmir State in view of scanty concrete data available at present with me. In this regard Prof. Irfan Habib's voluminous Doctoral Thesis is relevant. It is thorough going study of the Agrarian system of Moghul India 1556-1707. It is an Marxist attempt of interpretation of a period of Medieval period. Before elucidating the issues raised by modern Historians regarding Feudalism in India, it would be appropriate to enunciate a precise definition of the term 'Feudalism' as given by Marx, are to be found in his work, "Capital." The basis of the Feudal Society, as Marx points out, consists of the relations of personal dependence." Personal dependence here characterized the social relations of production just as much as it does the other spheres of life organised on the basis of that production. "Labour here consequently figures in natural form and the relations of people do not acquire the mystifying forms, inherent in capitalism, of the relations of the production of their labour, the relations of commodities. What ever external variety may distinguish the relation of feudal society, in which 'Serfs and Lords, Vassals and Suzerains, Laymen and clergy are in opposition to one another, these relations be-

come manifest as 'personal relations and are not disguised under the shape of social relations between the products of labour.<sup>9</sup>

In natural (tribal) economy, (Production for use only), here was limited scope for the development of the factors as money lending Capital and merchant. But it obtained more scope for development under Feudalism. The History of Feudalism as stated by Marx is different and assumes different aspects and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession. Marx further states that "The Feudal Lord differs from today's bourgeois Land Lord" (Capitalist Farmer' Orchardist etc.) in that he "does not try to extract the utmost advantage from his land. Rather, he consumes what is there and calmly leaves the worry of producing to the serf and the tenants." Feudal Exploitation differs from the Capitalist in a certain patriarchy, landed Estates are personified and the proprietor is surrounded with a "romantic glory." Marx saw it (Feudalism) as a definite historical stage. Feudal property i.e. property was taken to mean the sum total of economic — social relations, covered not only landed property, but also the town with its craft industry, regulated by guilds. However, the Centre of gravity of the whole medieval feudal system was the country side. And the organisation of town Industry was determined, in essence by the general structure of Feudalism, which was founded on "landed property with serf labour chained to it."

The agrarian system of feudalism includes big Estates alongside a multitude of peasant allotments, feudal production is characterized by the division of soil amongst the greatest possible number of subfeudatories" for these are the foundation of feudal states. There was little division of labour in heyday of Feudalism. Each country has in itself the antithesis of town and country; the division into estates was certainly strongly marked.

The grouping of larger territories into feudal kingdoms was necessity for the landed nobility as for the towns, the organisa-

tion of the ruling class, the nobility had, therefore, everywhere a monarch at its head. In tracing the history of Feudalism in Kashmir we have to accept the research on the subject by Dange, Dr. Kosambi and Sharma till concrete research is not conducted specifically about Kashmir. All these above historians agree that India had taken to Feudalism from C. 300-400 A.D. Until pre-British days. Prof. Irfan Habib agrees with them with the provision that the earlier Feudalism upto 1200 A.D. had similarities with European Feudalism," like the presence of Serfdom, of natural economy and the structure of polity (e.g. Sharma)," while the latter period 1200-1700 however, has been found to possess few such similarities."<sup>10</sup> Sharma disagrees on the issue of Genesis of Feudalism in India<sup>11</sup> he ascribes Feudalism to royal imperial land grants given to Brahman's, Kosambi traces double genesis 'Feudalism from above and Feudalism from below."<sup>12</sup> There is no consensus on the definition of Feudalism. In spite of all these divergence of views the Indian concept of Feudalism may have variations with particular hues of European Feudalism, the Feudalism as a social economic formations as a system existed in India and in Kashmir. To quote Marx, "Feudalism in different countries, "assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession."

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## CHAPTER-3

### CO-RELATION OF CLASS FORCES DURING 'DOGRA ABSOLUTISM

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#### (a) Pre-Dogra Phase :

As the scope of the subjects is mainly confined to the recent History of State i.e. last Nineteenth Century till middle of it 1846 till 1947; only a passing reference is needed to cover up the earliest regimes, Moghul, Sikh and Pathan' tenure of rule in Kashmir, only Dogra absolutist rule needs a detailed description and analysis. All these conquests and regimes were already founded on feudal society, though to an average eye these changes of governments appear big political turmoils but the society, mode of production, and production relations remained unchangeable and static. It is an established fact that during illustrious rule of Moghuls the condition of Kashmir peasantry was miserable and general state of affairs for from satisfactory.

During brief pathan and Sikh rule the peasantry and craftsmen were not only groaning under terrible yoke of feudalism, but were subjected to brutal humiliations violence, war, pillage, murder and robbery. Such vandalist acts of conquerors, did not result into new technological factors and new techniques in existing production but proved a serious factor of instability and set back in existing productive forces of the society; demolition of the existing institutions and even barbarian treatment of the people. The prevalent occupations agriculture and traditional crafts were enormously disturbed. There was no guaranteed State protection to the citizens of the State. A state of anarchy prevailed. The plight of the Muslims in Srinagar was so much frightful dur-

ing Sikh rule, that 90 percent of Muslim houses in Srinagar were mortgaged to Hindu Sahukars.

To quote Vigne' an English Traveller, visited Kashmir, in July 1835 (Sikh Rule) via Pir Panjal Pass. As an eye witness, he was gives a vivid description of the ghastly scenes he was while travelling in the valley. He writes in his "Travels in Kashmir" :-

"I found after wards not a day passed whilst I was on the path to Kashmir, and even when travelling in the valley, that I did not see the bleached remains of some unfortunate wretch who had fallen a victim either to sickness or starvation and principally, as I had afterwards reason to believe, to the consequences of the dreadful with which Kashmir was afflicted, after the earth quakes and cholera had done their worst."

The population of the valley dwindled from eight to bare two lakh souls. Such was the state of affairs during Sikh absolutist rule in Kashmir.

#### Dogra Absolutism and various constituents of the State

Dogra absolutist rulers through conquest and force amalgamated various nationalities<sup>13</sup> ethenic and<sup>14</sup> ethnographic groups and consolidated them into one homogeneous state; called the J&K State." Though early Dogra monarchs resemble in their demeanour with preceding rulers, but subsequent rulers evolved an effective defensive mechanism to guarantee protection to the people of state from the external frequent incursions of marauders, looters from neighbouring parts of the country. The State of anarchy and uncertainty was put to an end. Laws were codified on English Model and organs of judiciary were remodelled. But exploitation remained on the feudal basis, political nature of regime remained absolutist. No Fundamental rights, right of speech, expression, freedom of Press, till these rights were wrested from the autocracy by the people after numerous uprisings.

The social — economic formation of state besides feudalism presented myriads-sub-system of economy. A considerable

size of population mostly "Gujjars," "Bukarwalls" led a migratory life called pastoralism. In political economy it is first form of maintaining existence, "the tribe not setting in a fixed place, but using up what it finds locally and then passing on it was a way of life to roam like wild animals. It was a first form of property — tribal property." It corresponds to the undeveloped stage of production at which peoples live by cattle raising — "Among the migratory pastoral tribes the community is infact always united, 'a travelling party,' carvan, horde and forms of higher and lower position develop out of the conditions of 'this mode of life.' The pastoral people property in naturally existing products of the earth e.g. sheep is at the same time property in the pastures they pass through. In general property in land includes property in its organic products.<sup>15</sup>

This chunk of population of the State was exclusively separate from the main streams of civil life and civilisation. The Mass illiteracy was predominant. The populace was sub divided on tribal form, with a chief of the tribe who in most cases is 'Lord Spiritual and Temporal.' The Gujjars were extremely socially backward. The superstitions and myths had enveloped the entire community. Such tendencies still persist and previous chieftians have donned new political forms for exploitation since capitalism has penetrated in their economic sector and natural economy has completely vanished. Such a community being politically unconscious and ignorant could not prove any asset in anti-feudal struggle but remained dead weight. The community being a carvan, horde, in early times was concentrated in Poonch, Mandi, Gool Gulab Garh, Ramban, Udhampur, Bhales-Banjwa, Kangan, Ganderbal, Kupwara, Trahgam, Zago Kharian; Bandipora and Kokemag, Duksum, Pahalgam, Tangmarg, (Narwa) Shopian in Kashmir.

The Chiefs of this community being mostly pro-feudal, pro-monarchy and in most cases resisted the penetration of anti-feudal movement and enlightenment in their strong holds and traditional pockets during Freedom movement.

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## CHAPTER-4

# POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE (Pre-1947)

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### The Cultural Frame and the Political Dynamics Regionwise

The people living in Gilgit, Ladakh Border, inaccessible, incommunicable, were stagnant, vegetative pockets. Mass illiteracy, natural economy alongwith feudalism were the common features. The predominant feature of social life particularly in Gilgit, Keran, Gurez etc was tribal. Money economy had not developed on large scale. The socio-economic life being primitive, there were no signs of socio-political consciousness or any urge to fight oppressive feudal system. Alongwith Gujjar belts these chunks of populace of State were apolitical, politics of political stagnation was common feature, and were stumbling block in the way of wide spread peoples Anti feudal movement.

#### (a) Two major Division — Kashmir Nationality and Dogra Region :

##### Kashmir Nationalism : Dynaims of Socio-Political change :

The features of the ancient and the medieval-phases of the history of Kashmir need not be analysed here. But one distinctive feature of the tradition spread over these periods should be kept in mind while analysing modern developments. Unlike other mountainous regions of the Indo-Pak sub-continent, which were

more or less "Refuge areas or blind alleys of social development, Kashmir due to its strategic location at the hub of Asia has been the recipient of major, cultural influences from the surrounding regions. They still persist and can be easily discussed in the spiritual, ethnological and cultural life of the people. Though the valley has been imbibing external influences, it has succeeded in preserving its individuality. It has absorbed the healthy elements from outside but never got submerged in them.

Dr. N.N. Raina, a prominent Marxist Scholar and veteran Freedom Fighter in his paper "Hegemony of the working people" writes :- "In the Kashmir Valley, we have had no indigeneous hereditary ruling caste of any consequence for centuries. For over a thousand years Kashmir has been in turmoil in which except for certain brief spells, it lacked the strength to defend an ordered way of life, to develop its productive forces and to consolidate its past achievements... Thus the forces contributing to normal growth were under-mined, after over a long stretch of time." The Kashmir nationality in 1930, was ripe for an explosion — an uprising which shook the system of feudalism to its foundations and brought further social maturity to it and to other sections of population and regions, winds of change and awakening from age old slumber, and after the thousand of years a new socio-economic formation — destruction of decaying feudalism and abolition of land Lordism without cost. This theme needs further elucidation and elaboration.

**(Jammu Dogra Region) :**

**The Feudal Grip (Pre-1931 Post-1931 period — will be dealt elsewhere)**

As already stated the Jammu Dogras come within the purview of the definition of Region — in the continuous process of formation of nationality. Unlike Kashmir, its formation has been hazardous, chequered. It emerged as a region out of petty feudal principalities which were in constant futile warfare with each

other. Finally, Lahore Darbar conferred major portions of regions to Gulab Singh who wielded considerable influence, in Sikh kingdom Founded by Ranjit Singh. Having a terrain of rugged mountains, inaccessible topography, incommunicable distances the nature of people imbibed these psychological dispositions concomitant to such social growth. Essentially having features of hydraulic society, sources of irrigation scanty, agriculturally backward, Dogras developed 'feudal military culture,' stamped on their society; for being backbone of the armies of Sikh Empire and British imperialism. From the very inception due to peculiar circumstances intellectual pursuits were insignificant in the past. The Dogras have no written history of their own as of Kashmir, and had no standard language though it is now in formation. Being a feudal strong hold prior to 1947 privileged classes had pride (which bordered on Dogra Chauvinism) in founding State of Jammu and Kashmir. Dogras suffered from social isolationism and parochialism. It resulted into their political backwardness, illiteracy and none existence of intelligentsia, enlightened gentry though their may be exceptions

The militant aggressive psycho-social inbuilt-emanating from below and above, rooted in despotic feudal grip 'resulted into vegetative and stagnant society. It gave rise to the tendencies of anti-intellectualism, anti-democratic and anti progressive ideas in the past. Jammu lacked both intelligentsia and articulate artisans of Kashmir who in 19th century had established world market for the handicrafts. On the basis of this factual material it will be safe for me to explain that Dogras could not lead anti-feudal struggle as their brethren Kashmiris did. In a certain historical context or phase the entire nationality or ethnic group or certain region can be reactionary in out-look and pro-absolutism. Apart emotions, it is an historical fact it should not hurt sentiment of any person. This theory is not my own brain child; founders of Marxism, Marx-Engles in their article : 'The "Magyar struggle," published in January 13, 1840, in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung," Engles analysed in this article the differing roles of the different

natic nalisms, regions in the revolutions 1848. He classified the German, Polish, Magyar, movements as revolutionary because they fought absolutism and the others, the 'Czechs,' Slovia, Morrian, Ruthenian, Rumanian, Illyrian, Serbian and Croatian movements as counter-revolutionary because, they sided with absolutism."

Such was the state of affairs of Dogras in Jammu, especially those belts preponderantly inhabited by Hindu community on the eve of 1931, uprising in Kashmir, though there may be exceptions — individuals here and there. But it may be mentioned here that from certain point of view the modern phase of our history (in particular Kashmir) may be regarded as starting point from take over of its rule by Dogra ruling dynasty — founded by Mian Gulab Singh in 1846. This is how Kashmir got linked to the British Empire. The valley was gradually opened to European influences. (Regarding post independence picture this subject will be dealt elsewhere.)

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## CHAPTER-5

### SOME REFLECTIONS ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTELLECTUAL AND ANTI-FEUDAL MOVEMENT

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#### Kashmiri Pandits :

Kashmiri Pandits have always constituted a very small minority in Kashmir. But being intelligent, have always played a significant role in the History of State. It is a historical fact that both, Hindus and Muslims, as Kashmiri suffered most during, Pathan, Sikh and Dogra Rule, since the reign of the noble benevolent monarch Zainul-Abdin, 'Badshah'. But during Sikh Rule Pandit community could succeed to capture the bureaucratic apparatus and monopolize it. The Kashmiri Muslims were hard hit and were groaning under the mis-rule of Sikhs and were subjected to extreme humiliation and barbaric treatment.

But in the beginning of Dogra Rule this community began to loose its numerical grip on administration and Punjabi's were inducted in large numbers in the State. Dogras also were kept away from the bureaucratic sector and only army service was open to them. Muslims of Kashmir were completely neglected. The Punjabi dominance created reaction among Kashmiri Pandits and Dogras. Dogra intelligentsia in collusion with Pandits reacted to it in organised manner under 'Dogra Sabha.'

However, on the eve of 1931 and during 1931 and after 1931, the predominant socially influential, privileged, vested interested class of this community remained hostile to the movement and resisted it as a community in spite of the assurance of S.M.

Abdullah in the session of October 1932, of All J&K Muslim Conference" that the Kashmir Movement is not communal but has come in existence to get the grievances of all classes of people redressed and country cannot progress until we learn to live amicably with one another."

The patriotic section of the community responded to S.M. Abdullah's call and it culminated into the publishing of "Weekly Hamdard" in August 1935. This paper was started by S.M. Abdullah and P.N. Bazaz, to popularize the ideology for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity to lay the foundation of progressive nationalism in the State. In August 29, 1938, a joint manifesto called 'National Demand' was published under the signature of twelve prominent Hindu and Muslim and Sikh Leaders. These among Kashmir Pandits included, Kashap-Bandhu, Pt. J.L. Kilam, Sham Lal Saraf, D.N. Peshin, P.N. Bazaz. Such patriotic groups among Kashmiri Pandits gradually swell till 1946—"Quit Kashmir" Movement and sizeable number of Kashmiri Pandits plunged actively in the struggle. This section of community had preponderantly abundance of patriotism. It was not easy for them to fight Hindu prince, Hindu moneylender, Hindu-Landlord, Hindu bureaucrat. In their own community they were looked down as outcaste, and were alienated and isolated. But sentiment of mass of community remained aloof, even hostile, and critical of the movement. Being pettycogs in the bureaucratic set up, mostly absentee landlords and privileged, they could not dare to have mass involvement in the historic movement. In spite of the fact that this microscopic community throughout history had been a talented one, but "has never seen farther than others in politics."

This contention of mine is not a cursory remark on the community but has some logic behind it. Is intelligentsia a separate class above our society? What is differentiation between intelligentsia and intellectuals? Are rest of the people non-intellectuals? Is it possible that a minority of this class can be 'hegemonistic, in society? These are the relevant questions, which require a dispassionate explanation and sound replies. At

the outset in order to clarify the issue in scientific sense the term of "intelligentsia" needs a scientific definition :-

"Intelligentsia is a social group consisting of persons professionally engaged in complex mental labour and possessing the requisite special knowledge. It is not separate social class but, being closely linked with the existing classes. It caters to their needs and therefore plays an important social role."

In economically backward countries, where modern classes are not developed (i.e. feudal society) it often constitutes the leading force of progressive social development — voicing the interests of the peasantry, artisans and the common people, hence as there is prevalent notion that this class existed separately in the past and is existing in the present society, is untenable in view of the above definition.

The definition which includes all non-manual workers in the concept of intelligentsia appears some what mechanical, and also the definitions which recognise as intellectuals only the few creators of critical social thinking and of artistic messages, seem to be narrow and sectarian. It is not crucial to consider the distinctions between manual and intellectual worker, we cannot regard intellectuals only those who do intellectual work, workers, clerical jobs. According to 'Antonio-Gramsci' criterion of belonging to the intelligentsia is the social relation of the person in question; the criterion is the social function exercised by given members of the society. All human labour contains at least a minimum of intellectual activity. Consequently "all people are intellectuals, but all people do not have the functions of intellectual activity." We can speak about intellectuals, but we cannot speak about non-intellectuals. The intelligentsia therefore constitutes a given social group, with functions which are treated within a social system as functions of 'Homo-Sapiens' opposed to working masses, who are accorded the role of 'homo-faber'<sup>16</sup> on the above basis, we could make qualified distinction between the intelligentsia and the intellectual. Every member of the intelligent-

sia, which is a heterogeneous conglomeration performers of predominantly intellectual jobs in society, need not be at the same time an intellectual. Only those persons possess the quality of an intellectual who foster humanistic thinking (social justice) in society, opposes establishment, are really intellectuals and who combine their progressive thinking with advanced demands of the twists and turns of History. According to Gramsci, "each social class creates its own intelligentsia, which could be called organic and whose role is to lend the given class homogeneity and the awareness of its function. On the other hand there is also the progressive intelligentsia (having revolutionary outlook), other than the traditional intelligentsia (conformist, concentrates on personal gains, career and position) expressing traditional historical continuity, which is to say found on the spot.<sup>17</sup> Kashmiri Pandit intelligentsia formed part of the latter functional intelligentsia who by and large represented the ideas of ruling class—'material production of the day' because of its specific position, and peculiar circumstances of the State. Such intelligentsia was incapable of adopting a popular stand. Judging by some of its political tendencies, inclinations and mentality, it may be termed having "hegemonistic tendencies (not interactional in pluralist sense), in the sense of A. Gramsci: "Hegemony is a tendency to have preponderance in power and influence though numerically small. In the ranks of the intelligentsia there are to be found both the most passionate and far seeing advocates of progress, justice, democracy as well their most bitter opponents.

To be honest, it must be admitted that the intelligentsia, the creators and spiritual leaders, often display the inability to understand the need for tactics and to assess the political reality. Hence, such privileged class of intelligentsia having 'traditional historical continuity in their profession could not be bracketed within the category of the term of 'intellectuals,' — an instrument capable of change and representing the forces of historical inevitability, and genuine protagonists of human freedom.

The challenge posed by the new situation on the eve of 1931 explosion was accepted by neo and nascent intelligentsia in Kashmir State. This new intelligentsia had no tradition as such no pretension of birth from high social caste, inherited fortune or anything imposing in their way of life. These were the leading figures that came on the forefront on the eve of historic uprising of 1931— which was anti-feudal and anti-imperialist in essence.

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## CHAPTER-6

# THE DOGRA FEUDAL LAND SYSTEM AND MODE OF EXPLOITATION IN THE STATE

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### Picture of Poverty :

Dogras kept the Sikh structure of feudalism intact and made only certain superstructural changes here and there. We have already discussed the broad contours of feudalism in Kashmir and its genesis. To be brief and precise feudalism is a social system which replaced the slave owning system and preceded capitalism. The basis of feudalism was the feudal land ownership of the land and his partial ownership of the people living on the land. Under this system farmers and urban craftsmen had their own means of production. There were two types of feudal production; Corvee and quitrent. Sembalances of both are to be found in the history and evolution of this system in Kashmir.

The advent of Dogra rule deprived the peasantry of their legal right of proprietorship in land called 'Haqi Malikana.' (Right of ownership). Gulab Singh as he took the reins of power divested the land-holders of the State of their ownership rights and vested these in himself. He became the owner of entire land of the State and land holders his allottees. **It gave hard blow to the growing land economy.** The Dogra Rulers evolved the system of lease out of the cultivated land annually to contractors known as 'Kardars.' A special task force (Military) called 'Nizam-at-Paltan' was evolved and entrusted with the job to watch and see lest any peasant take a grian of 'Shali' (Paddy) or grain. Such a net

work was organised in entire rural areas. At harvesting time, entire produce was to be handed over to government and its agents (Shakders) and the tiller only given meagre, share to keep him on bare subsistence. The share and executions of government from the peasant (revenue etc) amounted to four fifths of gross produce. Besides, this the villages had to provide 'Begar' — forced labour (remanent of slavery). This system was retained by Dogras after the 'Sultanate, Sikh and Pathan and Moghul period. It forced the peasant to live a dogs life. Starvation, epidemics and death were order of the day during Gulab Singhs and Ranbir Singhs reign.

**Sir William Digbey**, who visitd the State during this period states :-

"That during Sikh period the practice of unmitigated suffering continued under Dogra rule. 'The State took a half share of Kharif Crop, and in addition four traks per Kharwar and on account of rice straw and the vegetable produce of the 'Sagzav plots' the whole of which were kept by Assami and were supposed to be free of assessment : Rs. 1—9—0 percent was added to the total. The 'Patwari and 'Kanougo' got (one half) a track per khirwar between them. Inferior village servants got something. 'Nazarana' was levied four times a year, and 'Tombol' 2 per cent was taken, on occasion of marriages in the rulers family etc. The villagers had to feed the State watchers of the grain, called 'Shakdars'. Further commenting 'Digbey' on the oppressive revenue assessment and technique of assessment says, "The abundance of fruits, berries, and nuts, the exiensive grazing area and forest produce, enabled the cultivator to live, but an assessment as heavy as this would extinguish all rights in land would render land valueless and would reduce population forcibly confined within the valley to the condition of tenants — at will "Sir William Digbey,<sup>18</sup> "Condemned and unheard."

Sir Walter Lawrence says, "Briefly, the Kashmir cultivators have hitherto been treated as serfs and have literally been forced

to cultivate, they had no interest in their land, and were liable at any moment to be called away to work for officials or men of influence. They have become absolutely hopeless and sullen."<sup>19</sup> The peasants were overworked, half starved, treated with hard words and hard blows, subjected to unceasing exactions and every species of petty tyranny... (Quoted by Lawrence — page (2) Valley Of Kashmir 1967 Edition." "The system of administration had degraded the people and taken all heart out of them. The county was in confusion, the revenue was falling off, and those in authority were making hay while the sun shone." (Ibid pp. 2-3)

Such type of Dogra Brand of Feudalism rested on the basis of tyrannical absentee land-lordism. The main characteristic of feudalism is to bring into existence a small but powerful class of feudal lords whose existence is linked with absolute monarchy. Dogras created a hierarchy of 'Jagirdars' 'Chakdars' 'Maufidars' 'Mukkarari' 'Kharwars' who owed allegiance to Dogra absolutist rule. This class held land with all rights in it including the collection and appropriation of land revenue. They were petty, local despots and were appropriators of the lions share of income from land from exploitation of millions of tillers. Illiterate mass of tillers were reduced to the status of serfs. The 'commutation price' at which the peasant had to reckon price of his produce was extremely unfavourable to him. The price had been fixed thirty years before in the old settlement papers and remained unchanged since then. Such a system of pricing was in favour of landlords. In addition to the jurisdictional jagirs as the props of the feudal system of absolute monarchy, there existed the two big non-jurisdictional jagirs of Poonch and Chenani in the State. These jagirdars were called 'Raja Sahibs.'

In such a feudalistic structure, agricultural production declined, middlemen and moneylenders multiplied, the peasants debt mounted, his condition worsened. The price of food grains rose very high, hard hitting the urban population. Begging was widespread phenomena. A few could read or write. Birth rate

low and death rate high. Daily income of artisans, shopkeepers was eight annas a day. Sir Bannerji who was political and Foreign Minister of Maharaja in 1929-30, draws picture of plight of State people in the following words :-

"Jammu and Kashmir State is labouring under many disadvantages with a large Muslim population absolutely illiterate, labouring under poverty and very low income conditions of living in the villages and practically governed like dumb driven cattle. There is no touch between the government and people."

#### **The Peasantry : Politics of Stagnation and Submission.**

Let us at the outset define the peasantry. Peasantry is a social class whose members by their personal labour produce agricultural products, using privately owned means of production. The peasant formed a social class during the decay of the primitive commune system. The peasant will remain till the distinction between industrial and agricultural labour will have disappeared because of the high level of organisation of social production. After feudalism is abolished as in Kashmir the three groups of peasants have surfaced on the scene : proletarian and semi proletarian peasants (farm labourers and poor peasants exploited by rich peasants and big land owners, middle peasants called rural bourgeoisie. This subject needs different treatment and elucidation. The peasant as a socio-economic category cannot be vanguard of change, but an ally of the working class and intelligentsia. Lawrence in his book the 'Valley of Kashmir,' characterised peasant 'timid', submissive. On the basis of historical analysis the Kashmir peasant was in a 'vegetative, 'passive, and unchanging state during centuries of rule of various kingdoms. Being politically stagnant as a 'peasant-class' did not organise any uprising against various intruders and oppressive rulers not even spontaneous one is on record. Peasantry did not care in whose hands power is transferred, or to what kingdom it devolves. Its rural internal economy remained unchanged. Add to it the land-

locked position of valley, inaccessible terrain and neglect of communications during these phases of history. In Kashmir, (same in Jammu) enlightened gentry was non-existent; a historical vehicle of change. The enlightened gentry are individual landlords, rich peasants with democratic leanings. Such people have contradictions with bureaucracy, feudal aristocracy and to certain extent with big landlords. Only an institution of 'village bullies' in Kashmir called 'Khandpunchs' had emerged, who were rentors of village, acted as petty judges and magistrate, had no ostensible means of livelihood, were lackeys of landlords, were hand in glove with village establishment; patwari, village headman and local oppressors. During the movement were anti people—struggles and after independence readily donned the civilized politico-organisational garbs of various political parties but the essence of functioning remained unchanged, and institutionally is metamorphosis of old 'Khandpunchs' institution. The traditional intelligentsia and village priest (Mulla and Pir) was also lackey of this system. The quotation of Marx in his book "Pre-capitalist Formation" page—75 applies aptly on the Kashmir peasantry which reads as follow :—

"We must forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies."

Such was the social prism of Kashmir peasantry undignified, stagnatory vegetative life and passive sort of existence. It was natural that from such a rural atmosphere "despotism emanated not only from above but was inbuilt, it emanated from below also."

Middle ages, medieval period and early nineteenth and beginning of twentieth centuries witnessed a series of peasant uprisings throughout India—Jat revolt, Lawless activities of Mewattis, the Wattus and Dogras, Satnamies, these out-bursts contrib-

uted towards fall of Mughal Empire. But such type of fundamental contradiction is not glaringly visible between Kashmir peasantry and State power represented by successive oppressive regimes; Sultanate, pathans, Sikhs and Dogras. During this period Kashmir peasantry appears docile, passive and submissive. Hence on the eve of 1931 storm the peasantry in the Jammu and Kashmir State in general and in Kashmir in particular did not prove a serious factor of change or locomotive of historical change. As a leading factor it is non-existent on the scene — on the scene of political turmoil— Pre 1931 and on the eve of gathering of storm 1931. Surprisingly enough, the poor peasantry of Kashmir as a class did not organise itself 'in the heyday of movement, i.e. (1940-1946) as elsewhere in the country. Such a initiative was absent even on the eve of historic land-Reform.

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## CHAPTER-7

# DUAL AND DUBIOUS ROLE OF URBAN MERCHANT (KASHMIR)

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The same is the case with urban merchants and particularly big traders; having feudal respectability. This class was by social disposition hand in glove with 'Darbar' and feudal bureaucracy. In the social and political sphere the merchant class in Kashmir had played a dual role. These merchants had little connection with modern industry. Their main occupation in the past and even today has been to finance artisans engaged in production of goods which they handled "ordinarily would provide loan capital and not risk capital."<sup>20</sup>

Analysing the dubious role of merchants in historical retrospect and on factual evidence, the merchants of urban Kashmir might have actively operated to secure an improvement in its social status, but it has never been a serious contender for power and force of political change. In conclusion, we can safely say, that no serious opposition to the feudal oppression of successive regimes and also to the priestly dominance ('Mullaism') emanated from the merchant class. Even after 1931 uprising, this class was not an active factor in the movement but on the contrary, its leading luminaries sided with 'Molvi Yousuf Shah's reactionary politics, which opposed Muslim Conference of S.M. Abdullah and after its conversion to the All J&K National Conference adopted the same attitude. It is a fact that with the development and expansion of Kashmir Movement against feudalism and anti-imperialism certain influential trading families made submission to the leadership of S.M. Abdullah — "who was already

lionized by the common people as 'Sher-i-Kashmir' may be regarded as symbolizing a precipitate fall in social relevance of feudal moribund, parasitic, social classes in the valley."<sup>21</sup> It is worth mentioning here that this class (comprising of exporters of natural products and handicrafts, tourism i.e. trading and manufacturing community and government contractors), in the initial stages supported the movement, "A partial neutralization, however, came after "Haqi Malikana" was granted to our peasantry in 1933"<sup>22</sup>. It initiated the process of accumulated surplus capital to be invested in agricultural land and orchards. A small part of it was invested in higher education and professional training. It provided cadre for expanded services and professions. Capital in large volume did not find way to manufacturing industries. This situation in economic spheres obtains at present also. Hence we have to search real locomotives of history in Kashmir other than above mentioned classes.

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## CHAPTER-8

### THE WORKING CLASS : "KHANDWAWS"

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The 'Khandwaws' class of industrial workers — (Shawl and carpet weavers) were in a sad plight during Dogra feudalist rule. Their working conditions were as those of slaves. They were paid very low wages at starvation level. Robert Thrope a British national gives an eye witness account of their miserable state of affairs thus :

"Do they ever picture to themselves these low formed, ill ventilated abodes, where the loom workers sit for their forced labour, day after day, toiling for their miserable pittance? Those gaily coloured threads of wool are not the only — ones which these looms weave to their completion; threads of life, more costly than those of the softest posham whose price will be demanded by Heaven yet, are spun out there on the loom of sickness and suffering.<sup>23</sup> The entire Shawl Industry was practically monopoly of government under a department. This department was known as 'Dag-Shawl' department — an organ of tyranny, depriving weavers initiative and freedom. Against this oppression they rose in revolt and organized strike on June 6th 1847, and about 4000 weavers left the State and migrated to Punjab. Again they struck on 29th April 1865. They were suppressed and about 29 of them drowned in the river. These very 'Khandwaws' were avant-garde of 1931 uprising.

#### **Uneven Political consciousness of State and Motive forces of Movement on the ve of 1931.**

The pre-1931, situation was ambivalent — a static society on the one hand and that of a society on the verge of socio-

economic breakthrough. The factors of stagnation and change both exist in the society and that in certain region, factors of change were tending to assume considerable importance. The society was not bereft of all impulsions and potentialities for change and growth.

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## CHAPTER-9

# LOCOMOTIVES OF HISTORICAL CHANGE

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The 'Khandwaws'— the embridgers, carpet weavers, wood workers and other sections of the working people in alliance with the modern intelligentsia (not traditional) formed the backbone of the movement and it had the "Hegemony of the working people." The artisan throughout India had been an important factor of change in a moribund society. This Industry had separated itself from agriculture and emerged as an independent form of production. In the sweep of the Bhakti movements, the artisan class was one of the principal active forces. In nutshell the artisans in the town were emerging as an economic and a social force. This class in Kashmir called "Khandwaws" constituted the volatile force and shock Brigade for change and daring during various mass uprisings. The historic 'Khandwaws' during war of independence '1857' being militant anti-imperialist partisans invited the wrath of British imperialist officials and writers. Hugel a British writer writes that Kashmiri Shawls weavers (Khandwaws) rose in revolt against British in Ludhiana. The British settlement Officer of Kangra also writes the same about 'Khandwaws' in mutiny at Nurpur District. Morecraft a British writer in imperialist tune tauntingly characterised 'Khandwaws' of Kashmir "the lowest and the meanest of the population."

The another incident during 1857 war of independence, when army in Jullunder Cantonment revolted and fled towards Delhi — on their way they were joined by Kashmiri 'Khandwaws' and subsequently were severely punished by British. In 1919 in

Jallianawala Bagh (Amritsar) massacre the role of honour shows good number of 'Khandwaws' Martyrs who faced British Bullets. Prior to 1931, explosions and mass upheaval, in a series of previous struggle that had taken place for political freedom in the State since 1870, 'Khandwaws' have been active. On the conclusion of Franco-Prussian war, booming Kashmiri shawl trade collapsed all too suddenly. Further the situation was ignited by an apparently small about 20% rise of price in rice. Thousands of 'Khandwaws' reacted in a vehement manner, organised a demonstration. They were subjected to cavalry charge, near the 'Ket-Kul' bridge and many falling in the stream. In 1925, the militant tradition of struggle was carried forward by Silk Factory workers, a protest strike against retrenchment. It was dispersed through use of cavalry charge and show of force with machine guns. These events may be regarded as dress rehearsal for the events of 1931-34.

In 1929 the capitalist countries, like England and U.S.A. were hit by severe economic depression. It had disastrous consequences for the economy of Kashmir. Exports etc declined. Our handicrafts, fruits, silk and timber had no demand in the market. There was great distress everywhere it also contributed to 1931 explosion.

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# CHAPTER-10

## THE ROLE OF URBAN AND MODERN INTELLIGENTSIA

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### Genuine Protagonists of Change :

The intelligentsia, the stratum of society as it is constituted both economically and ideologically, by its role in certain conditions and for a particular period, could play a relatively independent role. It should be noted that intelligentsia was born in Kashmir prior to and independently of the evolution of the big merchant bourgeoisie in its pre-industrial phase. The Leadership of the movement was drawn from this stratum. Its social origin was from small propertied strata and represented, privileged section as compared to the working people. In Kashmir, the intelligentsia in the movement through unique process attained the position of 'Radical Nationalism.'

Prof : Raina, in his article, "Hegemony of the working people states : "The leadership thrown up by struggles, 1931-1934; was distinctly different from in the other parts of sub-continent. The key figures who came to the forefront had no pretensions to ancient 'language,' inherited fortune, birth from a high social caste, or anything imposing in their way of life that would create a distance between them and the working people. They lacked the paraphernalia needed to overawe the common people. They had no difficulty in competing for influence among broad mass of the common people with the old, established, influential families of consequence in the valley."

The explosion of July 1931 and the following weeks, was an unique mass action in the annals of any Indian princely state in pre-independence period. Without this solid militant tradition miracles of 1946-1947 could be unthinkable.

The main brunt of the struggle from '1931-1934' was borne by the 'Khandwaws' and 'modern intelligentsia' in towns and in particular in Srinagar. Reading room movement initiated by intelligentsia spread like wildfire in Jammu as well. These were nucleus for mass contact. Among 'Khandwaws' were all martyrs, who faced the bullets, paid punitive fines. This detachment of militants was replenished, during the twenties by motor drivers. They were militant, fearless — and valiant vanguard of the movement. (Changing conditions have not left all of their quite in the same position today.)

This was the hegemony of the working people over the national movement. In this respect, there were no precedents of such a movement here and in many parts of sub-continent. The 1931 explosion, led by urban 'Khandwawas' and intelligentsia forced autocracy to grant 'Haqi Malikana' to the peasantry of which they were divested at the outset of Dogra Rule. The salvos of 1931 uprising roused the entire State people and oppressed classes from age-old slumber. The events outside the valley had specific features of their own. Mirpur District was occupied by British troops, and Mr. Jenkins, I.C.S. took over the administration. These events are to be left for future researchers for further investigations.

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## CHAPTER- 11

### FORMATION OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

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The gains of British imperialism, (lease of Gilgit, imposition of British nominee (Calvin) as Prime Minister), were not lasting gains. In 1936, these were counter-balanced by concrete steps taken in 1936, by forging links with anti imperialist movement in the sub-continent.

Late Dr. K.M. Ashrafs,<sup>24</sup> visit took place in October 1937. He stayed for weeks, had discussions with all nationalist leaders and presided over a conference of students in Srinagar. This was probably the important event in a crucial period of Kashmir movement. A new phase set in the movement, The oppressed people of state were not alone to face decadent autocracy backed by the might of British imperialism. In 1939, Muslim Conference was converted into national Conference. In 1940 for the first time working class of Kashmir was organised under central organisation. The impact of the progressive forces was manifest in 1942. In Mirpur session of National Conference — a clarion call was given in this session greeting Red Army of Soviet Union and call to fight fascism.

In 1944, the session of All J&K National Conference held at Srinagar, adopted the programme of 'New Kashmir.' It was a blue print of future socialist society in the State. It incorporated the 'peasants charter, workers charter and the women's charter. It is a historical fact that no sector of the national movement in the sub-continent, in West Asia or Latin America, Africa, having identified its programmes in such clear terms. Such an ideologi-

cal impact had its culmination in the sub-continent to give a clarion call for "Quit Princes" slogan after withdrawal of British Raj in India — known as 'Quit Kashmir' Movement for (entire state) and accession of Kashmir to India in 1947— foiling a dangerous imperialist conspiracy, from 1947 to 1950— radical agrarian reforms were initiated. This included transfer of vast agricultural holdings to peasants without compensation, cancellation of their old debts, the restitution of mortgaged land to them. Still this programme for hundred millions in the whole sub-continent outside the state is a distant perspective.

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## CHAPTER- 12

### THE PRESENT DAY CLASS STRUCTURE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

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#### Planned Development and Dual Society

Ever since the 1st Five Year Plan, the two most important objectives of development have been :

(a) That not only should poverty, defined as inability to maintain a minimum substance level of living be eradicated, but that a fair distribution of wealth and income should be achieved. In his well known introduction to 'New Kashmir' S.M. Abdullah in 1944, cautioned, "Freedom And Privilege are the two sides of a pair of scales : as privilege gets lighter, freedom gets heavier."

**(New Kashmir P-7)**

(b) That development should be self reliant in nature.

A new type of poverty has been growing in the state in spite of the plans - poverty which is no more associated with economic stagnation but which is unintended consequence of the 'planned agrarian change and rural development since independence.

"The concept of poverty is somewhat wider and includes not merely those who are unemployed and poor but also those who, fully or partly employed earn very little because of low productivity or low wages."

**(Draft 5 year Plan 1978-83)**

The local bourgeoisie invest most willingly not in industry or agriculture but in quick-profit enterprises like housing construction, real estate and land speculation, commerce and automo-

tive transport. This is the soil that breeds a bourgeoisie that is national in name, but really ignores the most acute needs of national development.

In fact, the rise and growth of private capitalism is often the result of deliberate government policy. Private capitalist is still immature and not entirely independent, lacks investment capital and is reluctant to start enterprises that do not promise quick returns.

It was expected that public sector should enjoy commanding heights of the state economy. It is in shambles. The ruin has been wrought by incompetent, corrupt bureaucracy and labour (trade union) aristocracy. Un-employment has reached menacing dimension.

The representatives of the small and middle bourgeoisie in the N.C. and Cong (I) with ambition to becoming industrial and commercial capitalists or occupying high positions in the State apparatus, boards and organisational structure and Legislature are either opposed to any change or want only limited reforms.

Planned development is in shambles. The plan today is at best a five year budget of proposed government expenditure, on the one hand and an estimate of private investments, on the other.

Briefly, corruption and black money, which are not unknown in capitalist countries, derive special significance in conditions of under development, to the detriment of Industrial growth. Speculation sends land-prices sky high, and profiteering causes prices of articles of common use to rise beyond the reach of average citizen.

Money begets money in these circumstances, and consequently of economic power, against which the Directive principles of our constitution warned us, proceeds apace.

A dual society is thus being created in our state in which about 5 to 10 percent are enjoying the fruits of growth to the exclusion of the rest of population. Apart from the fact that the mal-distribution of income leads ultimately to demand recession and therefore to stagnation, it does little to relieve poverty.

Poverty, whatever may be statistical conclusions reached about which economists differ, will not be eradicated as a result of this growth.

The black-money phenomenon has assumed alarming dimensions and has become part of states economic and political life.

Suppression of receipts, exaggeration of expenses and under valuation of assets are main methods of evasion. Black money is especially generated in Charas smuggling, real estate, large scale manufacturing handicraft industry, the cinema houses, orchards, smuggling, the professions and construction. Black money has found its way into real estate, ornaments, benami transactions and exchange fiddles.

The fact is that a symbiotic relationship between the black money sector and the political system has generated a high degree of tolerance towards black money in the State. Its other feature is a nexus between politics and criminality, which has made corruption respectable.

#### **Agriculture : Sabotage of Land reforms by N.C. Government in 1978 And perverse Income Distribution in Rural Areas.**

Even a quick review of the dangers inherent in the present form of our economic development will not be complete without a reference to agriculture which still is, and will continue to be a substantial Sector of our economics.

The first major land Reform, introduced in 1950 the J&K Big landed Estates Abolition Act, had its positive impact on intermediate classes which were upgraded and pushed into a position of prominence both in the land and power structure. On the other hand, the impact was by and large negative for the rural poor. In the new context, the scope and powerful impediments to implementing a radical land reform deserves attention.

The much trumpeted revolutionary land reform of 1950, was sabotaged and subverted in 1978, by N.C. Government through

an amendment of Section 2 of the J&K Agrarian Reform Act, 1976, the orchards were exempted from the operation of the Act. There could be no fetter to the size of orchards. A big concession to capitalist farmers and creation of neo-land-lordism in the Rural Sector. "An analysis of Agriculture Development and income distribution in J&K" by Prof. Nisar Ali, Advisor to J&K Planning Commission, a scientific treatise, indicating growth of capitalism in Kashmir Agriculture on sound statistics comes to the conclusion that there is "great income inequality in the rural sector. The Kulak and orchardist has devoured entire rural economy. The greater income concentration is among the 'apple cultivating households. As a result of cereal acreage getting converted into orchards, as these are exempt from ceiling laws, farming is assuming a capitalistic shape than a mere subsistence.

"The returns per acre of apple farms are 3-1/2 times greater than the returns from the same technical unit crop. Thus income distribution has got distorted over the period. The redistribution content of land reform programme have been vitiated by the defective ceiling laws. Consequently land concentration continues to be important feature of agricultural economy. In view of the relatively high net return per acre of the orchards the ceiling on orchards is justified.

It has however, increased the disparity of income distribution as well as of land holding and has created a new social class and capitalist landholders, and therefore the potential for social conflict.

Accompanied with the process of land concentration in a few hands, the well known international economist's 'Gunnar Mardyal' formulation is vindicated by the rural scene of the State. With the population explosion itself tends to push the rural masses down the economic ladder. To quote :

"The growth of labour force in agriculture has an inherent tendency to increase fragmentation of land holdings. More generally it will tend to force people down the economic and social

ladder making owners tenants and tenants landless workers, while the size of small farms will decline. Population increase is thus in itself one of the forces that work for increasing social and economic inequality in agriculture."

**(Gunner Mardyal 1970-361)**

The poverty accentuating impact of such autonomous changes becomes pronounced in view of the fact that land Reform Legislation add to it subversion in the State in 1978, has proved by and large ineffective in redistributing land in favour of the rural poor and in pushing the rural masses upwards in the agrarian structure. Available evidence in the State indicates that land transferred through land reform measures has been negligible and bulk of land transferred may have gone to the medium and small owners already owning land. Thus transfer of land through market sales seems to have been more important than through redistributive land reforms. Land in market economy has come to stay.

The present distribution of rural assets in the State is such that the top ten percent control nearly half and the top thirty percent about 82% of all rural assets. Let alone the landless, the small and marginal farmers forming 70% of land-holders operate barely 24% of land. In a State where about 80% assets are controlled by less than 20% people there can be no social or economic justice unless this asymmetry is removed.

It has however, increased the disparity of income distribution as well as of land-holding, and has created a new social class of capitalist land-holders and the potential for social conflict. The percentage of poor peasantry has increased.

Thanks to the government economic policies, the N.C. and Congress in the State are being perceived by common people as a pro-rich party. There can be no disputing the fact that main beneficiaries of the governmental measures have been the rich farmers and big merchants. Big landed estates under the cover of orchards are free from agricultural tax on their incomes. On the contrary, concessional credit is available to Kulaks. Moreo-

ver they are supplied subsidized inputs. All these add to the burdens on the economy and the budget. This is inevitable in the present system which is heavily loaded in favour of the orchardists and rich land-owners. The result is that while the urban affluent are being subsidized the rural poor, especially in remote areas, are left at the mercy of the market forces.

The two political organisations led by Dr. Farooq's alliance government instead of ameliorating the lot of poor peasants, both have plumped for the soft option of depending on Kulaks and rich farmers for votes and support, in the process it has been itself responsible for sharpening inequalities in rural sector of the State. It has cost its political support also. Not only that, with rich farmers representation have gone up to nearly 45% in the State Legislature, the alliance government has become the rich farmers prisoner.

In other words, if the ruling class wants to pursue radical land redistribution programme, it will have, first of all, the break the nexus between the Kulaks and politics. This is formidable task and demands a degree of resoluteness on part of the government which has not been in evidence so far. The result has been that the income distribution in rural areas has become even more skewed. No one denies the need to increase the production. But there has to be a balance between the objective and the cost at which it is achieved. The emergence of this class as a new factor in Kashmir politics has many implications. The foremost is sharpening of the inequalities.

In the new context, the scope as well as the powerful impediments to implementing radical land reform deserve attention. We refer to important evaluation made in recent years, by the outstanding Pakistani Economist, Mahbul-ul-Haq dealing with experience of the developing countries — India and Pakistan. Mahbul-ul-Haq dealing with experience of the developing countries — India and Pakistan, exposes the futility of anti-poverty exercises in the following terms :

"It must first be realized that to launch a direct attack on mass poverty is primarily

a political, not a technocratic decision."

Mahbul-ul-Haq finds the key to any realistic anti poverty programme in the sphere of change in production relations and in investment politics. To ensure radical land-reform, we have to keep in mind the institutional factors — concentration in the ownership of land, fragmentation and subdivision of holdings.

The political and social consequences of the capitalistic pattern of agrarian reorganisation and rural development, the coming year's alone will show how the contradiction between the Nehru's vision of 'Cooperative Rural Economy' and the emerging reality of capitalist agrarian relations will be resolved. The coming years are sure to be years of great social tension.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the success stories of South Korea and Taiwan which are often quoted by ivory tower bureaucrats and kulk intelligentsia fail to mention the fact that these two countries and Japan also, have introduced, the most radical reforms outside the socialist world. In South Korea, for instance, strict provisions have been enacted to prevent infringement of the comparatively low ceiling of three hectares per family which has been enforced in that country.

### 13. Urbanization and the social contradictions of Capitalism

The urban Housing policy is more geared to serve the interests of the landlord and the business class, relegating the poor, lower middle class homeless and inadequately housed to second class citizenship. The thrust of the government policy shifts the responsibility of housing the poor onto the private sector, and its inherent pro-rich leaning.

It is so ironic that the rich who comprise such a small percentage of the people occupy 90% of the land while the poor are forced to accommodate themselves in 10% of the land where the public amenities are scarce and congestion high.

The high-powered national commission on urbanization has been extremely critical of land use in big cities and **has blamed**

### the government for the steep rise in the price of urban land.

Throughout State (J&K) the urban land market has dried up and access of land, except for the rich, is both convoluted and difficult leading to a sharp rise in the price of land and cost of Housing. land cost should not be allowed to eat up resources marked for House-building, nor should private profiteering and speculation in urban land be permitted.

#### Urban Housing and Land Problems :

In the present exercise we confine ourselves to the urban Housing sector and its essential correlate—the urban land question. As is known, almost the whole of land on which new colonies are built around Srinagar and Jammu belongs to about a dozen land racketeers and land grabbers.

The new rising bureaucratic-cum-technocrat class are beginning more and more to despise embezzlement as the sole means of improving its income, resort to land speculation and acquire interest in purchase of land round cities and towns of State.

The tiny minority, after all, owns one third of urban house hold wealth, leaving over majority to manage average asset-holding. In view of the fact that houses are a land-tied product, the prevailing land prices make it well-nigh impossible for this overwhelming majority to own any house. Since houses are land tied product, the cost of land is a major component of the cost of Housing. The haphazard and mainly privately — determined pattern of urbanization and urban sprawl are creating pressures on the demand for land in and around the already existing urban centres, especially for land in the central parts of the towns and cities. The operation of parallel 'Black' economy creates big demand for land and real estate, thus pushing up land and House prices. This rising trend in urban land prices generates further

speculative demand for land. Thus not only land concentration increases but unplanned, privately determined wasteful use of land is perpetrated. "Land becomes a means for providing refuge to anti social economic offenders for incorporating their ill begotten wealth in a highly lucrative form which increases their social, economic and political power." Such processes make it very difficult, costly and time consuming to make right land available in adequate quantities and at reasonable prices to public authorities and genuine house building individuals. On the contrary, unearned speculative earnings by dealing in land accentuate social inequalities. A bulk of public spending on housing is spent on the acquisition of land, giving rise to the very irony of society spending its scarce resources on obtaining a pre-eminent social resources like land.

This skewed distribution with large scale black money investments in real estate and urban and urbanisable land have pitched land prices at a level high enough to prevent even middle income groups from being able to go in for ownership of houses.

#### Socialization of Urban and Urbanisable Land :

The continued private ownership of urban land is quite inconsistent with the future scale of urbanization when in the developing countries of the world, the number of urban inhabitants will go up from the 30% level of 1975 to 42% (2200 million as against 819 million in 1975) in the year 2000. It is on such considerations that a government of India note on urban land policy says : "It is only through substantial stock of readily available land and its timely disposal that a public authority can influence and control the land prices and regulate balanced use. In our State public ownership of land in a big way is thus indispensable. It is desirable too because such a measure conforms to one of the most significant ingredients of the socialism and 'New Kashmir,' namely progressive expansion of the public sector. In fact, the logical next step in this process is the nationalization of all urban land.

That would, of course provide the ideal setting for urban planning."

### Urban Rich and Struggle for Housing :

The present government is for the urban and rural rich. These sections dominate the apparatus which controls political parties and the administration. The aspirations of the rural rich have been rising as fast as the aspirations of the urban rich and the middle class. The government has taken giant steps to fulfil the demands of the urban elite. The various measures to dilute or demolish the public sector, permission, to commercial profiteering, speculation on urban land, unlimited private construction, real estate and private transport, are all features of the government policies to benefit the urban rich and the middle classes.

What is the picture that emerges? The government is pampering the rich farmers and the urban elite on the other, the rest of the population forming about 80% have to fend for themselves.

### Urban Housing and Ceiling :

In the year 1971, Sadiq government considered housing as a social good, which in terms of standard case for public sector provision of such public goods, had to become a collective social responsibility of the State to provide. An act to provide for the imposition of a ceiling on urban property and for the acquisition of urban property in excess of the ceiling limit with a view to utilizing such excess for public purposes and for matters connected there with was enacted and to be effective on the 1st day of September 1971.

Successive pro rich governments and anti people bureaucrats put such a progressive act into cold storage and did not implement such a pro people's legislation. Surprisingly enough 28 years have elapsed.

Such a lapse was deliberate not an omission. The property owners manipulated its non-implementation to avoid and evade the repercussions of ceiling imposition. The form of urban property owned by urban population would potentially include all kinds of earning and non-earning assets held by people identified on the basis of their residence. In the form of property located in urban areas it would cover many disparate kinds of property ranging from farms, orchards, factories, jewellery, financial assets. But the totality of the formulation is clear from the Act that the intention was to cover urban land and housing property.

The successive house property in private hands has a socially adverse impact through raising of Housing norms and standards beyond what are possible at the low income levels of the vast majority.

The Act of 1971, is thus in between the policies of 'no-total-rationalization and no unlimited private ownership.' From this it follows that housing companies floated for building, owning, selling and renting houses too must not be allowed to own house property beyond the ceiling. Hence ceiling in terms of value should be combined with varying land sizes in different categories of towns. It is also essential that the ceiling law should cover the houses owned by a person in different parts of the country. It is also incumbent, however, higher rates of property tax may be charged on guest houses maintained privately.

The existing properties within ceiling limit may approach or exceed it in the course of time if there is an upward trend. On this ground it is suggested that the ceiling must be periodically revised to take account of the new price situation.

Justice Desai has said speculation in land and spurt in land prices due to urban development should be stopped and this can be done only by declaring all urban land the property of State. The right to housing and real estate property should go. One must have only as much of housing as he needs. The rest should

belong to the State. The housing should be a fundamental right. Justice Desai argues that the right to life includes the right to living and a dwelling.

Thus, in conclusion, the imposition of 'Ceiling Act of 1971) on urban House property brooks no delay. Its provisions must be given effect retrospectively in order to nullify the transfers made after the enactment of this law in the year 1971. Thus by adopting such measures urbanization policy will involve the form and pattern of human settlement. The parasitic growth of parasitic towns will cease.

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## PART-II

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# CHAPTER-1

## PIONEER KASHMIR COMMUNIST

The American propaganda Centre could not ignore Kashmiri Intellectuals growing interest in Left and socialist ideas during the freedom struggle and in the post Independence period.

To carry out this task professional Cadres like Joseph Karbel, P.N. Bazaz and recently Herman Ray were found. Added to this list are scores of religious chauvinists and ultra rightists who are avowed anti-leftists. These Scholars and journalists who appear in the service of monopolies, literally flood the Indian market with such tendentious writings :-

Danger in Kashmir (Karbel)

History of Kashmir National Movement (P.N. Bazaz)  
and How Moscow sees Kashmir (Herman Ray)

representing Kashmir's political life in a distorted and slanderous manner. (I being a Marxist was rather provoked to read Herman Rays baseless charge in his book that Kashmir communists were working since 1947 for the independence of Kashmir. This charge has been made by Karbel and Bazaz earlier in their writings. Their baseless writings represent Kashmir's progressive intellectual, Political movement in a twisted manner. But life's truth is invincible and all pervading.

The story of "Old guard" of "Kashmir Left" is glorious as well as tragic. With the passage of time some have physically left this world, a few, who are old and retired, have discarded the ideology of their youth and developed the so called bourgeois respectability, trying to cover up the old radical past. The rest who could have familiarized the present generation with the story

of the emergence of the Left in Kashmir are mortally afraid of Canting preachers and establishment who mould the public opinion in town and cities of the State. However, the law of motion of History does not recognize barriers. Its nature is to flare up and sustain the continuity of healthy traditions and change.

### How Marx Came to Kashmir :

Dr. K.M. Ashraf, B.P.L. Bedi, Fazal Ellahi Qurban, Ajoy Ghosh, Dhanwantri, H.K. Singh, Surjeet, Rajbans Khana outstanding Indian communist leaders took keen interest in the rearing of Marxist intellectuals in Kashmir since 1937.

The Left in Kashmir has been in existence for about half a century. Dr. Kanwar Mohd Ashraf, a prominent communist leader (then Member of A.I.C.C.) a close associate of Pt. Nehru, profound scholar in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, and Islamic and Hindi literature, an authority on medieval History of India, Author of 'Life and Conditions of Hindustan (1935) And (Politics of Indian Muslims) arrived in Kashmir in 1937, met State leaders, inaugurated a broadbased students organisation at Gandhi Park and advocated "R.P. Dut-Breadly's thesis of "anti-imperialist United Front." For the first time Kashmir's selective intellectuals became familiar with the names of Marx and Lenin. A biography of Lenin in Urdu was circulated by P.A. Ahad and Sheikh Anwar (Anwar after partition migrated to Pakistan occupied Kashmir.)

On the eve of second world war 'Kashmir's Marxist intellectual' scene was dominated by B.P.L. Bedi and his English wife Freda Bedi who contributed very much to the Kashmir Left. 'New Kashmir Programme's was drafted by them and they nurtured the "Quit Kashmir Movement" with their mental acumen and pen. The main Kashmir link with these Indian marxists was late G.M. Sadiq, N.N. Raina, P.A. Ahad, Miss Mahmooda, and the author. On June 1941 German Nazis attacked the Soviet Union. Anti fascists, democrats, patriots, socialists and communists all over the world forged the anti-fascist front. In Kashmir also, patriotic

radical students, formed an anti-fascist front. Even P.N. Bazaz, though a Royist, also joined this front. G.M. Sadiq was the Chairman and (author) functioned as convener. In January 1942 at the Patna Session of the "All India Students Federation" the patriotic war of Soviet Union against Nazi Germany was characterized as the "People's War." G.M. Sadiq represented Kashmir Anti-Fascist Front at the session.

The real thrust in the direction of the formation of the "First Communist Circle" was made by Fazal-Ellahi-Qurban", a muhajir, who went to Russia in 1920, graduated from Eastern Toilers University Moscow, worked with M.N. Roy at Tashkent, and was the main accused in the first communist conspiracy case at Peshwar in 1922-24, and convicted for seven years. He remained an active communist trade union leader of Punjab right upto the partition. He arrived in Srinagar in the month of September 1942 with his assistants N.N. Raina, Om Kapoor, a student communist from Lahore. To the present generation it will sound queer enough, that his arrival, stay and programme was arranged not only by G.M. Sadiq but also by Bakshi Ghulam Mohd. For the first time Qurban brought a big load of marxist Literature from Lahore into the Valley.

#### How the First Communist Circle came into being :

The members who took part in the Study Circle apart from the author Peer-Giyas-Ud-Din were Dr. Naseer Ahmad Shah, P.N. Jalali, Soom Nath Wali, Ram nath, B.A. Majid (who took more interest in mess managements than in political lessons — was apolitical), Surdar Hamam Singh, Miss Sumitra Lakhwara, Miss Svera Mahy Etc. On the concluding day of Party School at Nishat in a 'Dongha' (local House-boat); G.M. Sadiq, Bakshi Ghulam Mohd Peer Abdul Ahad were present and participated in a discussion on the future programme of the "First Communist Circle" in Kashmir. The function was presided over by Fazal Ellahi Qurban.

F.E. Qurban conducted the study circle on the subjects : "The Development of Society," "History of C.P. of Soviet Union, Indian national Movement and the tactical line of communist international vis a vis the national liberation movements in colonies, Semi-colonies, and dependent countries. In the light of these theoretical formulations the tactical line towards Indian national Congress and National Conference was adopted. The decision of the 1st Communist Circle to work inside National Conference was not accidental or on the spur of the moment but in the light of Lenin's thesis on the Eastern question discussed and adopted in the II Congress of the comintern on the national and colonial question in 1920. Lenin disapproved of M.N. Roy's left sectarianism and made amendments to Roy's supplementary thesis. Lenin thought of the national liberation movement as an inflammable material in world politics against Imperialism. Roy wanted that Indian communists should oppose Gandhi as bourgeois leader. Lenin refuted this formulation of Roy and believed that Gandhi, an inspirer of mass movement, was a revolutionary. In depth such a formulation defined the attitude to national liberation movements in the vast colonial areas. In the first communist conference held in Srinagar the General consensus among participants was Lenin's formulation, which he had enunciated in his address to the delegates of the East, was to be the political edifice". "You will have to base yourselves on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakeing and must awaken, among those people, and which has its historical justification."

It was resolved that communists must work inside the national Conference and strengthen its left wing led by G.M. Sadiq. It adopted a minimum programme : Quit autocracy, establish a democratic state on adult franchise, abolition of Land-lordism and Nationalization of utilities. It called upon its members to build and organise Trade unions of the working class and form left wing there. Thus seeds for the "New Kashmir" programme were sown in this nascent study circle.

On the vital issue of the attitude to be adopted towards religion, F.E. Qurban dilated on the subject exhaustively and stressed that the members of the study circle must remember Lenins

dictum : "to regard with utmost caution and attention all national and religious sentiments, traditions and even many prejudices, to be able to discover the general democratic content in the nationalism of the oppressed Nations."

Immediately after the departure of F.E. Qurban, Dr. N.N. Raina, who had a lot of experience in organisational technique, as he had worked underground outside Kashmir, entered the fray with all the ardour and passion of a fighter. Dr. N.N. Raina possessed a breadth of vision, revolutionary temperament and deep sympathy with the suffering of the working masses — these were the qualities that enabled him to rise high above the level of his environment and among all members of "1st Communist Circle." His only disqualification as a revolutionary was his narrow minded sectarianism and doctrinism and being an immature tactician.

Those were the days, when Royism made its appearance on the political scene of the State. The trend was set by P.N. Bazaz, a leading publicist, journalist, and other leading intellectuals and literary figures. On the mass front, a Kisan Conference was organised, and had some base amongst the peasantry in District Anantnag, their programme had sectarian formulations. They advocated sectarian line of contraposing the worker-peasant movement to the national liberation struggle advocated by National Conference. During the "Quit Kashmir" movement, Kisan Conference became a handi made of autocracy, feudalists and reaction, and in the process got liquidated.

On the eve of the formation of the "1st Communist Circle" Kashmir Royists circulated a pamphlet "The bankruptcy of the ideology of Nationalism," S.M. Abdullah became apprehensive and suspected the collusion of Royists and communists. M.D. Kara incited S.M. Abdullah against the communist Circle, Qurban's visit to Srinagar and holding of Study Circle. In fact he wanted to settle factional scores with G.M. Bakshi A sort of trial was held against Sadiq, Raina, P.A. Ahad and Peer Giyas Ud-Din Sadiq stood up to the charges levelled against the group and explained that there can be no alliance between Royists and Communists.

It was the beginning of skirmishes and confrontations between Sheikh and Communists inside the national Conference. The N.C. leadership headed by Sheikh Mohd Abdullah looked at from one side, appeared forward looking, from the other side it was pushing backwards. In the same breath, the leadership was progressive — against autocracy, but reactionary against inner party democracy and progressive democratic concept in general.

## CHAPTER-2

# FROM POLITICS TO PHILOSOPHY

At the outset it is necessary to analyse the background and circumstances of the States' Socio-Economic convass to which early attempts were made to make Marxism applicable. Five decades back in the state the working class was numerically a weak force, politically and ideologically immature, It reflected the economic immaturity of Kashmir's Capitalism. The root cause of Kashmir's idio-synchratic political course can be explained in marxist terms by the concept of "Uneven development" of three regions, different classes and emerging raw political cadre. It is this process of interaction that gives intricate complexity to historical development. External factors cannot be excluded.

However, backward Kashmir history was not static. The anti-imperialist movement in the continent had inspired a strong democratic sentiment among the artisans and intelligentsia in the cities and towns of Kashmir, though peasantry was slumbering.

The backwardness of Kashmir further can be qualified by absence and poverty of intellectual life. Being a centre of obscurantism and stronghold of superstition intellectual life was non-existent. Public life was moulded by Canty preachers.

The philosophy underwent a peculiar "Under-Development," producing all powerful Mullatism, escapism, Futurism, fatalism, pessimism and a queer brand of 'mysticism.' In the peculiar Kashmir situation, economic and political backwardness, coupled with anti-theoretical attitude, concomitant of agrarian societies symbolizing philosophical poverty, resulted in the form of subjective idealism, mystic philosophy shorouded in superstition with its vague politico-pshyco-Social-implications. It stemmed the sharp

political battles that could not be fought out in the arena of open class-struggle. Even at present, the circumstances have not changed. The 'Right : i.e. the orthodox-Revivalists (both Hindu and Muslim), Religious chauvnists fought for conservatism in the past and are defending the status quo ante. Such decadent segments of society consider real as rational and legitimise every thing that is existing, in particular obscurantism, medievalism, emerging bourgeois establishment and its decadent culture. Moribund merchant biased value system needed to be transformed into radical humanism. In essence the question was of social transformation. The position of working class in the State was very much under-developed. Hence they were ill-equipped to prove an agent of social change. In this Socio-Economic background which by and large still persists, the tactics to be evolved was to spread and develop Marxism and fight feudal-cum-bourgeois reactionary ideology.

### The Problem of Tactics : National Conference and Communists :

With a background full of Social complexity, this pioneer group started the organization of workers, students and youth, artisans and intellectuals. They began propagating about the October Revolution, the achievements of the young Socialist state, the Soviet Union, and the ideology of Marxism and Leninism. Due to lack of enlightened cadre among peasantry the group could not make any headway, to organise their class organisations — Kisan Sabah—as elsewhere in the sub-continent. The Communist Circle actively took part in the freedom movement headed by All J&K National Conference. They were its grass root workers, office bearers and were participating in the sessions of the All J&K National Conference, projecting a democratic programme — complete abolition of absolutism. By introducing the slogan of "Quit Autocracy" the communists were the first political force in the Indian National movement to project such a radical concept. On the organisational front for the first time the N.C. organisation in Srinagar was oriented on Scientific lines and it proved a Strom/

centre in the struggles against autocracy in the State. It was followed by organising trade Unions, Students, intellectuals and writers. The Communist party of India gave fraternal help to assist in developing mass work as well as political and ideologically educated the group. Prominent among these were communists-com. Bedi, Dr Ashraf, Com-Ajoy Ghosh, Com. Gopal Dass, Com Şoli Batliwala, Dr. Khursheed Mantoo of Lahore, and Com. Atta Mohd Peshwari from N.W. Frontier, Raj-Bans-Khana Com. Ashraf, B.P.L. Bedi toured the Kashmir Valley, addressed the group and Public meetings and workers organizations. Com. Gopal Dass worked among students and introduced new propaganda techniques. The entire organized sector of workers was organized in the Trade Unions. The Red Flag reached the silk Weaving Factory, K.S. Woollen Mills, the Municipal workers and handloom workers. In 1944, working-classe organized a Central Organisation "the Kashmir Mazdoor Union" to Co-ordinate and lead all its constituent trade Unions. The organised working class formed the strongest detachment of the National Movement between the years 1940-50. "Economism" was not the dominant reformist ideological trend among the working class in this period as it is today.

The impact of the fresh forces on the movement was manifest as early as 1942 in the Mirpur Session of the national Conference. A clarion call came from this platform greeting the Red Army and expressing solidarity of the people of this state with all those fighting world Fascism in bloody battle at that time. This was done despite the confused thinking of many top ranking National Leaders.

The Friends of Soviet Union organisation was set up to familiarize all sections of our people irrespective of their political views, about the Soviet Union and its role for the liberation of all the oppressed people of the world.

A Progressive Writers Union was organised comprising of writers, poets, men of literature to disseminate the progressive trends in literature and the concept of "Art for life." The Commu-

nist group's weekly Newspaper "Inqilab" appeared in this period edited by Peer Giyas Ud-Din and Ram Nath. After publication of some issues its security was forfeited and the paper was banned. A bookshop dealing in sale of Communist literature was established at Court Road, run by A.M. Tariq.

Without these vital land marks in our national movement the great events of 1946, 1950, are totally Incomprehensible.

In 1944 the Srinagar Session of the All J&K National Conference put forth and adopted the programme of "New Kashmir" as the goal of the movement. It is a historical fact that no sector of the national movement in the sub-continent, in West Asia or Latin America, or Africa is on record as having identified its programme in such clear cut terms. Such an ideological impact had its culmination in he Sub-continent to give clarion call for "Quit Princes" slogan after withdrawal of British Raj in India, known as "Quit Kashmir Movement."

The "New Kashmir" as the basic programmatic document, summarises and delineates the pre-requisites of the radical democratic over-throw of feudalism and absolutism, but does not indicate in explicit terms, hostile antagonism between bourgeois and proletariat.

To counter the fast growing influence of communists in the valley and its emergence as a force G.M.D. Kara at the first instance alongwith J.N. Zutshi, K.N. Bamzai, S.L. Saraf organised "The India First League" but after some time most of its members could not stand for long and joined communist Circle. Influential group of student leaders who joined "Communist Circle" included prominent leaders M.Y. Dar, R.C. Raina, Noor Mohmad, M.L. Misri and O.N. Dhar, Anupum Dhar, Amar Singh and others. Since 1944, G.M.D. Kara had a close co-operation with the communist group till 1950. It must be kept in mind, that after S.M. Abdullah two personalities were contenders for number two leadership in National Conference — Bakshi and Kara. Their factionalism and taking sides badly harmed the growth of the

'communist circle.' In 1944 Bakshi G.M. being a fellow traveller and having always two briefs on every issue like Jospeh Fouche, (a dubious character in French Revolution) became evasive and severed relations with the group. The leadership of group headed by Dr. K.M. Ashraf and G.M. Sadiq went to his residence, accompanied by others, without any prior appointment. For some time Bakshi avoided to meet the group but on sensing obstinacy, received the group and arranged a good lunch but on vital issue of his relationship with the group he prevaricated. He avoided contact with genuine movement. This dithering and irresolution is the common characteristic of petty bourgeois democrats. Since this incident of his exit from the 'Circle,' he remained consistent in his anti communism. The expansion and consolidation of progressive forces inside National Conference and allied organisations scared Bakshi, and was lying low for next opportunity some time. In 1945 at National Conference session at Sopore, G.M.D. kara hd emerged a strong influence and was dominating the scene.

#### Kashmir Communists and Question of Nationalities :

In the historical session at Sopore, in which Pt. Nehru, Khan Gaffar Khan, Abdul Samad Khan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Maulana Azad and Indira Gandhi participated, a ticklish and complex theoretical, formulation on the question of Nationalities did crop-up and the communist party was initiator of this important move in the sub-continent for the first time since the start of the independence movement. In those days, the Communist party of India thought that failure in building unity from below led to helpless reliance on unity from above. "Destiny of nation depends on Congress-League unity" which, with Jinnah adamant in his demand for Pakistan, led to trailing behind the Muslim League in order to bring Gandhi-Jinnah together. A theory of oppressed Muslim Nationalities was evolved, thus introducing religious factor in national make-up. In this context, communist group led by G.M. Sadiq and Dr. K.M. Ashraf in alliance with S.M. Abdullah were

keen to invite Mr. Jinnah to Kashmir and give him a reception. But the adamant attitude of Jinnah on Pakistan-Muslim Separate nation, shattered the idyllic concepts about unity. It was wrong to equate Congress with Muslim League. It was mechanical application of the Bolshevik Slogan of the "Right of self determination." But this mistake was corrected later on, by 1946, i.e. the theory about Muslim Nationalities and their right to separate was given up. It was a pioneering work in the field of applying the Marxist, Leninist teaching on the nationality question — Nationality question to the complicated Indian situation. However such an omission does not justify the inadequacy of the Bourgeois Nationalist approach to Indian Unity. During "Plebiscite Front's" struggle period for plebiscite such a radical concept was identified with plebiscite and further prostituted. Question of nationalities and plebiscite are two separate entities. Moreover, Lenin who had cautioned against the theory of autonomization, was in favour of right in principle but not in actual practice — Secession-Lenin developed this idea in his letter of December 6, 1913, to S.G. Shahumyn. It reads in part. "We are in favour of the right to secession (and not in favour of everyone seceding)<sup>2</sup>. Secession is not what we plan at all. We do not advocate Secession, in general, we are opposed to secession. But we stand for the right to secede owing to reactionary, Great Russian, Nationalism, which has so besmirched the idea of national co-existence."<sup>1</sup> On the issue of "Right of self Determination" to the nationalities S.M. Abdullah in his biography has misquoted Dr. Ashraf and distorted the concept — (Page 622-Atish-Chinar). In the book entitled Dr. Kanwar Mohammad Ashraf — 1903-1962, "An Indian scholar and revolutionary," German author Horst Krugger has reproduced interview of Dr. K.M. Ashraf on the relations between the Muslim League and the C.P.I and Muslim League demand of Pakistan. "The C.P.I. insisted that Gandhi and Jinnah should meet if there was to be any United front against British Imperialism. It is against this background that the C.P.I. was misled by the slogan of self determination and mistook the feeling of Muslim communalism in India for something representing the organised expression of

the Beluchi, Punjabi, Pathan Nationalities for self determination. It was certainly a distortion because Party conveniently forgot the whole history of British imperialism and communal politics. But the fact remains that the general estimate of the C.P.I. in the given situation was prima facie superficially correct." Sheikh Sahib's charge against "Kashmir communist group and Dr. K.M. Ashraf is not substantiated by facts.

#### Quit Kashmir : Kashmir Communists Participate in Planning the Campaign :

At the out-break of the Quit Kashmir Movement in 1946, the communist group and their activists were in the front ranks of struggle against autocratic regime. Most of them were put behind bars, the rest were running the underground apparatus. A sense of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause and dedication enabled them to command respect among people and the National movement. From a tiny group it assumed the shape of a vanguard, and a dynamic political force to be reckoned with. The Circle established an actual rapport with the masses. The 'Quit Kashmir' movement was a half way house between revolutionary action and Congress policy of restraint.

These were the vital events in the historical development of the movement... 1946 and the role of communists in 1947 and in 1950.

The communists in the National Conference made a significant contribution in working out a programme of radical land-Reforms. In fact J&K State is the only State in India which has abolished land-lordism without compensation.

## CHAPTER-3

### THE RAIDERS ATTACK 1947 AND COMMUNISTS ORGANISE RESISTANCE

On the eve of Raiders attack, the communists organised national Militia, a patriotic armed force for defence and resistance against invaders. This voluntary armed force in those chaotic days maintained the internal security. It comprised of students, artisans, workers, intellectuals and political activists. G.M. Sadiq and Peer Giyas-Ud-Din were its incharge. The cultural Front was headed by prominent journalist, publicist, Peer Abdul Ahad and P.N. Pardesi, S.S. Chavan, Sheila Bhatia, S.N. Zutshi, G.R. Renzoo and many leading writers. Since its formation begins the Renaissance of Kashmir poetry and Literature. It mobilized the entire valley through its open air theatre, literature, drama, plays and skits. The theme of plays, was secularism, anti-land-lordism, for social and cultural change and for "New Kashmir." The main street in Srinagar was renamed "Lal Chowk" — "Red Square." Prominent among this "1st Circle of Communists and sympathizers were G.M. Sadiq, N.N. Raina, myself (Peer Giyas-ud-Din), P.N. Jalali, Noor Mohd, M.L. Misri, Mohd Yousuf Dar, R.C. Raina, Smt Simitra Lakhwara, Peer Abdul Ahad Shah, O.N. Dhar, Brij Lal, M.D. Noor.' But in retrospect, this was a group of the prudent, petty bourgeois progressive intellectuals. It in its initial drunkenness allowed itself to be out-smarted, until it became conscious and opened its eyes when it was contemptuously rejected, denounced as disruptive and all reprehensible tendencies were attributed to it. This group basically had achieved no more than what the N.C. leadership regarded as admissible and

in consonance with their own well defined interests. Involved in self contradiction, splits, ideological differences within, search for correct theoretical line, no semblance of independence as an alternative — (formation of independent communist party); with this of course, its enthusiasm cooled off. A sober recognition that a powerful reaction has attained control of the situation, strange enough, before any action of revolutionary kind had taken place.

#### Search for theory — a correct political line :

In side group there were three trends — Nehru left line—Left Collaboration with national Conference, Proletarian Line — about the independence of communist Circle and formation of party and support to N.C., radical measures from out-side, and extreme left sectarian line advocating total opposition to National Conference.

The Nehru's left line was a trend represented by G.M. Sadiq : Com : Dhan-Wantri, R.C. Raina, and others in the communist Circle. The roots were in "Lenin's Legacy" — The League against imperialism, and attitude of Nehru towards it and also in the presidential address which Nehru delivered at the Lucknow session of Congress.

Lenin in the last days of his life repeatedly reiterated forging of vital alliance between the forces of National Liberation and the international proletariat and the whole revolutionary movement. The "L.A.I" (League Against Imperialism) was an essential forum and the Third international helped this organisation to come into existence. "Pt. Nehru who attended the Brussels Congress of the League as a delegate of I.N. Congress characterized it as very representative of the countries, being exploited and oppressed by others, and of workers' organisations." This contention accepted in its fundamentals, the Socialist theory of the State. Socialism in colonies was not in contradiction with Nationalism — but complemented it. An international alliance of all anti-imperialist forces would find its natural ally in the U.S.S.R.

At the Lucknow Session, Nehru said, "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the worlds problems and of India's problems lies in socialism — I use the word in Scientific, Economic sense. Socialism is however, something even more than an economic doctrine. It is philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me."

This "Nehurite left trend" advocated, though with reservations, that "Nehru is a marxist revolutionary. Keeping in view the weakness of the left outside Congress, it would not be worth while to carry Radical Nationalists along as the popular leadership of left front. Marxism at first should emerge as an intellectual force and in the process become a political force.

The advocates of the proletarian line emphasised "the independence of Party," no merger with petty bourgeois party like N.C. However, they emphasized the extension of outside support to its popular and radical measures. Communists should not accept offices in N.C. formed Government. To strengthen their agrument the advocates of this trend referred to the collected works of Lenin. Vol : 31 page 151—"Working class parties must enter, into temporary alliances with bourgeois Democracy in backward countries, but should not merge with it and should under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement even if it is in its most embryonic form." Aside from the political aspect there is an ideological one : Lenin's words that "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it the most just, purest, most refined and civilized brand. In place of all forms of nationalism, Marxism advances internationalism, must not be forgotten."

This view-point was pronounced by Dr. N.N. Raina, Peer Giyas-ud-Din P. N. Jalali, M.L. Misri, M.D. Noor and some others. After the party Congress in Calcutta, in 1948, Mr. Raina initiated this line through his "Bunch of letters" addressed to the party Circle. The extreme sectarian line was propounded by "Pink-Reds." G.M.D. Kara and G.R. Renzoo, A.R. Raht and others.

They wanted to have no alliance with national Conference. Such a line was motivated more from disgruntlement than any ideological basis. During this period, G.M. Kara suffered defeat in factional power struggle with Bakshi. In this power feud Sheikh supported Bakshi.

D.P. Dhar was a typical Chameleon character, who had been never a Circle member, till 1947. He worked on the periphery of our mass front, Friends of Soviet Union. He was close to Bakshi. He assumed importance in N.C. hierarchy from 1947 onwards. His moves were dubious, In the Kashmir movement particularly viz-a-viz progressive movement, he acted as a watch dog of the Home Ministry, After States Accession to India due to extreme political backwardness of rural cadre, communist circle could not create nuclei to fan out and work amongst the poor peasantry, organise Kisan Sabahs and initiate class struggle in the rural sector. Prior to 1947, we had a contact — A.R. Rahat. He had the general impulses of a peasant and belonged to the category of 'enlightened gentry' in the rural sector. He did commendable work. But in hum-drum Kashmir politics he also lost his moorings, latter in, though he proved to be consistent ideologically, Bakshi kept an eye on Rahat, lest he should consolidate, his own position among the peasantry.

#### Meetings at Rawalpindi :

About five decades back, in a lovely autumn season, Sept. 1946, when the "Quit Kashmir" movement was on, I (author) alongwith my class mates and political friends — Syed Mir Qasim and G.M. Rajpuri were travelling from Aligarh University to Rawalpindi (after finishing our examinations). My elder brother, a prominent freedom-fighter, late P. Abdul Ahad, after his release from Jammu Jail had come to 'Pindi (He had been called here by Bakshi and Sadiq, for holding discussions to re-organize overground activity and restore publication and editing of the National Conference organ "Khidmat." P.A. Ahad received us at

the Railway Station and suggested to my friends to call on self-exiled Kashmir leaders, staying at "Head Quarter of the Kashmir Movement at Rawalpindi." They agreed and my impression is that both of them met Bakshi and Sadiq intimately for the first time. Sadiq also met them separately. Both of them also came to know about the ideological schism in the National Conference organization.

Upon my return, I (author) along with P.A. Ahad and G.M. Butt (Raida) reorganised N.C. Head Quarters at "Mujahid Manzil" and P.A. Ahad restarted the publication of "Khidmat" till his re-arrest. But my other two colleagues were not traceable till the Praja Sabha, elections scheduled to be held in December-January (1946-47) Rajpuri surfaced first and came to Srinagar. I (Author) arranged a meeting of G.M.D. Kara, underground leader with G.M. Rajpuri who was given a mandate. In december 1946, the author (Peer Giyas-Ud-Din) went to Anantnag to contact Mir Qasim. In those days there was no vehicular communication to Doru. I stayed at N.A. activist P.A. Ghani's office over night and informed Mir Qasim about the developments. He was also given a mandate. The election was subsequently byocotted. After the election Qasim and Rajpori revived National Conference in their respective sectors. Mir Qasim was arrested as a 'Satyagarhi' sent to Ram Nagar Jail, where in Prison Ram Nagar he came in close contact with two members of communist group Dr. N.N. Raina and P.A. Ahad and Mr. Rajpori, till Oct., 1947 was working underground.

#### Pink Reds and fellow Travellers :

In Aligarh University, I (the author) came into contact with Mir Qasim, Mir, G.M. Rajpori and G.R. Renzoo. Mir Qasim and Rajpori have middle peasant social origin, Mir Qasim having a heritage of rural clergy. During their educational period at aligarh both of them developed contact with the left and were patriotic. Rajpori had been a National Conference activist, and Mir Qasim had dab-

bled in vague sort of muslim politics. Both were over-ambitious and sleepy heads — ideologically, while Mir Qasim had psychological richness of exterior, possessed a Bobbish temper, Rajpuri could comprehend the complexity of situations. Mir Qasim had a sensibility, was ironic and humorous. Both had characteristic's of an amphibian. Both were "left" and also on the very right. Mir Qasim exhibited bubbling enthusiasm which on occasions smacked of superficiality — Both had the irresolution of the leaders of petty bourgeois democrats. Rajpuri loved parading radicalism. In essence he as a young man was a rebel and not a revolutionary.

The staunch core of the "Communist Circle" who had gone through the proletarianization process since 1942 under the rigorous discipline of Dr. N.N. Raina, were keen to declass their social origin, but these pink reds, fellow travellers at the time of this crucial phase of ideological and political crisis were keen to shed their "radical" chains, to become agents of "intellectual opportunism." Rajpuri substituted local tribal family feud for Marxism and Mir Qasim started from an articulate liberal type of Mullaism towards Marxism. The physico-socio political frame of such personalities culminates in political cynicism and opportunism. Such posture was not an individual malaise but the development of social conditions, and the immaturity of political theory. It showed that petty bourgeois point of view is antiquated or at least disputable.

Sadiq with all his vacillations was the only educated Kashmiri who was at bottom entirely on the side of left, G.M.D. Kara was erratic and subjective politics led him to quarrel with Sadiq and soon he dropped out of the left movement. All the same Sadiq was not a consistent revolutionary democrat.

Kara's formulation of extreme opposition to National Conference and toeing the line of ultra leftism was that of petty bourgeois who runs amuck and is driven to frenzy by the factual combats and loses patience, perservance, stead-fastness and perspective.

It is a social phenomenon. Lenin in his book. "Left Wing Communism" depicts such phenomenon as... "The instability of such revolutionism, its barrenness, and its tendency to turn rapidly into submission, apathy, phantasies, and even a frenzied infatuation with one bourgeois fad or another, all this is common knowledge."

On the eve of launching of Bakshi by Indian-Reaction (in particular by the then Home Minister Late Sardar Patel) in 1948-1949, to eliminate and destroy communist influence in Kashmir, these three principle political trends — the liberal, bourgeois right reformist, represented by Sadiq, Danwantari, D.P. Dhar, the petty bourgeois, democratic left sectarian, represented by Kara and the revolutionary led by Dr. N.N. Raina, author (Peer Giyasuddin) were waging a bitter struggle on the issue of programme and tactics. All were in search of a correct theory.

#### Reaction on the offensive :

In 1948 Reaction struck. It was Orestov — Russian Journalist, who came to Kashmir in June 1948, to cover independence celebrations who wrote an article "War in Kashmir" in "New Times" (Moscow) No : 40, 1948, pp-24, 25, 30.

"The people of Kashmir now face two enemies, the forces of intervention (Pakistan) which have encroached upon their territory and Indian reactionaries."

It may be noted that inside the central leadership and the Government of India there has existed from the very beginning two trends concerning the Kashmir question — one calling for reconciliation and the other for confrontation. The latter trend always has been vigilant about progressive left movement in Kashmir and has been more allergic, towards it than to secessionists, obscurantist, pro-Pak and the revivalists. It is a natural, characteristic of bourgeois governments.

In 1948 Bakshi worked hand in glove with "Sardar Patel to initiate a smearing campaign against communists and raised the slogan" one leader, one organisation, one programme" cunningly keeping Sheikh off the guard. A vilification campaign against 'Communists' as being anti-Sheikh and anti National Conference was launched.

Communist circle and sympathisers inside National Conference fought heroically. Certain elements, in particular G.M.D. Kara, who was our strong ally after the underground period tried to give it a factional colour. We retaliated and mobilized the vital Srinagar District Committee, militia and the Cultural Front. The slander campaign of Bakshi was exposed, but he succeeded in whipping up anti-communism. Sheikh connived at Bakshi. Sadiq remained neutral. The Communist Circle got exhausted in its struggle on two fronts — Search for theory — (Political line) and resistance to 'Bakshi-Delhi' reactionary axis.

It is a fact that during (1946-47) the period of underground, the main brunt of repression was borne by the 'Communist Circle' and it was the main instrument in running the 'Quit Kashmir Movement.' Kara maintained an attitude of discrete caution vis-a-vis Communists. He actually relied on his own dark horses and lumpens, and secretly entrusted the main task to them. It is an irony of history that most of them were subsequently purchased by Bakshi, in his factional struggle with Kara. For this dubious role, Mr. Kara earned the nickname of 'Aung Sen' (who in Burmese revolution let down the communists) in 1947. However, Sheikh, Bakshi, Maulana Syeed Masoodi, D.P. gangup succeeded. Coups were enacted in the Militia, the Cultural Front and the N.C. In the Militia-Bakshi dramatized trumped up charge of 'missing arms' involving Communists. But on enquiry it was revealed that only Bakshi backed lumpens, incriminated. Brigadier Koul, afterwards 'General Kaul,' was sent by the Home ministry to enquire into communist penetration in the Militia. He came on spot, but it is said that he gave a good report to the Central Government about Communists as a patriotic force in the Militia.

However communists were Court-martialled on simple disciplinary charges and were thrown out of it. Sadiq kept a tacit silence.

On the cultural Front, Sadiq himself held a mini trial of P.A. Ahad, that during a cultural programme at 'Namta Hall,' a feast was organised by A.G. namtahali in which it was alleged that beef was served. It was a fake charge. Behind the screen Bakshi had egged on late J.N. Zutshi to spread disaffection against Peer A. Ahad, and Zutshi lured in artists for jobs at the Radio Station. Peer Sahib being over-sensitive, resigned from the Cultural Front, and later on it was taken over by Careerists.

As per party directive not to function in bourgeois government it was decided to resign from all posts. I author (Giyasud-Din) resigned on first October, 1948, followed by Syed Mir Qasim. Bakshi, DP and Sadiq countered this move by appointing R.C. Raina as Private Secretary to the Prime Minister. Being essentially a careerist he gladly accepted the job. In the N.C. we were at first isolated and then denied membership under the instructions of Maulana Syeed Masodi. Sheikh had given a tacit consent to this entire operation. But it is also a fact that owing to Karas overdoing/ and factional zeal communists failed to adopt tactical line of political flexibility combined with ideological impeccability. Though handicapped by the slanderous campaign of N.C. leadership, Communists group sustained campaigns with over crusading zeal. Reorganising the Editorial Board of 'Weekly Noor (adopting it as the organ of 'Communist Circle') proper distribution of C.P.I. organs and literature, advocating independence of Trade unions (not an arm of N.C.) and reorganisation of the Central Trade Union. A move was set afoot to form an independent mass organization (Awami Conference) in opposition to National Conference. Series of meetings were held; even a designed flag was decided upon. The rank and file was instructed to announce the decision. But at the eleventh hour Sadiq backed out. Sheikh had got scared of its formation, and lured in Sadiq who compromised readily as usual.

The cumulative effect of this zealous campaign was the mammoth 'May Day' demonstration on 1st May 1949. Over 50,000 people including working class participated in this demonstration. G.D. Kara (Peer Giyas-ud-Din) P.N. Jalali and M.L. Misri addressed the rally. The Government was criticised for its wrong anti-peoples policies. Implementation of 'Land to Tillers' promise to the peasantry was stressed. Progressive labour policy to be adopted by government was enunciated and sympathy to Korean people (who were fighting against imperialism) was expressed. S.M. Abdullah and Bakshi, who were in Jammu, got provoked, scared and construed it as a challenge to their leadership.

Prior to the decision regarding formation and declaration of the independent Communist Group, it worked under M.L. Misri, who expelled party members who were opposed to such independent formation. Such steps enraged and extremely provoked the faction led by G.M. Sadiq.

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## CHAPTER-4

### INNER PARTY STRUGGLE IN SEARCH OF CORRECT POLITICAL LINE

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Except Sadiq, and his adherents (mainly hangers on hovering round 'Cultural Congress') entire communist group was practically out of the National Conference and pursued hard for a correct politico-organisational and ideological line.

In the years (1948-1950), the C.P.I. Official Line was B.T.R.'s "Russian path," followed by the Chinese path (1950-51) and subsequently adoption of the 1951 programme and policy statement. The C.P.I. was also in search of correct political line. B.T.R.'s line characterised 1947 as 'fake independence,' the dual role of national bourgeoisie was rejected, and bourgeoisie characterized as spearhead of counter Revolution. The Government of India was dubbed as spearheading counter revolutionary forces. Fighting for revolution meant fighting against the Congress and its appendage—All J&K National Conference. It was total anti-congressism, anti-national conferenceism. It amounted to an overthrow of the power of Bourgeoisie leading the 'imperialist; bourgeois— feudal combine.' The proletariat, to accomplish people's democratic revolution had to form an alliance with poor and middle peasants. The main enemy was bourgeoisie, not imperialism and feudalism. The 'Communist' circle of Kashmir was caught in this ideological quagmire and confusion. Dr. Raina, who attended the 1948, C.P.I. Congress at Calcutta on behalf of the Circle intimated and also persuaded us through his 'bunch of letters' about this offensive tactics. The tactic was eulogising, 'Teleganna Armed Struggle.' There was a mechanical parallelism with the October Revolution.

Our view point (Giyas and Raina) was limited to 'independence of Communist party of Kashmir,' and support for good measures to the National Conference being given from outside, not merging with National Conference as advocated by G.M. Sadiq and Coms Dhanwantari. Such was the intensity of crisis in the circle, that Sadiq and D.P. called Dhanwantri from Jammu.

Com. Dhanwantri is the pride of J&K State, a great revolutionary, born in 1902, in a well-to-do family of Jammu. His elder brother was the personal Secretary — to Maharaja Hari Singh. He was a colleague of Martyr Bhagat Singh. Com. Dhanwantari was the founder of 'Hindustan Socialist Republican Army.' In J.P. Sunders murder case, Dhanwantri was involved. Com. Dhanwantri wanted to free Bhasgat Singh from police custody while on trial, but the plan misfired. The notorious British agent, Khan Bhadur Abdul Aziz, was fired upon by Com. Dhanwantri in Lahore. The British government placed a reward on Dhanwantari's head. He was caught and sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment and sent to Andamans — (Kalapani). He spend seventeen years in prison. After independence he came to Jammu. He built the initial communist nucleus, was respected by N.C. leadership, close to Sadiq and Beg, died; 14th July, 1953. He reared the future State Revolutionaries— Com-K.D. Sethi and Com. Ram Piara Saraf and scores of youngmen).

After a marathon debate continuing for days, Dhanwantri subjected Raina's bunch of letters' in the communist circle to ruthless criticism. He was against B.T.R.'s political line. He cautioned against M.D. Kara's left adverturist line and conveyed it in a separate meeting to P.A. Ahad and Giyas Ud din. During my talks with Com. Dhanwantri I (author) found him labouring under the illusion, that radical land reforms in Kashmir would rouse peasantry both in Punjab and occupied Kashmir, and the entire belt would be engulfed in revolutionary flames and agrarian struggle. But this romantic revolutionary idea did not materialize and even Kashmir's peasantry did not get radicalized, only a new landlord class came into existence, called Kulaks-the orchardists.

Com. Dhanwantari's line was not acceptable to the 'Communist Circle.' In this situation a high powered delegation was nominated, to hold discussions with the Polit-bureau of the C.P.I. and establish contact with B.T. Ranadive, General Secretary of party. The personnel of the delegation were Peer Giyas-ud-Din P.N. Jalali and G.M.D. Kara — a non-official member. If the politbureau, felt the need, he could have clarifications on his line. G.M.D. Kara stayed back at Aligarh. P.N. Jalali had already left for Bombay and (Giyas-ud-Din author) followed. These were difficult days — the party was declared unlawful, the entire leadership was underground, 'Armed Telenganna Struggle' launched by communists was raging. Somehow, through courier, Kalimullah, contact with B.T.R. was established. All view points in the form of Documents were handed over to the leadership. Com. B.T.R. asked for certain clarifications. Delegation was lodged in underground dens located at Malabar Hill and Andheri. Our hosts were Showhat and Kafi Azmi, Krishna Chander, the great Urdu writer and poet Sahir Ludhanavi, Sultana Jaffari-all sympathizers of the communist party. The leadership took a month to formulate the line on Kashmir. The Document on Kashmir was handed over to Giyad-ud-din alongwith a separate note for Dhanwantari, latter on we came to know, that G.M. Sadiq had come to Bombay and established contact with the party H.Q. particularly P.C. Joshi S.A. Dange and O.P. Singhal who were opposed to B.T.R.'s line.

On the question of the independence of the party there is ample indication that Sadiq sabotaged such an idea throughout his left career, in particular since his dispute with G.M.D. Kara, compromised with politically backward elements and for this purpose, also kept close collaboration with the Dhar-Bakshi Axis.

To carry the document to Srinagar was a tough job, it had a certain element of adventure and romance. Sardar Patils sleuths wanted to know the latest political line formulated by the Communist party on Kashmir. As soon as Delegation left Bombay it was put under surveillance. Somehow I (author) reached Aligarh,

and thence moved to Delhi. There I (author) was shadowed by P.N. Jalali's elder brother, who knew author (Giyas-ud-din) and was living in Delhi. Mr. Kara evolved a fine trick persuading the late T.C. Wazir the then Director of Industries, and made him believe that the small box contained some Jewellery for my sister who was to be engaged immediately and made a request to him that the small box may be handed to P.A. Ahad in Srinagar. Being unaware of its contents he delivered it safely to the concerned and we succeeded in dodging Home Ministry and Bakshi, who had come to Delhi and was an expert in red baiting her-rings.

The political line adopted by CPI leadership clearly approved the line of the independence of the party in Kashmir, though in an embryonic form. It was carried by the organ of the party "Cross-Roads," 6th January, 1950 page -4.

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## CHAPTER-5

### SPLIT OR DECAY

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Prior to the new line being placed before the Communist Circle, "Sadiq-Bakshi-D.P. struck. P.N. Jalali was arrested in Delhi, Mohi-ud-Din Noor and Peer Giyasud-Din were arrested in Srinagar. Most of the comrades turned right opportunists overnight. N.N. Raina and his protege G.M. Malik who had initiated this line changed their ideological posture. Slander campaign was unleashed against the advocates of new line independent communists party in Kashmir, curtain pullers were D.P. Dhar and Sadiq. Mir Qasim apparently remained neutral. Mir Rajpori was the first 'quisling and quietist.' During this period his credentials were dubious. He was not expelled from National Conference.

The opportunism can be traced to the influx of educated job-less youth, who had wormed their way into the 'Circle' and were careerists, became votaries of Sadiq's line, G.M.D. Kara, and G.R. Renzoo became ultra leftists. Both these trends reflected the mood of petty bourgeois starata. Like right wing opportunism left wing opportunism misinterprets revolutionary theory. It gives rise to dogmatism and anarchism.

The party book-shop became a 'hornets nest' for Votaries of new political line. It was now a central place for concocting fabrications against pro-independent Party group. G.M.D. Kara precipitated a clash between two factions representing divergent political organisational lines. D.P. and Sadiq turned their scales against pro-independent party faction and mis-guided pro; independent party faction; quite a large number of comrades. A split took place in the parts circle. It was not a split but the decay of the 'Communist Circle.' The other faction arbitrarily expelled

Giyas-ud-Din and others from the party. The expelled appealed to the highest forum of the party against their verdict. Meanwhile Dr. N. N. Raina left for England. Some comrades were adjusted in Government services.

Our faction held a conference at Khanyar to evolve a new tactics, in the light of B.T.R's directions. Mir Qasim attended it, Rajpori as usual vacillating left the meeting hall surreptitiously. Since then he deliberately severed contact, with the group till August, 1953 when he was rediscovered by Sadiq and Mir Qasim at Shopian, brought to Srinagar under Bakshi's instructions.

Decisions regarding re-organising mass fronts were taken particularly in the formation of "Peace Council and net work of peace Committees against war on concrete politico-organisational tactics, no concrete formulation could be possible. Lack of clarity owing to renouncing of B.T.R's line at the centre, and appearance of an Editorial against this line in the Cominform Journal "For a lasting peace, for a peoples Democracy" in January 1950. It repudiated the theoretical line of B.T. Ranadive. B.T.R. was sacked. In May, 1950, the Central Committee of the C.P.I was reconstituted and change of leadership took place. C. Rajeshwar Rao became General Secretary in place of Ranadive. A new Polit Bureau of three members was set up to lead "Armed Guerilla warfare" in the Teleganna on Chinese pattern. It was the Andhra Document, Correctly assessing the State of Indian Revolution as democratic, but made mechanical parallels with China. The May, 1950 Central Committee meeting endorsed this line. The Document reached me (author) through a courier, who had gone to contact P.B. of the party in Bombay. On this basis the pro-independent faction drafted a document in Urdu for circulation among 'Circle members' Cells and fractions. For the Khanyar cell it was handed over to G.R. Renzoo, with a note of caution that it would not get leaked out, as it advocated armed warfare. Immediately after the circulation of the document G.R. Rensoo avoided to heep contact with the Party.

After a couple of weeks M.D. Noor met me and broke the news that Renzoo had betrayed, and in the evening at a feast (Wazwan-Kashmiri) Bakshi alongwith Khanyar national Conference activists had a dinner at his (Renzoos) residence. Mr. G.R. Renzoo, rejoined National Conference, with a promise that he will be given mandate to the constituent Assembly.

After Rajpori, this was the next casualty in the group.

The 'Chinese Path Line' was not approved by majority of party leadership from its very inception. A new document appeared in April, 1951, in the October, 1951 Conference at Calcutta, the line on this document was adopted. It characterized the stage of Indian revolution as democratic and rejected the Chinese path. The Teleganna struggle was withdrawn. In 1951. Parliamentary democracy was accepted as a principle to mobilize masses. The struggle for peace was stressed. At the Palghat congress serious mistakes were corrected. The members of pro-independent party faction were not hard boiled communist to adapt with the change of politoo-ideological lines, they became confused and wavered.

In December 1950, at a dinner hosted by G.M. D. Kara a top level meeting was held on the political situation and future strategy. It continued late in the night. The participants of meeting were Mr. Kara, Mir Qasim, myself (peer Giyasud-Din) and P.A. Ahad. The minutes were being recorded by P.A. Ahad and subsequently torn up and consigned to flames. A heated, discussions took place on the question of accession, I (author) noted for the first time Kara's dithering on the issues, meeting remained un resolved. Qasim and Peer Sahib remained neutral. The meeting ended with a discordant note. The same thing surfaced in march, 1951, before addressing the Public meeting at Batmalu, where the Red flag with hammer and sickle was unfurled for the first time by our faction indicating 'Independence of Communist party.' Mr. M.D. Kara was vacillating and confused on the accession issue. A frenzied petty bourgeois in depression, with de-

moralization either shows the tendency of submission or infatuation with one reactionary fad or another. This was the mental state of unfavourable affairs of Mr. Kara.

In this messy situation and political confusion I (author) peer Giyasud-Din) took the initiative to create a rapport with S.M. Abdullah on electoral alliance in the coming Elections for a few selective seats or conceding certain seats in the Assembly elections — in particular a Seat to G.M.D. Kara. Pro independent party group had sensed what would happen in future to S.M. Abdullah at the hands of Bakshi-D.P. combine. The group would have attempted to create a lobby in the legislature to thwart anti peoples moves of Bakshi G.M. I author (Peer Giyas-ud-din) held a score of meetings with a cousin of S.M. Abdullah Sheikh Rashid. The Final meeting was to be held at Odion Hotel. By a strange coincidence, Mir Qasim was passing by in the same locality I (author) (Peer Giyas-ud-Din) called him and narrated him the issue involved in the discussion. In his typical flamboyant manner, he invited all of us for dinner at his residence at Anantnag on the following day. At Anantnag I (author) argued till late in the night that in the legislature of the future, M.D. Kara's entry and creation of a block on principled political issues was vital for strengthening democratic forces. From Sheikh Rashid's arguments it was clear that there was still strong schism, a yawning gap between Sheikh and Kara. S. Rashid expressed that Bakshi is the right hand man of Sheikh and that Qasim and I author (peer Giyas-ud-Din) should talk to Sheikh. It was a hint for me to join the National Conference.. I emphatically disagreed to such a proposition. Mir Qasim agreed with S. Rashid individually rejoined N.C. and got a seat in the Assembly. With back to wall but with a youthful zeal, the pro-independent party group created a democratic front to contest elections. Candidates were given mandate to contest against Bakshi, Maulama Syeed Masoodi etc. But A.R. Rahat (Badgam) defected joined National Conference. Democratic front withdrew from the contest. M.D. Kara began to vacillate and in 1951 his deviation on accession surfaced. Due

to extreme poverty, M.D. Noor left the group and alongwith his 'weekly Noor' crossed over to Bakshi Camp.

On observing the shifting position of M.D. Kara over accession, I (author) removed my lawyers signboard from his office in 1952, established a separate office, and even tried to persuade P.A. Ahad to write off M.D. Kara.

Even in the dark clouds there is a silver lining, G.M. Malick (subsequently a Naxalite) a communist of integrity and dedication regrouped the democratic left elements. I (peer Giyas-Ud-Din) extended to him full cooperation. We (Malick and author) organized and edited a weekly, progressive journal 'Mashal' (Torch). The paper came out regularly and acted as a propagandist and organiser. The State peace Council was recognised. It was a broad based mass front against war, People could join it irrespective of their politics. G.M. Sadiq was peace Council vice President of All India peace Council and I (author) assumed the office of its organiser in the J&K State.

Big rallies were organised in Badgam, Kulgam and Anantnag. A conference of the entire State was held in Srinagar. Confrontations took place between national Conference and Peace Council Committees in Kulgam Tehsil. Repression was let loose by the Government against workers of peace Committees. A legal Defence Committee was Organized. I (author) was selected as its Chairman. In 1953 I (author) organized "J&K Democratic Youth League" It was a mass organisation. I (author) was selected as its Chairman. A large contingent of delegates from Kashmir under my leadership attended a well organized representative conference of Youth at state level. It was convened at Jammu. It was organised by Com. Dhanwantari, R.P. Saraf, K.D. Sethi, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, M.P., a prominent leader of the C.P.I. addressed the gathering, attacking S.M. Abdullah's government for its omissions and commissions. I (author) also addressed the gathering and stressed that regional identity of Jammu should be respected and criticised the rampart administrative corrup-

tion. On our return G.M. Malick, O.N. Trisal and myself (author) organised big rallies in the city of Srinagar and major towns of the valley. Our targets of attack were both Sheikh and Bakshi. In the city of Srinagar at certain places our meetings were disturbed by S.M. Abdullah's followers. These were the months of June and July, 1953, and on the eve of storm of 9th August, we were summoned by D.P. Dhar who tried to persuade us to make target of attack only — Sheikh Sahib and not Bakshi Sahib. It was queer logic. Bakshi Brothers corporation considered by people as the hydra-headed monster of corruption. I (author) did not agree with D.P. Dhar, Youth league continued to lash out at Bakshi in mass gatherings. The leaders of D.Y. League observed that the political situation in the State had taken a turn for the worst, and polarization within the national Conference leadership and its ranks had taken place.

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## CHAPTER-6

### THE SITUATION IN KASHMIR ON 9TH AUGUST 1953 AND COMMUNISTS

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The attitude of communists vis-a-vis the 1953 episode has been absolutely misrepresented by the reactionary sections and anti-communists. S.M. Abdullah in his biography, 'Atishi-Chinar' betrays the same ignorance. This is a gross distortion of history.

On the eve of the 1953, episode, people were groaning under the constraints of an essentially parasitic economy, corrupt bureaucracy and a diseased political system; the glorious traditions of the movement faced serious problems. The economy of the state did not register any advance ensuring an adequate rate of economic growth. The government.... and the Party organisation had become incapable of tackling these complexities, and it all resulted in the 1953 crisis.

The reality should not be lost sight of in the maze of apparent causes. It is also a fact that in the uncertain situation, American imperialism tried to intervene actively and made attempts to utilize the situation to its favour.

At this critical juncture, the political leadership failed to evolve a proper line of action. Instead it got involved, in bickerings and finding scapegoats. In this desperate situation emerged the negative politics of "Independent Kashmir", Secession and plebiscite, on one hand, and on the other, massive corruption through economic doles and the petty politics of economic concessionism.

In the middle of 1953, Com. Dhanwantri came from Jammu

to Srinagar to take stock of the situation on spot. But his health suffered a serious set-back and he was brought back to Jammu and on 14th July 1953 passed away.

On 20th July, a powerful commission of the communist party — comprising of S.V. Ghate — (one of the founders of C.P.I. Jailed in Meerut conspiracy case member of Control Commission) P. Ramamurti, (a leading theoretician and member of the Polit-Bureau), Dr. Z.A. Ahmad, (President of All India Kisan Sabha, member of central committee) arrived in Srinagar. They had a series of meetings with state leaders including Sheikh Abdullah, and local communists. They stayed at Chinar Hotel Srinagar. I have an impression that in reporting on the situation in Kashmir, they were given a biased and exaggerated picture of the prevailing situation. In the meetings with the commission I disagreed with D.P. Dhar on various issues, in the discussions held at Chinar Hotel.

Upon their return to Delhi, the resolution of the central committee on the Kashmir situation was released — Delhi 23-27 July, 1953 published in the 'Cross-Roads,' 2 August 1953. It reads as follows :— "The Central committee of the C.P.I. views with grave concern the reports coming from Kashmir that some leading personalities of the Sheikh Abdullah group and its supporters in the National Conference have made a public declaration that the state of Kashmir should be made Independent of India and that its new status be guaranteed by India, Pakistan and the United Nations —

"Thus the alluring slogan of Independent Kashmir becomes a reactionary slogan that will hand over Kashmir to the Imperialist Warmongers, allowing their forces to occupy the strategic valley of Kashmir and threaten the peace of all its neighbouring states, including that of India—

"The reactionaries fail to point out the fate of South Korea that was occupied and devastated by the U.N.O. — the S.M. Abdullah's government did not allow the democratic masses to

bring up their independent mass organisations and forces to correct the newly rising reactionaries—

"The reactionaries in the governmental circles in India have also helped in the development by insisting on full accession, on retaining the Maharaja, and the privy purse, and by trying to grab the economy of Kashmir in the interests of the big monopolists of India and by refusing to help the new state with greater financial assistance unless their terms of full financial integration were accepted.

Under such circumstances, the democratic forces in Kashmir and Jammu must come forward **to save the people from these new designs of the Imperialists and their conscious supporters or misguided unconcious votaries.** It is the job of all democratic elements to be alert and take the initiative to become the champions of the people against any anti popular measure or action of the government. While exposing the pro-American and communal reactionary elements, they must be especially on guard against the — and curtailing democratic rights — "Stand firm and fight both against those who want **to drag you under American Domination as well as against those who want total merger and to destroy the autonomy guaranteed to you.**

These resolutions reflect the true picture of the Kashmir situation :—

1. Resisting the danger of Anglo-American intervention under the slogan of Independent Kashmir — like South Korea.
2. Safeguarding the democratic rights of the Kashmiri people.
3. Fighting against Indian reaction who wanted merger of the state and erosion of Autonomy.

There is nothing in it which smacks of 'bloody revolution' and facilitating takeover of Kashmir, by the 'Russian bear,' as mentioned in S.M. Abdullah's biography, 'Atshi-Chinar'. Joseph Karel's book (Danger in Kashmir, P.N. Bazaz's 'History of Free-

dom movement in Kashmir,' Lakhan Pauls— Communist conspiracy in Kashmir, Hemen Ray's, "How Moscow sees Kashmir." These are all cannards and Anti-communist stunts.

#### 9th August Episode :

On 9th August Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and his government dismissed. M.D. Kara's opportunist, pro-pak faction was arrested earlier in June 1953 as it submitted to the queer pitch of pro-Pak generated atmosphere in a meeting at Sah-yar, Srinagar. Some prominent members of the group led by P. Abdul Ahad, editor of the weekly, 'Al-Haq' registered protest, struck a discordant note and issued a press release to that effect, condemning the stance of Mr. Kara. After the coup-di-stat of 1953, we (communists) were told to wind up all organisations, the only organisation to join was National Conference. Even some communists became its office bearers. Sadiq had forged a submissive close alliance with Bakshi, and there was a directive for extending co-operation to him.

For people like (author) there was no alternative but to retire from Active politics.

There is common belief amongst mediocre intelligentsia, and interested parties, reactionary pro-Pak elements in the state and also out side that the post 1953 regime was the handiwork of communists and their sympathizers. This kind of slander is meant to denigrate the left and communist movement in the eyes of common people of the state.

The type of the state that emerged after 1953, was the creation of Bakshi-D.P. axis—

Sadiq for his subjective compulsions and complexes was an honest intellectual opportunist like a prisoner in the new structure, at times helpless. He had little in common with this leadership, though dire necessity forced him to maintain this 'Comraderi.' and political friendship till the parted in 1957 and formed Democratic National Conference.

## CHAPTER-7

# POLITICAL AUTHORITARIAN POWER AND FREEDOM

The Bakshi — D.P. regime till 1957 was a reversion to authoritarian rule after half hearted attempts since 1947, to establish popular democratic rule upon a rotten feudal absolutist culture. Democracy as a frame of mind was sounded. It was not a flexible society.

It was pure authoritarianism and not a 'Left' and communist take over. It did not care for ideological stuff. It would pose itself as progressive but in essence was traditionalist. The economic sector was dominated by the view point of controlled economy. The political organization took on a Muscle Power character — "Peace Brigade."

By and large the grass roots of the organization constituted mostly of non-descript people and lumpens.

Such mechanism and technique had nothing to do with communist pattern. Communists do not worship sponteneity but believe in consciousness, and class consciousness. They are revolutionary, their technique is criticism and self criticism. They have the concept of vanguard role, a concious detachment capable of leading the masses. Their conviction is that only masses can bring about Revolution. Communists have great faith in ideas; Marx's great dictum-When revolutionary idea grips the masses, it becomes a material force. The genuien communist style and technique preserves the norms and reality by striking a balance— may be temporary. It resolves the conflict and restores harmony between theory and practice.

## CHAPTER-8

HONEST INTELLECTUALIST  
OPPORTUNISM AND LIQUIDATION  
OF 1ST COMMUNISH CIRCLE.

In a nutshell the post 1953 period in Kashmir history was ambivalent. While the common people were induced to fight on illusory and negative political slogans, the upperclasses (merchant capitalists, bureaucracy, technocracy, corrupt politicians) were stealing towards power and grabbing of wealth.

The merger process of leftists during this period (1953-57) with N.C. party and government cannot be termed only connivance or collaboration but cohabitation. It burst forth in 1957, there was a split and Democratic National Conference came into existence. The split did not help in refurbishing the image of leftists, the initiators of the split soon developed cold feet and rejoined the old rut - National Conference. There was a serious casualty — Democrats and communists of Jammu division led by Com. K.P. Saraf and Com. K.D. Sethi, they were ruthlessly let down and their healthy solid, mass-based progressive trend got derailed and culminated into 'left terrorism.' The role of leftists, Marxists, reflected the intellectualist philistinism and petty bourgeois outlook in socialism. Such a phenomenon in revolutionary theory can be defined as 'honest intellectualist opportunism! There are categories of opportunism, the frank, the unabashed and others — subtle and honest. Engels once said that for the working class 'honest opportunists were the greatest danger. According to Lenin it first appears as a mood, then trend, until it forms a group among — petty bourgeois fellow travellers.'

Prior to Independence, the 1st communist circle in Kashmir was communist group only in ideas and aims. A group of Marxist intellectuals had organised itself, aspired and led the awakening of working class.

On the eve of bourgeois transfer of power to N.C. (1947) a number of fellow travellers of different shades enrolled as Marxists. It is not abnormal, if the proletarian party is able to absorb them to itself, and not subordinate itself to them, but the Party should be flexible enough to disassociate itself from them when they dither and vacillate in revolutionary consistency. If the party proves captive of fellow travellers it gets liquidated. It should be vigilant to such an extent as to liquidate the liquidators. We did not prove worthy of this task : liquidationism is an aspect of intellectual opportunism. Adopting of an absent-minded attitude towards the history of ones own movement cannot be a class conscious worker. Kashmir is socially backward, predominantly petty bourgeois. It was therefore not accidental but a fait-accompli that the left movement gave rise to a petty bourgeois, opportunist wing with in its ranks. To quote Lenin, the genius of Revolution, Thus it was, and thus it will be, my dear Comrade Plekhanov, when revolution is on the decline, the pendants who, after the event, arrogate to themselves the Role of 'Roman Generals,' come on to the stage with their lamentations. When the revolution is on the upswing, things happen as the revolutionaries desire, compare them as you may, to impatient youths."

Those hypocritical leftists should, be shunned, who in principle agree, but are doubtful about its feasibility because the world is not yet ripe for it. They have no intention of bringing about its ripeness but prefer to revert to also beaten-track-depravity. They are crypto, leftists and such men are dangerous.

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## CHAPTER-9

# A DISPUTE OVER SOCIALISM IN KASHMIR

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Petty bourgeois fellow travellers in the flow of revolutionary and radical tide by entering progressive fray gain control of leftist movement only by paying lip service to revolutionary aims and tactics. There have always been two trends in the working class movement— revolutionary socialism and opportunist socialism — the latter trend was dominant in Kashmir left politics : Fear of Revolution is their fundamental principle. The opportunist socialists, statesmen and writers think that proletariat being raw and an uneducated mass cannot liberate itself and can only be emancipated from above. But Marx all his life castigated such socialist ministerialism, which prostitute Marxism by making attempts to quench the revolutionary spirit of workers.

The embryonic stage of class stratification does not exclude scientific class analysis and class struggle. Though this low level of class stratification forges certainty of interests among various class groups and provides ideological basis for the concept, that class approach is inapplicable to the Kashmir context. This false theory was advanced by an opportunist Marxist group as a camouflage so as not to form an independent party. The social composition of the '1st Communist circle' and its sympathizers was mainly that of petty bourgeois intellectuals who failed to form an independent Party because it would not understand what liquidationism meant. They sowed the seeds of liberal corruption among working class movement. Liquidators are not true followers of Marxism. They could not discern beneath the pall of rooted

customs, political intrigues, abstract laws and intricate doctrines—the class struggle.

The left in Kashmir did not cultivate the democratic consciousness of the people to enable them to understand the role of various classes in relation to Kashmir politics, like the attitude of Indian monopoly capital, the role of communal parties and obscurantists in contrast to the genuine role of the left and democratic forces inside and outside the Congress.

Every political struggle is a class struggle. It is not that class struggle can become real and develop when it embraces the national scene, only when it tackles the significant thing in politics — the organisation of state power, the leftist mass base and confidence of the electorate genuine parliamentary Democracy — but no "Parliamentary idiocy."

**The tragedy of the left during these years has been that instead of consolidating itself, its votaries themselves become victims of opportunist power politics.** This weakness of the left further accentuated the already tense situation. The left in Kashmir has to go a long way to build something new in the State. It needs heart searching, self criticism and sense of sacrifice. Splits and disarray of left forces of all hues on Indian scene were optimized in the tragedy of Kashmir left.

### **The Backward present and the Advanced Past**

The early leftists and communists in Kashmir had many handicaps, drawbacks and vices — they were Right reformists, left Sectarians and dogmatists. Their phrases and jargon was hardly intelligible to Kashmiri masses, yet credit goes to them that they tried to apply Marxism to the states' complex conditions. They blazed a new trail — concepts of 'New Kashmir', 'Quit Kashmir', 'Land Abolition' — will be remembered as their contribution to the movement. This was, perhaps, best analysed by Jawahar Lal Nehru in his Autobiography page 592 — about

Indian Communists as a whole — "It is difficult to be patient with many communists, they have developed a peculiar method of irritating others. But — I have always admired their great courage and capacity to sacrifice — the real understanding communist develops to some extent on organic sense of social life. Politics for him ceases to be mere record of opportunist and griping in the dark. The ideals and objectives he works for, give a meaning to the struggle and to the sacrifices he willingly faces. He feels that he is a part of a great army marching forward to realize human fate and destiny." The sub-heading, backward present and advanced past, a comparison that apparently may not sound well and be acceptable in generality. But the title contains a bitter truth. Kashmir in the past was backward in a sense of machine, technology, Education, Literacy, Social services, richness of multiform culture and communications — but had flashes of progressive ideas and advanced movement. In the present Kashmir the village 'Kulak' (Orchardist) has assumed the form of multipurpose entity in economy, as a manager of co-operative, a contractor of development works, jobracketeer, dominating bourgeois parties— 'Congress and National Conference,' (political power) in alliance with the top crust of intelligentsia (Corrupt) and 'merchant capitalist' of the cities and towns has become the bulwark of reaction. A point in history of Kashmir has reached when the commanding bourgeoisie, fearing the growth of dissemination of progressive ideas (Marxist), comes in support of every thing backward, obscurantist, moribund and medieval. This class is living its last days but is spearheading all obsolete and obsolescent forces., to preserve a tottering system. **Advanced Kashmir at present is supporting everything which is backward.** This backwardness is furthering the bureaucratic corruption, selfish aims of the financial manipulators and capitalist swindlers, and corrupt bourgeois politicians.

The 'Kulak' rich peasant is not the man of future in Kashmir, he has vitiated the concept of 'Abolition of land lordism' — The agrarian reforms, a fresh unique example having no parallel in the

rest of the country. "An Analysis of Agr. Development and income distribution in J&K" by Pof : Nissar Ali, Advisor to J&K Planning Commission, a scientific treatise, indicating growth of capitalism in Kashmir Agriculture on sound statistics comes to the conclusion that there is "**great income inequality in the rural sector. The 'Kulak' and orchardists has devoured entire rural economy.**" The greater income concentration is among the 'apple cultivating (orchardists) house-holds. As a result of cereal acreage getting converted into orchards, as these are exempt from ceiling laws, farming is assuming a capitalistic shape than a mere subsistence.

"The returns per acre of apple farms are 3-1/2 times greater than the returns from the same technical unit crop. Thus income distribution has got distorted over the period. The redistribution content of 'land reform' programme have been vitiated by the defective ceiling laws, consequently land concentration continues to be an important feature of agri. economy. **In view of the relatively high net return per acre of the orchards, the ceiling on orchards are justified.** The orchardist hypocrisy can be exposed by initiating an effective and smashing argument that small farms 'Japanese example' are more efficient and viable.

The peasant movement was democratic and not Socialist. The democratic movement is not directed against the basis of capitalist order or against commodity production, it is directed against feudalism. Abolition of land lordism has not abolished capitalist relations in agriculture, a rural capitalist has emerged called kulak. In rural areas a socialist doctrine (Marxist) is to be disseminated, to organise a struggle against Peasant bourgeoisie (Kulak), and feudal remnants. The general peasant movement needs to be sustained. There should be independent 'Kisan Sabha,' of middle peasant, poor peasant and landless — wage worker. Their struggle against Kulaks is a revolutionary struggle in a new phase. Abolition of 'landlordism' — feudalestates cannot be called a measure of socialization, and be deluded by the

concept of equality in land tenure under the system of commodity production. It is reactionary petty bourgeois logic which we leave to the bourgeois parties operating in rural sector.

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## APPENDIX- 1

### “THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY REVEALS REAL S.M. ABDULLAH”— ON S.M. ABDULLAH’S AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND THE POLEMICS AROUND IT

For more than half a century S.M. Abdullah dominated State politics like a Colossus and his name remains a household word not only in J&K State but in the sub-continent and time has not diminished the people's interest in his life and work.

His Autobiography has attracted wide attention in the State. It is a straightforward account of his prison and trial experiences, of the events and circumstances that shaped his childhood and youth and intellectual development, his discovery of Nationalism, secular politics and socialist programme, “New Kashmir, and founding of National Conference, and joining All India State people's Conference.

However, certain critics of Autobiography belonging to local media (Journalists, publicists etc.) have challenged both his account of the determining factors of his life and his political assessment of their importance.

Common threads run through most of their criticism; Conversion of Muslim Conference to national Conference; Accession of Kashmir to India in 1947, 1953 episode, Accord of 1975, of course it is felt that the Autobiography omits, suppresses, distorts and twists certain vital facts, because it does not deal with critics deem the facts relevant to historical culture, without which they feel the account of his life is incomplete.

A number of critics are blatantly hostile, some call 'Autobiog-

raphy' a grim book and more hostile perhaps than its author realises for he reveals a spirit more rebellious and one might say more Kashmiri 'Chauvnist,' than his intellect admits. Here it is his 'rebelliousness' the critic finds objectionable, a view shared by those who sought his incarceration.

To arrive at historical truth, we must recall the favourite dictum of eminent Historian E.H. Carr, in his monumental book, "What is History?" "Since Marx and Freud Wrote, the historian has no excuse to think of himself as a detached individual, standing outside society and outside history."

History includes a chronologer, and scribe. History is rooted in facts, facts should be historical. Historical facts are interconnected with interpretation, and here steps in the historian — he studies the dead past, but a past that is still living in the present. Historian must understand the thought that lays behind an act dead. hence all History is the History of thought.

Even for a scribe, to reduce in writing the dictates, moreover to have sufficient patience to work with a type of overbusy, hectic and subjective person, S.M. Abdullah it would have been necessary to possess dispassionate behaviourism and liberal neutral attitude.

Narration of certain events in Autobiography make it highly doubtful. On various occasions scribe might have assumed the role of propagandist and ideologist. My examination of facts reveals that dispassionate behaviourism has been perverted.

Moreover, no part of this posthumous manuscript has been put in final form by the author during his life time. I think, it is made up of notes to be more fully developed and of dictated material not yet corrected by the author. under these circumstances, extensive interpolations by the editors were unavoidable. Absence of bibliographical references renders a verification of the author's assertions impossible. But rejection of the book on this account amounts to prejudices.

I have read every word of S.M. Abdullah during freedom struggle and after, I have worked in the National Conference headed by him, in various capacities. During freedom struggle and his next term of Chief Ministership, on various occasions I have met him face to face. I tried my utmost to study his and tried to penetrate his character and motives. He is no more now in this world. So what we have is an interesting, a unique personal history. There are limitations, evasions, to some extent concealments, omissions, some may be deliberate and some due to forgetfulness of the old age, but all the same it is the first thing of this type to come from any Kashmiri political leader.

Why was this document assembled? It is a task of a research scholar, Narration and analysis of certain situations is extremely subjective and sufficiently bizarre. It appears that material is intended to be exploited in this political warfare. The ghost of personality cult haunts 'memoirs' also, as it loomed large over people during author's lifetime. Kashmir movement was not the creation of single individual, it was sum total of heroic sacrifice and dedicated work of thousands of workers and S.M. Abdullah symbolized it. I do not deny the role of an individual in history, but history is not aggregate of individuals, leaders only but locomotives of history are people, who create leaders and assign them roles, leaders do not assign roles to people. This is dialectics of history and people's movement.

In his memoirs the main target of attack is G.M. Bakshi and after him G.M. Sadiq a long way after Sadiq is Moulvi M. Syeed Masoodi and others. All are dead.

In his scathing criticism of these people the old man tries to justify himself. The argument is rambling and sometimes self contradictory.

It may be admitted that S.M. Abdullah display keen sense of logic or history, takes firm position on conversion of Muslim Conference to national Conference, New Kashmir programme, quit Autocracy slogan, Right of linguistic Nationalities to autonomy

and Accession of Kashmir to India in 1947. About these historic decisions he is as resolute, firm as he used to be in the past. He has no regrets. He does not fumble or prevaricate. Thus he silences his critics and cynics.

S.M. Abdullah's Waterloo is 1953-it cannot be one that will satisfy both pro 53 and anti 53 political sections. Unfortunately it remains a political chasm in Kashmir's recent history. S.M. Abdullah cannot cover up his responsibility to the anti people's activities of Bakshi since 1947 till 1953 till he was Prime Minister of J&K State. He extended his ardent and vociferous support to Bakshi at the height of purges of progressive sections of workers from National Conference (I was one of them in the 1949). This initial reaction against the bureaucracy of organisation was spearheaded by left wing of National Conference alongwith G.M. Din Kara as an ally, who also fell victim to the wrath of S.M. Abdullah. The same process of purges was repeated in Jammu. In the matter of outlook on life and approach to the political problems facing the country as well as about treatment of the opposition Sheikh and Bakshi were not qualitatively dissimilar.

Early in 1948, it had become clear to the top leaders of National Conference cognizant of political situation that Bakshi with the covert and overt support of Sheikh was literally packing the party organs with workers, delegates, office bearers unswervingly loyal to him personally. Left wing and conscious workers became very much alarmed by this trend of affairs and began to deliberate on this serious issue and of the need to find a solution for the problem. But support to Bakshi by Sheikh constituted the most damaging direct admission of complicity, over a long period, with "Bakshi at his worst."

Sheikh is conscious of this, while recollecting viciousness of the past.

In his memoirs, humiliating Bakshi, by implication Sheikh was also condemning himself and also condemning the whole system of Government and party leadership that had made emer-

gence of Bakshi possible. It was Bakshi who had introduced the perversion in the party system under Sheikh's noose.

S.M. Abdullah looks at 1953 episode through prism of Machiavellian political mechanics. The melo-drama consists of a sordid intrigue by two villains — Bakshi and Sadiq. But 1953 violent political struggle, apparently free of traditional moral restraints, had an involvement of national and international purport. In the abnormal situations the abstract Democratic Concepts have their own limitations. Coup De-etate of 1953, was lack of Confidence in the masses, as well as individuals and party. Empiricism of leadership in 1953 compelled them to choose the path of least resistance. Bakshi and Sadiq, heroes of 1953, were politicians of Golden mean, who did not hesitate to resort to the most extreme measures.

Sadiq, as wrongly dubbed by Sheikh, was not an intriguer. He was soft, cultured, a defender of the oppressed, a sentimental protestor. In early forties, ... he had the capacity in tradition ridden Kashmir to disseminate Marxism and rear a Marxist group and organise an introduce left wing ideas inside National Conference. He was first trade unionist in Kashmir alongwith Faiz Ahmad paracha, P.N. Bazaz to organise working class movement. (1936—1937). He introduced S.M. Abdullah to Indian left, was instrumental in the adoption of 'New Kashmir' as N.C. Programme. He was the only leader, who had guts to differ with S.M. Abdullah on many issues during freedom struggle and after.

His tragedy was that tactically he was a revolutionist but strategically a compromiser. Pragmatism always compelled him to choose the path of least resistance. He bruised his integral, honest, jacobine and ublemished radical career in his quest for success. On the rough, uneven, humdrum, compromising path of prosaic power struggle he had to create and destroy theory. D.P. Dhar, a declassé, decadent feudal aristocrat turned patriot and political activist, was deft in the art of to find others to do the actual fighting, himself remaining behind the curtain. What brought

him adherents, was fear and his vicious mockery. Spiritually, quite poor human types came under his influence. In essence Sadiq and D.P., both were petty bourgeoisie democrats, yet they were extremely resolute and audacious. Bakshi's will appears superior to his intellect. He sought popularity greedily but he could not find it. Only through frontal attacks he drove himself into devious and crooked ways. He was neither educated nor eloquent, and could not attract sympathy. But he was richer in cold persistence and practical common sense. He was not swayed by impulses, but knew how to subject them to his calculations. But for the most part he was generous big hearted, precipitate and naive.

Sheikh M. Abdullah was an unquestioned mass leader and orator. But he lacked organising talent. Mostly he was ruled by will than by reason, was swayed by impulses. He could be moved by hurt feelings, and sentiments. He was extrovert and frank. Despite the look of obscurantism which many of his actions and ideas may have assumed, Sheikh was staunch anti feudal and anti monarchist and apostle of Hindus Muslim Unity. Though being a religious and cultural revivalist, reactionary socially, however, he was revolutionary politically.

This was the socio-political physiognomic position of the general staff of the S.M. Abdullah on the eve of 1953 storm. Maulvi Syeed, a Deobandhi intellectual cum nationalist, with a scholarly disposition and an articulate personality was much misunderstood in both camps. He was detested by extremist camp, subjected for his anti left credentials and political approach to tackle S.M. Abdullah. Sheikh wanted Maulvi take his side without any reservation and condition. He became target of attack on both sides, and came under crossfire, though his record of suffering and incarceration is no less than Sheikh's since 1953 till Accord of 1975. In the 'Autobiography' his criticism is unwarranted, uncalled for. Maulvi Syeed's fault has been that he treats politics at par with morality. Political power like morality is a process which gradually develops towards perfection. Politics and Morals have

no straight path but a Zig-Zag, one. They have to pass through a highly complex orbit. Both are dependent on class struggle.

Emergence of Bakshi in Kashmir situation was not an accident but a social phenomenon utterly exceptional. He was neither thinker, a writer, nor an orator. He took the possession of power not with the possession or personal qualities but with the aid of impersonal machine — party and government which S.M. Abdullah entrusted him. It was not he who created this machine. (It was created by hundreds of selfless party workers, agitators, organisers, propagandists) But this machine created him. The party had grown out of struggle and ideas. Sheikh was charismatic leader of the masses, both by oral as well written word. Bakshi did not create the machine but took possession of it. The organisation had grown out of ideas, the Bakshi was contemptuous towards ideas.

Ambiguity and confusion between centre and state within federalism, composition of state, uneven political consciousness regionwise, reaction in Jammu, illiterate, culturally backward cadre in rural areas, border areas, lumpen sections in Urban units, Bakshi could utilize and undoubtedly create a favourable soil for the distortion of politics and ideology. In this process till 1953, he had full backing of S.M. Abdullah. Both were against the political education of the Cadre.

Bakshi had complexes of wealth and status, personal and practical aims were supreme to theoretical truths. He did not believe in men's idealistic motives. In 1948 Sheikh got him elevated from obscurity to triumvirate.

#### *Sheikh — Bakshi — Sadiq*

He was uncertain about steps. He was mortally afraid of left wing group inside N.C., against which he conspired and got sustenance from Sheikh. But because of poor politics of Mr. Kara, neutrality of Sadiq, combined attack of all others, the group was finally purged. Sheikh was active also in purging this group. Sheikh

used Bakshi as a counter weight against Sadiq, D.P. supported Bakshi at this stage all along, Mulvi Syeed was also on his side. Finally Sadiq also got neutralized. None thought at the time that Bakshi, would some day dominate over all of them. In first triumvirate M.M. Syeed treated Bakshi in circumspettedly patronizing manner, Sadiq with a touch of irony. But more of that later. Mr. Kara proved a poor politician, lacked right tactic. Finally he was Licked.

In reality a political reaction set in after 1953 under Bakshi's stewardship. Thus the leaders of the petty bourgeoisie dependent on merchant capitalists, Kulaks (the magnates — financial) are typical second raters — even as the middle class itself, view it from all angles, assumes a subsidiary role in the class struggle. It resembles an obscene and rowdy bar room burlesque. It may be termed thermidorian reaction. (Post 1953) a transition movement from self sacrifice to self betterment. It was in this period that Bakshi emerged as the organiser, the distributor of jobs, the master of bureaucracy — both in govt, and party. The Dialectics of history had already kicked up this mediocrity. He was needed by all of them — tired impoverished radicals, by the bureaucrats, by V.L. W.S., the Kulaks, the upstarts, the sneaks, the sycophants, by all the worms that are crawling out of upturned soil of manured social upheaval.

The period was heyday for bureaucracy, even impression was getting momentum that freedom struggle was fought for them. They had always waged rabid struggle against progressive ideas, which threatened to jeopardize, their privileges. Their nights were so colourful that description of life style of Napoleonic generals in Emile Ludwigs biography of 'Napoleon' is not so much provocative. In their struggle against future radicalization, Bakshi found droves of supporters, old decadent feudal elements, Mullas, erstwhile enemies of movement, communal reactionaries both Hindus and Muslims. They flocked to the state machine and later started singing praises of Bakshi's practical common sense. In

this epoch of reaction police machine played a far greater role than under old regime.

The reaction did not rest on one individual, as Sheikh has written in his book but on social foundation of which both were co-authors since 1947. The post 53 social foundation, in particular for political workers, was not self sacrifice but a matter of bread, meat, living quarter, route permit, licence, contract lease, subsidy, loan, surplus and luxury. It was also achieving increasing privileges for the bureaucracy. Jobbery, Corruption, Bribe, profligacy became order of the day.

Bakshi could easily say, "I am Society". As such type of state encompasses the entire reins of economy of the country.

All the same Bakshi was a colourful personality, secular, risen from the ranks to the highest echelons of power. **Complexes of youth** :— too much yearning for wealth, property, status and over ambitious character were cause of his graphic fall.

He can be compared with the hero of Petor Schiemih-L by "von Chamisso." Schiemihl sold his shadow for wealth and then went seeking it all over the world.

On the whole Autobiography of Sheikh is rare book that records the experience and vision of one of the makers of modern J&K State. In the domain of history Historical culture implies, eshcewing personal hatred as it deems it petty and contemptible. It is not only unscientific but blinding. Sheikh was loved by broad masses and even feared, hated by some sections during his life time. He instilled the spirit of fearlessness among Kashmiris. The book is frank and heroic, it helps to understand the deeper currents of Kashmir politics; glory as tragedy; the factors that won him freedom after long incarceration, slander and calumny." His reinstatement as chief Minister of State in 1975, was the result of the mass movement in the state and was supported by democratic forces throughout India.

## APPENDIX-2

### A PETTY BOURGEOIS LIBERAL WITH BOMB

Here in K.D. Sethi's searching story, the whole state (J&K) peoples struggle is blurred and distorted. It reflects the typical petty Bourgeois mentality blended with left phrases, a sorrow romanticist vainly trying to lay bare the peoples struggle for freedom and after. The "Reminiscences" or you may call it "autobiography" suffers from slow "make believe seeking for the basic reasons and right methods of action. The author of the booklet puts on air's while parading his self ego being the sole monopolist of tremendous wisdom and ... perseverance, in carrying through, the endless courage understanding, determination of the people for proletarian struggle, revolution and dignity.

No one reading this book can doubt the authors credentials as a genuine freedom fighter, who went through the incarceration, torture, imprisonment. A few in Jammu Division can boast of such a record in service of the people. Being a gifted orator, parliamentarian, ardent leftist, warm hearted, joyful, he grew in thick of struggle like sensitive people of the state. He rubbed shoulders with stalwarts of the movement — S.M. Abdullah, Bakshi G.M. G.M. Sadiq, Mirz Afzal Beg, Raja Mohd. Akbar Khan, M.M. Syeed Masoodi, S.L. Saraf, Pt. Kashyp Bandhu.

In the narration of "Auto-Biography" we see Mr. Sethi grow with the people reach into the most basic roots of the people and become new kind of human being, harbinger of the future. This is an intensely moving past story — "history." The phase was full of warmth, courage and love which was K.D. Sethi.

As a revolutionary intellectual, who knew that he must serve the people, not enemies of the people. Such a poise was based upon the deepest respect for the peoples wisdom, understanding and creative capacity. Here is a rich experience in life its practice and theory, theory and practice.

And old quotation by Sir Thomas Brown (1605—1682) sums up the main theme, tone and tune of the "Autobiography" "He who discommendeth other obliquely commendeth himself." K.D. Sethi is devastating in his criticism of National Conference Leaders, both communist parties — (C.P.I. & C.P.I.M.), Soviet Union and peoples Republic of China and his recent comrades, who turned his future renegades and parted with him. He stigmatizes all bourgeois political parties, groups and individuals. He repents for the sins, he committed (unwisely) by forging links with R.P. Saraf to organsie genuien revolutionary party. K.D. Sethi, a "Communist" Sweet-heart" is full of unabashed praises for Mufti Syed, leader of State Congress and Central Minister "of bourgeois— landlord Govt :— according to the formulations of the great revolutionary. He, (quote) "Mufti Syed is progressive, enlightened, man of strong determination and struggle." (page 102 of autobiography). In the same breath he condemns R.P. Saraf, for having none of past traditions of movement, but commends Mufti Sayeed lacking any past freedom fighting tradition or leftist background. There can be no doubts as to come Sethi's most recent "career." It apparently offers to current suspicion that Sethi is in "Mufti" — "a Congressite in communist robes." Com. Sethi cannot hoodwink even simpletons by keeping ideological cum political and social personal relations in water-tight compartments, as the ladies and gentlemen in Jean Austins novels were just then doing in Britain.

K.D. Sethi very much resembles the heroine of a story by chekov entitled "Sweet-heart." At first sweet-heart lived with an imprsario and used to say "vanichka and I are staging serious plays." Later she lived with a timber merchant and would say;

"vasichika and I are indignant at the high duties on timber." Finally she lived with a veterinary surgeon and used to say, "Kolechaka and I Doctor horses." It is same with comrade K.D. Sethi, "R.P. Saraf and 'I' abused Sadiq, and erstwhile card-holders and now an abusing R.P. Saraf, Mr. Sethi, communist sweet-heart! In whose embrace will you find yourself tomorrow?

Sethi versus Saraf tartuffs are the new and old problems. The problem is more of ravings and less of ideology. Both are out of Marxist orbit. Basically both were rebels and not revolutionaries. Both renounced proletarian ideology and took refuge in "terrorism."— revolutionary in words and petty bourgeoisie in deeds. Both were bellicose, because National Conference radicalization tended to be ecumenical. Soon, after "holding important positions of authority inside ruling party, got disillusioned with merchant bourgeoisie political leadership and much intellectual distinction. Left the ruling party and embarked on a new venture :— "D.N.C.", United Communist party and C.P.M. to organize left, an appreciable and commendable venture. Unfortunately, the Saraf and Sethi combine, were afraid of new outfit which they unleashed. They did not want to sustain the new situation, but had to compete with their rivals, the intellectual opportunist alliance of Sadiq — D.P. Dhar and Mir Qasim, Tirlochan Dutt. The intellectual oportunist group of Sadiq gained zeal and prestige nor they. On the other hand, they wanted a short shrift and quick war against ruling party than patient general ideological crusade. They miserably failed. They launched on a new ultra leftist adventure — Nexalism. The ideology of terror resulted in numerous splits and finally decay and the Naxalism faction have lapsed from all but the memory of historians. They are remembered as a 'group for politically negligible but Saraf, the huge and whoring corn. Sethi, leaders of left terror, created an image among conservatives for their terrorism. They eulogized in their achievements as super human. For such men, the choice was simple; either the terrorist ideology with all its defects from the middle class point of view or the destruction of progressive, left-

ist elements, sections and groups in the state and finally their own degeneration. J&K being a complex state, the problem of tactics demands an articulate, more so an artist in revolutionary tactics. The root cause of Kashmir's idiosyncratic political course can be explained in Marxist terms by the concept of the uneven development of three regions, classes, political cadre. It is this process of intrication that give an acute complexity to historical development. External factors cannot be excluded.

Both industry and the labour movement were an weak Phenomena in the state. The entire cities, towns surrounded by a sea of corner grocers, peasant small holders and 'taba' proprietors. In such a socio-economical political atmosphere, the left lost Sethi... powerful, dissolute probably impetuous, but immensely talented progressives, more moderate than they looked. Few critics have been discreet about com Saraf, about his charming, thin blooded, fanatical political activist with his somewhat excessive sense of private monopoly in virtue, because he still incarnately the terrible and about which no man is neutral. He was not an agreeable individual, He was not an extra ordinary man and often narrow in outlook. But among extreme Leftist, he is the only individual thrown up by the ideology of terror about whom a cult has grown up. Both had power of people — the present masses and middle class revolutionaries, when they abandoned them, they fill. The tragedy that they themselves were obliged to alienated the support. Their power structure was predominantly petty bourgeoisie and middle rich peasant class. The economic needs of these classes alienated such a popular support. Such historical situations relapse into puzzled and nauseating passivity. More moderate supporters of their faction were alarmed by their... The combine of Saraf Sethi of history are always defeated by naive realism because narrow dedication can succeed where bohemianism cannot.

The Sethi-Saraf combine split into numerous right and left factions, endless boring debates ensues and were lost in a for-

est of three trees. The combine got liquidated and liquidators separated but tartufs continue.

Sethi and Saraf had destroyed only one thing; the budding democratic and left movement in the state and particularly in Jammu, the dream of genuine socialism, and of the people rising against communalism, feudal reaction and oppression of exploiting classes. The criticism of Saraf, in the autobiography, once a comrade-in-arms of author is questionable. He who bares his sword in cold blood is seldom deeply inspired by the cause which he champions. It befits the fighter to be more or less passionate.

The "Autobiography" in essence is a career of a terrorist, not a proletarian revolutionary but a petty bourgeois with bomb. Now being left without bomb, poses to feel at home in so-called revolutionary parties that do not in anyway concern themselves with upholding revolutionary traditions, revolutionary principles, revolutionary honour and duty. K.D. Sethi has now turned its back on the revolution, only the development of class consciousness of proletariat and the exclusion of petty Bourgeois "fellow travellers" from its ranks can lead to the victory of new movement.

The K.D. Sethi's autobiography reveals that he represents agency of bourgeoisie, the revolutionary facade is to gain control over the revolutionaries. Why his bourgeois friends pseudo progressives will like this to happen? When K.D. Sethi's as a leader says "we revolutionaries" it must be read as meaning "we petty bourgeois liberals with bomb" friends of bourgeoisie.

K.D. Sethi has distorted certain facts of our movement, may be owing to lack of knowledge or ignorance. In 1938—39, it was S.M. Abdullah's strong mass appeal, that he could dare to convert Muslim Conference into National Conference. Bakshi as a historical dualist tried to scuttle the move through M.Y. Qureshi, to capture head-quarters, — M. Manzil. Qureshi failed, was resisted by Sheikh's militants and subsequently let down by Bakshi as a scapegoat. Sadiq and P.N. Bazaz proved ideologues to S.M. Abdullah in the move. The move was preceded by National Demand in 1938.

The shots fired in the Kashmir valley were also heard throughout the state. And in this reverberation "Raja Akbar might have also supported the move, but the move he made could not be interpreted as vital and strategic. The unquestionably S.M. Abdullah lit a new beacon along the road that all Jammu and Kashmir must take away from communal politics and feudalism. In its years of struggle, new Kashmir programme forged the key to new vistas and perspective. The other gross misrepresentation of the fact, that G.M. Din have wanted to turn the cloak of history back — reconverting of national Conference to Muslim Conference. The year was 1945 and early 1946, that Bakshi G.M. initiated this move, it was vehemently opposed by G.M. Sadiq and M.D. Kara. Mr. Sethi should straighten his record. His formulation is mere concoction and falsification of history of the movement.

Mr Sethi alleges that all leaders, made confession of their guilt before him. Only Mir Qasim and R.P. Saraf are exceptions. All who confessed, except G.R. Dogra who is living (and is such stuff) are dead, who could have affirmed or denied the statement. In accordance with the canons of evidence the fact is neither proved nor disproved. It needs further factual verification before it is passed as on a truth.

The international question has been for long one of the most complicated and important questions which the world working class and communist movement has had to tackle. Both its complexity and importance have only increased with passage of years. It has not remained a static phenomena but one that has dynamically involved and acquired new dimensions.

I recollect the first meeting face to face with com. Sethi in May, 1953 at the conference of All J&K Democratic Youth League. I as a president of D.Y.L. lead the delegation, participated, deliberated in the conference on vital issues facing the state, fortunately, I was already disillusioned about N.C. leadership, was out of this mess, since 1949. Com Sethi was still in the process of disillusionment no finality in his ideological dispositions.

How Mr. Sethi would explain the complicity in 1953 episode? The entire Indian left has wriggled out of 53, "Coups — de-estate and relegate the issue to students of historical research. He was hand in glove with Bakshi in his power struggle as an important "apparatchik" of Jammu and Kashmir Organisation and stuck up to this position till late 1957. He bore and justified all repressive measures in Kashmir valley by Bakshi regime.

However, it goes to the merit of "Autobiography" that it has provoked a debate, though it is most lucid exposition of a most confused formulation. Its literary style is wasteful importance. The Rhetoric is soulless and hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue. In his autobiography Sethi appears a frenzied petty bourgeois. I wish that there should have been no falsehood, strength lies in stating the truth. My review is not an irate reply but motivated by sincerity and true sentiments. The autobiography should have been a call to healthy elements left in politics of state for a progressive action. Alas! it is the hysterics of the defeated. Com Sethi still needs schooling in differentiating "Petty bourgeois from proletarian socialism." Scanning through the pages autobiography Sethi appears a frenzied petty bourgeois. Scanning through the pages autobiography I find there is more of cum Sethi than there is of the movement itself. The most appropriate title to the "Reminiscences" would have been, "the career of terrorist."

Let us ponder! Are we back where we started? Can old stage be reset? As I have seen from excursions in history that revolutionary intelligent workers peasants go out into streets and act while they feel that middle class like Sethi sees no hope in things as they are.

Karl Marx, founder of communism, with whose poignant quotation, I close this book review:—

"The Social revolution... cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future."

## APPENDIX-3

### LIFTING THE VEIL

Before I deal with his Book, I might say A Word or Two about M.J. Akbar, whose India : The making of India by same Author as a fresh Book at Nehru. By profession he is a journalist. Previous to his present assignment— important functionary of AICC (I) and Ex-MP, he edited the Telegraph of Calcutta.

There are a number of studies available on aspects of Kashmir freedom struggle and post independence problems, however the Kashmiris study in depth has comparatively been a subject of much less serious attention, both in terms of comprehension and regular documentation as well as indepth and balanced analysis.

Akbar's book is in sight with extensive coverage, readable and racy in style. The book is neatly divided into 10 chapters written on the basis of published sources. It is a welcome addition filling up a serious gap in the broad perspective on the freedom struggle in Kashmir. There has not been a single book till now that gave a comprehensive, coherent account of Nehrus special, emotional relationship with Kashmir and its many peoples.

The work under reference is divided into 3 parts. The first relating to the philosophy of History And politics, political consciousness in the Kashmir Traditions and evolution since ancient and mediaeval stages of history, problems and contradictions of Kashmir consciousness.

The part— 1931 to 1947— deals with formative years of All J&K National Conference, Kashmir's freedom struggle : Several

streams — conversion of Muslim conference to National Conference; formation and adoption of radical programme, New Kashmir' from responsible government under aegis of Maharaja to the slogan of Quit princedom, the accession of Kashmir to Indian Union, the global setting, 53 episode — 'mistake or cynical miscalculation,' the Accord of 1975, the discord, the hidden crisis in Kashmir politics. Further the rightist offensive in defence of democracy, the alienation of Muslim masses culminating in secrecy of hidden conspiracy.

The ancient period of Kashmir history is the dilution of Brahmanism and Buddhism. It laid the basis of doctrine of 'Advaita' — Sivism' Sava school of philosophy — (8th century A.D.) founded by scholars Somanand, Abhinava Gupta and others. Being a syncretic cult it finally assumed the form of 'Bhakti' movement and dominated sub-continent in the 10th Century.

At the end of the classical period Kashmir gained a new position as the meeting place of traditional Hindu thought and culture and the new Islamic thought and culture. Nund Rishi, Laladevi, the lady mystic of 14th century, whose monistic utterances, is the best representative of Kashmir's contribution to the corpus of the poetry of Vedanta and Bhakti in the Indian languages of the many orders, the Rishis order founded in Kashmir by Nund-Rishi was the most popular, and in spiritual outlook and exercised nearest to the Hindu school of Bhakti. Both founded their faith upon the principle of pantheistic monism, (Advaita, Wahadat-ul-Wajud and both followed similar method of self control and purification (Yoga and Dhikar).

The unique geographical situation and configuration has created in this area a certain regional complex which has been the receptacle of problems and contradictions of Kashmiri consciousness, the democratic distemper, the politics of un-reason and alienation. The historical tradition has been unique and distinctive feature of its spread over these periods should be kept in mind while analysing modern developments. Unlike other moun-

tainous regions of the Indo-Pak sub-continent, which were more or less refuge areas 'or blind alleys of social development, Kashmir due to its strategic location at the hub of Asia, has been the recipient of major cultural influences from the surrounding regions. Though the valley has been imbibing external influences, it has succeeded in preserving its individuality— 'Kashmiriyat.' It has observed the healthy elements from outside but never got merged in them.

It is a commonly held belief that the Kashmir struggle for freedom and emancipation dated back to 1931. The view is probably not correct. The 1931 explosion and mass upheaval was a continuation and the nodal point of a series of previous struggles for political freedom which took place in the state since 1878, 1911 — uprisings of aristocracy, traders, working — class.

Ridiculous theories regarding conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference emanate from both communal vested interests — Hindu and Muslim. Muslim communalists interpret it as an intrigue hatched by Nehru who persuaded S.M. Abdullah to change the complexion of Muslim conference and Hindu communalist dubbing it as a facade to cover up muslim communalist tirade against Hindu Raja. Other dress it with regional complex and try to cut its size. The National Conference characterized awakening and upsurge in the national movement on All India basis under the Conference of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic forces.

Formation of National Conference was a process, not an accidental Leap. Dr. Saif Ud-Din Kichloo Jalianwala Bagh hero was a pioneer, who in 1935, inaugurated in a big rally 'Weekly Hamdard a nationalist paper, owned by S.M. Abdullah and P.N. Bazaz and edited by Mulvi Mohd. Syeed Masoodi. His visit was followed by Dr. K.N. Ashraf, a leading Marxist, member of AICC, incharge Muslim Mass contact committee who came in 1937, contacted Kashmiri leaders, addressed a big mass rally of students at Gandhi park and formed Anti-imperialist, Front. This proc-

ess culminated in a historic 'Lahore meeting,' between S.M. Abdullah, Bakshi G.M. in 1937 with Nehru.

In the formative years, Muslim Conference was supported by the 'Majlis Ahrar,' a pro-congress and anti British Muslim organisation. The freedom struggle of Kashmiri people had a communal form in its embryonic stage because of the compulsions of Social backwardness but soon it broke the shackles of obscurantist communalism and become worthy inheritor of the secular and humanistic legacy.

The fact needs to be recorded that the freedom struggle of Kashmir neither started with the establishment of national Conference nor the battle was fought exclusively under National Conference banner. There were other forces. More often than not, these forces functioned within the National Conference as an integral part of the united struggle. These forces included communists, socialists, Majlis-Ahrar, All India Kashmir Committee headed by poet Iqbal and made significant contribution in widening and deepening struggle for independence.

As soon as the war was over, in August 1945, the National Conference held its session and gave the slogan of 'New Kashmir,' in which it outlined a socio-economic programme of Kashmir and for that purpose demanded a democratic structure, adult franchise and elected Assembly. As freedom drew near, S.M. Abdullah called for a plebiscite on Dogra autocracy and fixed 15th May, 1946 for the popular vote. "Quit Kashmir" became the rallying cry of the people. S.M. Abdullah was arrested but deposed before the Magistrate Sept 10, 1946, said :—

"Being vice President of All India State People's conference, part of National movement, it has laid down that the old treaties between the states and the British Government are obsolete and must end." It shows that slogan was not 'gimmick,' an emotional outburst but in consistent with 'Ludhiana Resolution of state peoples conference. Mr Jinnah denounced the agitation and called it an agitation of a few malcontents out to destroy law and order.

All J&K Muslim Conference denounced the agitation in a resolution. Patel and Kriplani had reservations about quit Kashmir Movement. The only parties — CPI and Socialist were consistent in their support to the movement.

In the whole of India, the credit of liquidating the complete feudal structure and autocracy goes to the Kashmir leadership of whom conventionalists have made caricature in their formulation.

On the eve of Independence, partition took place on the principle of religious Nationalism, Maharaja fully conscious of complex situation of the state, hesitated for a long time to take a decision to accede to either of the Dominions. He toyed with the idea of independence, entered into stand-still agreement with Pakistan. Sheikh raised the slogan — first freedom and then accession. He deputed emissary G.M. Sadiq to Pakistan to meet leaders — he clearly indicated that — "To ask for time for all issues to be coolly discussed within the movement before a decision was taken about accession. Assurances were also sought from them that Kashmir would enjoy full internal Autonomy in case the state decided to accede to Pakistan. It turned out that Pakistani leaders had such profound contempt for Kashmiris that they made only a court observation that they were all Muslims implying they did not recognise any sub-division among Muslims on the basis of language and culture. The reply was very well understood by the National Conference leaders, and therefore they could at once make up their minds how to face the new meeting situations. "Kashmir political and imperialist manoeuvres" page 151. N.N. Raina" Patriot publishers."

On Oct 22 (1947) the invasion began. Standstill treaty was tramped under foot by Pakistani hordes. Maharaja was let down. The Maharaja appealed for aid to the Government of India and acceded to India, signing instrument of accession. The instrument of accession of J&K State was quite different from those signed by other former princely states. The Kashmir state in-

strument of accession specified that the state could have its constitution, state subject laws would be invoked to replace the instrument of accession with constitutional arrangement, the founding fathers of constitution came forth with Article 370.

Since 1949 S.M. Abdullah was not happy with the manoeuvres of the central Home Ministry. For them the Kashmir problem was a problem for the Army and internally just a law and order problem. (N.N. Raina Imperialist manoeuvre and Kashmir politics). It developed into Patel-Abdullah tussle culminating into 53 episodes — a miscalculation or a cynical mistake. For Nehru it was a tragedy." What is projected here as a tragedy for him personally was in fact a tragedy for the whole country, its popular and secular democracy. The Abdullah government in Kashmir was a symbol of secularism in India in contrast to the Islamic theocracy in Pakistan "Nehru : Ideology and Practice E.M.S. Nambodiripad p 243).

Policy of reconciliation with SM Abdullah pursued by Nehru later on culminated into an Accord on Feb. 24, 1975. Indira Gandhi announced that in the Lok-Sabha. The plebiscite front was dissolved officially on May, 19, 1975. Instead of realigning all secular and democratic forces, it resulted into discord fanned by Home Ministry and spear headed by Mir Qasim and Late D.P. Dhar.

After 1975, S.M. Abdullah reshaped National Conference. History repeats itself — events and persons. "First time as tragedy and second as farce," said Marx. The new National Conference is an amalgam of Bakshi N.C., erstwhile Congress (I) and Plebiscite rump. Money and Muscle power are its growing organisational features. There has been a hidden crisis in Kashmir politics — Accord and discord; Central Intelligence gross dabbling and interference in politics, the rightist offensive in defence of Democracy, alienation of the Muslim masses, interregional conflict, secrecy of hidden conspiracy and finally growth of militancy — A struggle against the people in the name of people.

The ghost of personality cult haunts also. I did not deny the role of individual in History.

In the final analysis one is confronted with the fact that Kashmir movement failed in developing an effective political culture and ideology and tactics to stop reactionary, revivalist incursion. It is a story of glory to despair— which is the begging question. Though author addresses this question, he does not really answer it. But the broad sweep of history and the very good comparative study outlives the other omissions.

It is an useful venture. A landable guide for understanding Kashmir politics and people. M.G. Akbars' Kashmir contains a new approaches to many questions — from which veil has been lifted. The work is commendable.

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## APPENDIX-4

### CRITIQUE OF THE PRESENT—PAY INTERPRETATIONS AND DISTORTIONS OF KASHMIR HISTORY

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The recent publications on Kashmir insurgency and political movement in the recent past authored by Mr. Jag Mohan— 'My Frozen Turbulence,' Peer Giyas-ud-din- 'Understanding the Kashmir Insurgency,' and Mohd. Sultan Pampori's, 'Kashmir in Chains,' reflect the attitude of the authors to the Kashmir Nationalist Movement Conversion of Muslim Conference to national Conference, Accession of Kashmir to India in 1947, 1953 episode, Accord of 1975, genesis of militancy and to S.M. Abdullah as a politicians. Mr. Jag Mohan and Pampori in particular from negation of Nationalism to the forced admission of its place in history of Kashmir — such, in outline has been the evolution of criticism of Nationalist movement and S.M. Abdullah. The writings of both omit, suppress, distort and twist certain vital facts, because both deem these facts not relevant to historical culture. Common threads run through most of their criticism.

Mr. Pampori, in his historical treatise has been engrossed very much in developing the 'Fiction against History. Traditional History, is a privileged representation of the 'actual past' and the fiction is in opposition to it as an imaginative and therefore essentially inferior rendering of the past. This conception of history and fiction has been challenged by historians and writers in recent history. Mr. Pampori is a combination of historian and story teller, of the romancer who forged illusions of the past from an admixture of literary form and historical record. He has played History and fiction off against one another. He appears to be re-

writing the given past, translating historical reality into extremely plausible literary fiction.

To arrive at historical truth, we must recall the favourite dictum of eminent Historical E.H. Carr in his mounmental book "What is History"? since Marx and Freud wrote, the historian has no excuse to think of himself as a detached individual, standing outside society and outside History."

History is rooted in facts, facts should be historical. Historical facts are interconnected with interpretation, and here steps in the historian — he studies the dead past, but past is still living in the present. Historian must understand the thought that lays behind, an act dead. Hence all hisory of the past is the history of thought. Here lies the tragedy of Pampori's perception and comprehension of history. He fails to note that policies had its objective logic, irrespective of plans and instructions of individuals or parties. Politics is both " Science and an art."

Mr. Pampori in his treatize has approached the problem—"Kashmir Politics," from the simplistic position. He looks at recent Kashmiri history as the end product of the whims and fancies of an egomaniac or Abdullah as a dictator," his deficiencies are manifesting themselves at different points between the mass of people and supposedly self centred. S.M. Abdullah, conspiratorial P.N. Bazaz, authoritarian Nationalist leadership. He has one dimensional idea about the Kashmir politics and its past, present and future.

Mr. Pamporis formulation is devoid of political content. He packages the five decades of kashmir's modern history in bland social descriptions. This is disturbing feature in his analysis. The society has outgrown the 'two nation theory' phase of Mr. Jinnah, its author as is evident from Pak developments since partition.

Mr. Jinnah's fore — runner was James Mill, the most distinguished name who wrote History of British India, which laid the foundation for a communal interpretation of Indian History and

thus provided the justification for the two nation theory. This is how Mr. Pampori distorts the history of Kashmir movement till the present times.

It would seem, therefore that the historian or a Political Scientist should study a society's is character not only as it is today, but historcally, without rejecting its past and ignoring the continuity of cultural traditions, including traditions in political culture.

Ridiculous theories regarding conversion of Muslim Conference into national Conference emanate from both communal interest — Hindu and Muslim. Muslim communalists interrpet it as an intrigue hatched by Nehru who persuaded S.M. Abdullah to change the complexion of Muslim Conference and Hindu communalist dubbing it as a facade to cover up muslim communalist tirade agaisnt Hindu Raja. Other dress it with regional complex and try to cut its size. The National Conference characterised awakening and upsurge in the National movement on All India basis under the influence of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic forces.

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## APPENDIX-5

ON POLITICAL CULTURE AND  
PROCESS OF LUMPENISATION IN  
INDIAN POLITY

Criminalisation of politics, an vitiated poll scenes by criminal elements, nexus between politicians of political parties and criminals is a disturbing phenomenon. The extreme violence is caused by entrance of criminals in politics, formaiton of private armies by the erstwhile terrorists, and the communal tension created by some political parties. The stage is all set for the Battle, but the official machinery is faced with the grim challenges, like political murders, brick-bats, violence etc.

Criminals manage to enter August House--Legislatures and Parliament and Legislate for citizens. Tall claims of value based politics have been thrown to the winds. There is a shameless acceptance of criminals and corrupt. After striking an alliance with AIADMK, Advani justified the alliance with corruption tainted Jayalalitha, Sanjay Singh, Amethis Prince with a past has dubious distinction of being a perpetual party hopper. His claim to fame has been his conviction in the murder of Syed Mehdi a Badminton Star (liberation, January 1998). There is corruption in Judiciary.----- It is showing now when moral sanction does not work, says Justice J.S. Verma, it is time for a law to enforce judicial accountability.

With the approaching Elections battles in Bihar, numerous illegal gun factories start proliferating many of them working over time to meet the increasing demand for fire arms. Reports say that the State, which has earned the notoriety for large-scale

poll-linked violence has according to Police estimates, nearly 1000 clandestine gun factories.

Nalanda is notorious for concentration of gun factories. Surprisingly 50 percent of them are concentrated in Nalanda district, which has been described as the paradise of gun runners.

Such a dismal picture of violence, intellectual darkness, outlook of political trickery, of 'separating' morality from politics is result of the delinking of culture from politics. Suffice it to think about pre-independance cultural renaissance, the writings of Nehru, Gandhi and Tagore, Kabir, Prem Chand and Iqbal with regard to consciousness, restraint, self sacrifice, heroism, solidarity and other qualities of the mass leadership and elevated role which Mahatma Gandhi, Azad attached to the moral factor in politics. Gandhi's understanding both of politics and of morality was integral. For Gandhi and Nehru principles and ideals cannot be changed at will, proceeding from considerations of success here and now. They are not subject to fashion like shoes or clothes. Principles and ideals form the humanist core of politics and political outlook. As we know the vanguard of independence movement led by Gandhi and Azad demanded that a politician should have high moral qualities such as depth--a sense of social justice and loyaltiy to political moral ideals. Politics is both science and an art. It is to be linked with science to cultivate a 'scientific temper' among masses as Nehru used to call it. The link of politics with culture and science saves inexperienced and politically naive masses from falling easy prey to deception and treachery of exploiters, demagogues at transitional movements of political struggle for democracy and emencipation. We are living in a thwarted cultural renaissance. The process of preindependence culture renaissance has met its demise.

Alas 'we live in an age of trade and commerce, when the exploiters have no scruples about trading in honour and conscience. This is the moral aspect of an age of commerce. There is a rat race for 'getting rich quickly' through fair and foul means

and methods adopted stands in the way of the required re-education of the society in creative ways and norms of industrial society. "Baran has aptly observed that the "lumpenbourgeoisie" absorbing some of societies most capable and dynamic individuals, at the same time wastes, corrupts, and destroys a vast quality of what is perhaps one of the scarcest productive resources of all creative human talent. (Paul A. Baran, political economy of Growth, India 1958 P.P. 190-191). Thus whether it is the lumpen petty bourgeoisie-Lumpen bourgeoisie or the Lumpen proletariat those basic categories of an under-developed society exemplify the enormity of problem poised by the parasitic way of life. They are products of a situation when the disintegration of the old society has occurred faster, much faster, than the creation of the new society. These transitional classes, however, pose the most serious cultural, economic social and political challenge for the leadership in countries like India (social parasitism and economic development)-- P.C. Joshi Marxism and Social Revolution in India P.P. 131-132 Patriot publishers). Such a socio-economic situation breeds lumpens, dons and emnates violence, militancy and terrorism. The parasitic class cannot exist without political power. "The politicians and the bureaucrats assume more and more character of business and the business-man tended encroach more and more into the sphere of politics and administration" (Ibid P.P. 140-141). The metamorphosis of body politic takes place. Politics becomes strictly money-making activity'— Thus capitalist groups spend large sums in politics--Bribing officials, paying and arming supporters, buying votes, subsidising the press, bring reward in the shape of a concessions permits, appoints, contracts and the leniency of tax collectors---. This is vulgar commercialisation of politics." (Stainaly Andreski, Elements of comparative sociology London 1964 P. 227).

In such an atmosphere serious discussion is being replaced by obscurantist and fundamentalist fervour. Dogma has drowned debates. The middle class falls prey to 'ubridled consumerism,

the pursuit of the pleasure principle at one and the resurgence of religious revivalism and social obscurantism on another---. "A hybrid culture of decadent feudalism of the East and resurgent consumerism and naked hedonism of the Post-Industrial West" (Culture, Communication and Social change' by P.C. Joshi Vikas publishing House Pvt. Ltd.)

Heralding the bloom of Renaissance, it is imperative to plan culture, reduce the yawning gap between modernity and traditions, link bond between economic planning cultural planning and evolving relationship between politics and morality. A politician should have high moral qualities such as integrity, justice. The delinking of culture from politics is a post independence phenomenon that has effected ethics, communication. We should look forward to a new renaissance that provide an alternative development path based on new values. Our sense of optimism should shine through the darkest clouds that seen to engulf us today. To conclude, "We suffer not only from the living but from the dead." (Karl Marx).

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## APPENDIX-6

INDIA : PROBLEM OF MODERN  
POLITICAL CULTURE

Indian polity has entered a critical stage. On the issue of communalism the recent intensification of communal politics, the increased activity of communal forces, religion, the creation of secular ethos and the role of the state — are the burning issues in the highly complex situation in India today. We are at a vital turning point in India's post-independent history. The entire situation revolves round the long drawn struggle over the very definition of India's nationhood.

Religion in India plays a vital role not only in social but also in the political sphere. Separation of religion and politics has not come about. The RSS stands for a theocratic state, does not believe in parliamentary democracy. The Muslim fundamentalists do not want any amendment of their Civil Code, playing on the apprehensions of the Muslims that their identity will be lost in India as they are a minority. There is a brazen mix of religion and politics exploiting to the full the religious sentiments of the people with a view to serve political ends. There is a full scale offensive against India's secular policy, its glorious traditions, its secular democratic values, enshrined in the constitution. There is an all out attack against the sanctity of the courts and the rule of law. The secularism is under siege. Can we, therefore, conclude that the secular vision evolved by Gandhi, Nehru and Azad during freedom struggle and embedded in our cultural heritage and historical traditions has come to a naught and the country has surrendered to the obscurantist forces? In my opinion it would be rather hasty conclusion.

We have no important distinction in Indian conditions that is between seeing religion in secular perspective and seeing secularism in religious perspective. The latter proposition though difficult to swallow, has much greater social validity in India of today. Communalism thrives on the fundamentalist and monologic religion. Fundamentalism hates debate and dialogue. Dialogue is essential in a pluralist society. Religion in India is being used as an ideology of legitimising domination. The fundamentalist and revivalist movements must be seen through this prism. The Hindu communal forces are creating, in the heart land of India, social and political conditions similar to that the secessionists in Kashmir and Punjab have created respectively :

Secularism in India is based on its history and traditions, in the form of respect for other's religion. The genesis of India heritage is the legacy of a 'civilisation where Hindu and Muslim together have reached an enchanting synthesis,' inspite of many dreadful wounds inflicted by history. The record of India tolerance and the co-existence is unparalleled in the history of world. The Eminent Indian Monk "Swami Vivekananda's positive appraisal of the Muslims in Indian history and his call for a combination of Islamic body and Vedantic brain--a tribute to this entrant in our land and creatively co-existent element.

The Muslim rulers who came from various countries settled down here, as did the Aryans, the Huns, the Shakas and several others. Hence, not only that they did not merge in the Hindu society, but a large number of Hindus who were victims of caste oppression embraced Islam. The Bhakti Movement reflected and evolved a syncretic cult — Sufi saint Movement, the basis of composite culture. The late Kishitomohan Sen, celebrated for his study of our medieval saints, has called "the joint Sadhna of Hindus and Muslims' had begun on our soil. It is a fact that India has sustained a secular democratic system of Government on a scale unparalleled in the world despite its vastness, being multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic and above all uneven regional economic development. No doubt, this system and secular edifice will emerge stronger out of the present crisis.

R.S.S. supremo talks of 'Bharat Bhoomi.' He asserts that Bharat Bhoomi is Hindi Samaj. Then what is the position of the minorities? He avoids the question. It is a proposition and an effort to create an artificial, uniform, homogenous, monoethnic, Hinduism in which there may be no room for plurality of belief and rituals, for the syncretism of the spirit of accommodations. It is a perverse, sterile version of belief system. To quote Advani, minorities will be secure in Hindu lap. He does not mince words and brazenly advocates establishment of Hindu society. Mr. Advani has recently found justification for the Rath Yatra for Ram Janam Bhoomi in Gandhi Ji. Gandhi Ji used to say that he wanted to establish Ram Rajya. But then does he agree with the daily prayer of Gandhi Ji — "*Ram aur Rahima auk hein, Kashi Kaba auk hein.*"

Our entire cultural history, freedom struggle had evolved and developed specific model of Indian secular democracy, and parliamentary system. The western model has not been mechanically applied by the founding fathers of the Constitution while drafting it, for our specific conditions and historical context. The analogical method of comparison between the Western countries is by no means the same as comparing the West and the East for drawing comparison between the countries of the East. The modes vary in the countries having similar traits of historical — cultural community. The example of U.S.A. the socio-political system is Americanised and it does not embrace the part of western tradition. Britain has its own type of parliamentary form known as "Westminster Abbey System."

Every Western country has developed its own specific "political culture." Ireland is treated on different footing, sociologists and political scientists mark its undeveloped and less pronounced secularism in politics. In the East variegated types and models have come into being. Chinese and Indian system is poles apart. In spite of dominant party system like India prevailing in Japan, Malaysia, there is sufficient material to make differentiations. Same is the case with limited democracies in which the Govern-

ment is independent of Parliament and the Government bureaucracy itself being the de-facto dominant party. Socio-economic backwardness leads to the formation of a dominant party system. It is something more. It is a hyper-bolization of separate political development why the secular political opposition in India has not been successful to present a real alternative to Congress rule on the national level for more than three decades and replaced dominant party system by two party system. The uniqueness and peculiarity of political culture can not be traced to low economic development level. It is history and its continuity intertwined with the economy that shapes the political culture. It is not the obtaining state of economy, its "level" that shapes a person, rather, the productive forces and social relations, are different aspects of the development of the social individual — (K. Marx, F. Engels, collected works Vol. 6 Moscow, P.P. 477—519).

Social consciousness determines historical social being that determines, in its turn, the framework and character of political institutions and political culture — political behaviour patterns. Transitional structures will come and go. The cycle of crisis will spell the end of the transitional structure.

The study should not confine to the present society's character, but should include the study of historical past, continuity of the cultural traditions and the traditions in political culture. The epicentre is the historical soul being — man in the system of social relations. The continuity in the past and present is sustained in two forms — which is understandable through man shaped by the past and tradition, in its turn determined by man himself. And the man is a social individual.

This being the starting point, the political culture in the East in general is comprehensible. The genesis of Indian State and of Society and their development within the framework set by its culture with its peculiar characteristics, needs a fair treatment and historical analysis encompassing lofty manifestations and universal values. Such is the basis of genuine political culture.

Narrow communalism, fundamentalism devoid of humanism does not come within its perview. A uniformity in the perception of State power, based on the universal character of the system of various religions and beliefs influences the specific character of Indian political culture and political parties. "Religion by itself is neither superstitious nor obscurantist, it is social conditions which make it so or otherwise. For this one needs to study both the sociology and politics of religion. Hinduism has for thousands of years influenced specificity of Indian culture and India's socio political development. It still dominates the present institutions. The special trait of Hinduism is tolerance. The essence is 'Servadharma Sambhava.' It existed from the very beginning but for the present ghastly communal riots under the direct impact of secularization process. Religious minorities used to co-exist with Hindus just as peacefully.

Hindu tolerance is just as paradoxical. The archaic beliefs, untouchability and profound philosophy is combined with polytheism and the crudest magic. In world— view religion is striking in tolerance but shows extreme intolerance where the ritual sphere and preservation of ritual statutes are concerned. 'It is a strange paradox' wrote S. Radha Krishnan, "and yet nothing more than the obvious truth that while the social life of an individual is bound by the rigours of caste, he is free to roam in the matter of opinion."

(S. Radha Krishnan, Indian Philosophy p.p. 16—17, New York London 1951).

Hinduism and the caste system withstood every thing even the Muslim conquest. "The caste system" wrote C. Boughle, "allows all regimes to pass over its head, it alone remains." (C. Boughle, Essays on the Caste system, Cambridge 1951 P.P. 55-56) It was British conquest and rise of Capitalism and the ideas of egalitarianism disseminated by democracy that posed a serious challenge to the traditional Hinduism. The conflict with European culture was a conflict with a rapidly secularised cul-

ture. European culture proved its superiority by means of new armaments that crushed the sepoy rebellion, and cheap textile imports, and not in the sphere of religious thought. The reform in Hinduism and process of secularization, two opposite trends surfaced — Westernization and Sanskritisation. The Westernization has two aspects, in the West, to act as a fervent propagandist of Hinduism, while in India to advocate reforms and Westernization.

Sanskritization is anti-thesis of Westernization. It is spreading the orthodox way of life of the higher castes among the lower ones, an aggressive assertion of Hindu orthodoxy. Lala Lajpat Rai, a patriot, evolved a synthesis and defined Westernization in the following way :—

"the need of restoring the ancient spirit of Varna-Ashrama system with change dictated by modern conditions of life — opening the life of 'Dvijas to the non-brahmins — the immediate removal of untouchability and the uplift of Shudras". (Religion in Modern India by Baid R. Mahohas, New Delhi 1931 P.P. 158).

British gave impetus to the process of secularization in India followed by the State of independent India. The colonial authorities promulgated laws that ran counter to Hindu traditions (Prohibition of Sati, legal equality of different castes, possibility of inter-caste marriages etc.) This impact of state is still greater on Hinduism, opening of temples to the untouchable and adopting the Hindu code, which fundamentally changed the Hindu family law. A new religious trend in the process has surfaced known as neo-Hinduism. It travels West. Its pioneer was Swami Vivekananda. The Varna system still persists even after recognition of the caste legal equality. The system of caste constitutes social organization. The Brahmins remain at the top, untouchables at the bottom, though not so much and not only because they are untouchable but because they are poor and uneducated. There is no class stratification in the modern sense,

classes emerge, but for traditional divisions are superimposed on class ones.

Indian National liberation movement gave a sense of unity and it proved an vital instrument for national consolidation, which fought against the varied centrifugal forces. The movement was extremely heterogeneous. It could not be anti-religious. The secularism of movement and ideology of the party was not Western Secularism, pluralism has its own, Hindu foundations and not akin to the pluralism of European communities. Leaders failed to make their movement religious reformist for the Hindus and purely secular for all the religious minorities.

Hinduism and Parliamentary system was evolved by previous developments. The local Self Government, Provincial Governments formed during Colonial period, gradual expansion of suffrage and the authority of the new organs. Since the early 20th Century laid the basis of universal suffrage introduced after independence. The potential and tradition of Indian parliamentary system has its own peculiarity and is linked with the specificity of secularised Hinduism. Through protracted secularisation it has retained such features as pluralism, ideological tolerance, acceptance of the inevitability and justice of hierarchical differences and the ideal of asceticism.

Leaving aside archaic feudal communal culture, Parliamentarism has three opponents in the developing countries, which are omnipresent in different forum. These tendencies are "Secular progress oriented ideologies of equalitarianism and social justice which lead to one party system, military dictatorships as in Pakistan usually emerged, as the only alternative to acute social and ideological strife, and theocratic tendencies, so strikingly manifested by R.S.S., V.H.P., and Shiv Sena combine and Iran, in other Muslim countries as well." It goes to the credit of classical Hinduism, which places firm barriers in the way of each of these tendencies. Despite Indian poverty and enormous differences in incomes, the implanting of Chinese

model on Indian soil has proved impossible. The polls show that 98 percent of the Indians are believers. "The ideological vacuum exists only in some groups of the untouchables and among some young intellectuals. Hinduism still hold sway over the minds of the bulk of Indians."

**(Historical Traditions of East and West— P. 59 NAUKA Publishers — Moscow).**

Moreover, there is other factor— the specifically anti-egalitarian ideas and values of Hinduism unlike Islam — basically egalitarian religion. This trait of Hinduism — averse to egalitarianism is inherent inbuilt in the continued faith in Karma. "A 1970 poll showed that 44.2 percent of the Indians believe their social position to be determined by Karmas, the percentage rises to 55.4 among the illiterate and falls to 22.7 among the most educated part." **(A.A. Kutsenkov, The Evolution of the Indian Caste, Moscow 1983 P. 248 in Russian).** "But that means that the great majority of Indians, precisely those Indians, have the strongest reasons for discontent, believe their position to be fair."

Having faith in karma implies, as it were, acceptance of inequality, it is anti-egalitarianism rooted not even in the Indians consciousness but in semi consciousness, an anti-egalitarianism which survives even ideological or intellectual acceptance of egalitarian ideas and attenuates these ideas. But this position of Hinduism is ambivalent. It does not only approve inequality, it to some extent looks at it contemptuously. It also devalues it. The highest ideal of Hinduism is attainment of release, an ascetic ideal. "Mr. Singer points to a relatively low social prestige of the capitalist in India. (M. Singer, When a great tradition Modernises, London 1972, P. 351). Gandhi spurned power — is the best example of the tendency among some politicians, rejection of power as something unmeasurably more honourable than acceptance of it.

But the entire system of Hindu Values is deeply opposed to radical egalitarian ideologies. The division of Society into castes is the main hurdle to egalitarian ideologies.

The loyalty is attached not so much to the party as to local or caste faction within the party, which makes Indian parties fluid in composition and gives rise to dual tendency — the tendency towards forming large amorphous parties with broad ideology. It is to be observed that Hinduism protects the Indian parliamentary system from radical ideologies — specifically egalitarian one.

A strong resistance to military dictatorship is also visible in the specific of Hinduism. To establish dictatorship despite on occasions State being close to political anarchy is sheer impossibility. No dictatorship can cope with great and varied contradictions.

It is possible to find partial solutions within parliamentary ambit through constant mutual compromises constant balancing of diverse interests, whereas, even a dictatorship standing above all parties, will arouse opposition. The case of Pakistan— close neighbourer is in sight. Indira Gandhi's emergency was opposed by emergence of an extremely heterogeneous coalition of all opposition elements.

But that is not the only point here. The point is also that in India a military power does not have the necessary moral authority to lay claims to political power. In traditional Hindu society power was exercised by the warriors, the Khashtriyas. But this caste is not the highest and model for other castes. The other Caste — the Abmami Brahman — Scholars, and the highest ideal is the Synnyasi, the Ascetic Brahmin. In the election by and large, Brahmins and Brahman model, the model of an ascetic, of wandering monk and scholar, moves into the foreground, eclipses the warrior Khashtriya model.

Thus we see that in absence of a tendency towards a military rule is interlinked to a certain specific features of Hinduism and certain traits of the mass consciousness of Indians brought into being by Hinduism.

Last but not the least, the threat posed of Hindu Communalist Organisations for a clerical theocratic tendency — is also

alien to Hinduism, for a religion without orthodoxy cannot have either clericalism or theocracy.

But a tendency a strong one recently has engulfed the situation on Indian national scenario, this is a tendency towards the homogenisation of Hinduism, as well as a tendency towards tolerance and aggressiveness so uncharacteristic of Hinduism. Hinduism is too pluralistic to act as a cohesive religious — political force.

From the above analysis it is sufficiently discernible that Hinduism undoubtedly sustains the stability of Indian parliamentarism, creating for it axiological and psychological foundations that are quite different from those of Western parliamentary history.

However, in India today the threat to secularism democracy, very much embedded in its traditions, a political culture innate in our traditional system is posed by a strong possibility of the emergence of new loyalties, which may prove to be stronger than the loyalty of State, and which may break down legal parliamentary institutions. The growth of ethnic conflicts tearing the country apart, and the growth of aggressive Hindu communalism epitomised on the issue of Ram Janam Bhoomi — Babri Mosque and consequent communal holocaust and clear out slogans for the establishment of 'Hindu Raj' is misbeat of our past glory and traditions. "If the progressive, patriotic forces continue their present internecine warfare the victory of Indian Facism against the divided forces of secularism (traditional Hindu values) is inevitable.

Nehru, said in the thirties that if Fascism come to India it will do so wearing a Hindu mask.

National politics is in utter bedlam. A decisive turning point has reached in India's post independence history.

We are all proud of Hindu heritage, but we should be far prouder — let we shout from the house tops of our Indian herit-

age, the legacy of civilisation where Hindu and Muslims together have reached an enchanting synthesis. Tagore in unfree India setup in (1921) Vishavabharti where he invited the world, invoking the Veda, "as if it were a single next" '*Yatra Vishwambha va tyeke neetami*').

Let me conclude this essay on political culture with Mohammad Iqbal's poem, 'New Temple' which he wrote as long ago as 1905,

*"The city of the heart has been desolate  
too long, let us build a new temple in this  
land of ours our birth should be the highest  
amongst the shrines of the world.  
The Bhaktas song contains Shakti;  
And Shanti, power and peace,  
And the salvation of humanity lies only in love.*

**(Translated by Qurat-ul-ainn Hydery).**

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## APPENDIX-7

### TRIBAL FOLK OF KASHMIR

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The phase of primitive bliss, in which innocent shepherds and hillmen of the State lived displays a nostalgia for the past. The sad shepherd has ceased to be a symbol of an innocent and unspoilt way of life. His traditional "Smooth life" with rough reality has been destroyed. For him the Age of anxiety has set in. In economic terminology, "Natural Economy of Barter system" has been replaced by "Capitalist" production for market.

Prior to 1947, the socio economic formation of State besides feudalism presented myriads — sub-system of economy. A considerable size of population — mostly Gujjars and Bakerwalls, led a migratory life called "pastoralism." In political economy it is just form of maintaining existence, "the tribe not settling in a fixed place, but using up what it finds locally and then passing on." It was a way of life to roam like wild animals. It corresponds to the undeveloped stage of production at which people live by "cattle raising." "Among the migratory pastoral tribes the community is in fact always united," a travelling party, caravan, horde, and forms of higher and lower position develop out of the conditions of this mode of life. The pastoral peoples property is naturally existing products of the earth...". (Pre-capitalist socio-economic formations. **(Marx-Engles P.38).**)

A big chunk of Gujjar populace live in jungles in a State of primitivism and thus carry on settled cultivation on the hill sides. Their population in the State, (as asserted by certain sources) is approximately about 15 lakhs, may be it includes 'Phari Segment, but Pharis claim separately their number about 5 lakhs.

However, these figures need verification by latest Census Statistics.

### Gujjar Political Consciousness and Political Reality :

It is most difficult to integrate them, because the main current of freedom movement left them unaffected and the common patriotic consciousness that is the heritage of other state people is not dominant factor in their case. Our freedom movement reached these people in the shape of occasional rumours. This segment of population in the State lived in horrible conditions of 'apartheid.'

State peoples anti-feudal struggle largely left, 'Gujjars' and 'Pharis' untouched firstly because of the extreme lack of communication, living as they did in inaccessible terrains, hill tops, jungles, extreme corners of the state and partly because of their backwardness and mass illiteracy.

**The essence of state peoples struggle for freedom was a process of unleashing of a 'liberating force.'** This force did not even effect the frontier people in most of these far flung belts. On the contrary they were prepared the other way round through the efforts of 'Toadies,' corrupt officials, priests (Peers). The populace was subdivided on tribal forms, with a chief of the tribe who in most cases was 'Lord Spiritual and Temporal' — ruthless exploiter.

Their tale of inhuman exploitation runs into centuries. In the distribution of wealth, sad Gujjars and Pharis since time immemorial have remained a populace more of rags than riches. The spirit of Democracy is still to take roots in the community. The challenges are basic — **social inequality and weak political institutions.** Lakhs suffer from malnutrition sickness and illiteracy and have only primitive housing. They borrow money from money-lenders, big farmers and contractors on occasions of birth, death and marriage. They secure such loans only after selling the produce at cheap prices or on heavy rate of interest. Thus

the tribals are exploited through less wages, under weighing sale of consumer products to them at premium and purchase of their produce at unremunerative prices. In most cases their ownership of land is not guaranteed, their wages are not fixed as minimum and bonded labourers remain un-rehabilitated, **PRIEST, TRADER AND POWER.**

The Gujjars are extremely socially backward. The superstitions and myths have had enveloped the entire community. Such tendencies still persist and previous chieftians (exploiters), Toadies, have donned new political forms for exploitation; since capitalism has penetrated in their economic sector and natural economy has vanished. Gujjars, Pharis believe in Pirs; generally possess superstitious cravings.

Gujjars mostly inhabit Jammu region. In pre-independence era Jammu could throw up only a few oasis of patriotic fervour, (Mirpur, Chenani and Kashmiri pockets in Poonch). Jammu Muslim lagged behind in forward march of movement in particular in 1938, when Kashmiri's took a great leap forward — conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference. In 1947 situation, section of Muslim leadership (elite) left the state for good. Politically Jammu turned into a deserted village.

After independence in Jammu, Kashmiri democratic upstarts hobnobbed with yesterdays nobodies, Toadies, dim wits, braggarts without any past and tradition mere ploys to be manipulated.

Jammu Muslim politics became special target of such strategy. In place of old 'Chieftians, sardars new symbols surfaced among Tribals representing trinity- '**Preist, Trader Power.**' In post independence phase, among Gujjars etc. economic development has definitely taken place. But this has been the development of Gujjars and Phari elite not development of common people.

It is a lopsided development strategy, neglecting the ordinary Gujjars. The major fruits of development have been cornered mainly by the urban, rural and tribal upper crust (elites) and the gap between the rich and poor among Gujjars has widened.

### Feudalism from below :

Power crazy politicians, organisational Perfunctories and MLAs have turned petty agents, main emphasis is on reservation of jobs, improvement of pastures, improved water supply and schools. It has created, to quote D.D. Kosambi, "feudalism from below." The outcome of evolution of property and its socio-cultural implications has been complex. It is local, small scale, Fragmented socio economic system rather than social formation. It is petty, It is culture of despair. The new upper class among the Gujjars and "Pharis" is quite different from old "Tribal Sardars" and religious leaders, who were feudal. It is emerging upper crust a new elite, a product of towns — traders, priests, lawyers and power elite — MLAs, Ministers etc. Their constituents are at a stage of primitive jungle culture, and the new upper crust lives in posh colonies of Srinagar and Jammu.

The politics of new 'Rich Political Aristocracy' of Gujjars is politics of cleavage — to create chasm between Gujjars and Non-Gujjars, Pharies and non-pharies. It is a designed political engineering by upper crust to exploit the sentiments of ethnicity and economic disparity. Ethnicity is not the most ideological division, instead it is the class, that is central to the ideology of the dominant classes. Ethnicity is of more recent vintage. Central to economics is the surplus extracted from the peasantry, agrarian sector, (which includes Gujjars and pharies) and the urban working class. **The uneven development is very basis and nature of capitalists system.** The trevesty of the situation is that the Gujjars and Bukerwals are exploited by government agencies, corrupt bureaucrats, local MLAs and greedy contractors and power crazy politicians. This leadership of Gujjars constitutes a new middle class.

**Political Autonomy best means of integration :** State government has constituted boards, advisory in nature. There is a demand for status of Schedule Tribe in accordance with Constitution of India. The Tribals of State not only speak different lan-

guages but also have different culture of their own. In view of socio-economic, religious pattern of living, these cultures vary from tribe to tribe and region to region. The Tribal people live in different economic stages. The assimilation of these tribes should be compatible with heterogeneity of cultures.

The problem of their integration will not be solved merely by giving them a few schools, hospitals, roads and jobs. **They need a greater measure of political autonomy.** The attempts to force them to adopt the language of the region, they inhabit and forget their own language and culture is not likely to succeed and is bound to arouse fierce opposition. Instead of dual control of Union and state what is needed autonomy, even at district Council level. There is a provision for Tribal Advisory Council — to advise on such matters pertaining to the welfare and advancement of Scheduled Tribes, such an autonomy is of advisory nature. It is an autonomy in name only and is not likely to develop according to their own genius and culture. Many changes in our constitution will have to be made to meet the aspirations of Gujjars and Pharies. In economic sector also Agro-Industrial Complexes of poor Gujjars and Pharies are to be organised to mechanise the processing of milk, butter and cheese.

The great poet, Makhdoom says :—

*There are remains of the night,  
There is some darkness  
and yet there is some  
Whiteness of the dawn.*

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## APPENDIX-8

### THE THEORY OF RACE AND LANGUAGE HISTORY AND POLITICS

---

Mr. Akhter Mohiu-ud-Din, a noted Kashmiri writer and critique has dabbled to construct the theory of origins and formation of Kashmir race on the premises of cultural Anthropology, Archival History, and Kashmiri literary heritage and linguistics.

Identity and racial problems take up a large place in the life of mankind today. Theoretical questions of the historical development and functioning of ethnic communities, ethnic processes in various parts of the sub-continent, relations between different Nationalities, issues in race studies and unmasking of racism and chauvinism-such is the range of problems discussed by ethnographers, anthropologists, historians, a philosopher, sociologists and legal experts.

There are certain standards to deal with many ethnic and racial problems in a scientific way, one needs a deep theoretical comprehension of the main categories and concepts in ethnic and race studies e.g. 'race,' 'racial type,' 'ethnos,' 'ethnic community,' 'population,' etc. In race formations or peoples formation process 'problem of theory,' occupies a key position. The specialists show how both races (biological categories), and ethnic communities change in the course of historical development under the influence of numerous factors. This is particularly true to ethnic communities, which undergo substantial changes in the course of historical development under the influence of numerous factors. They include the ethnic composition of the population, the religions practised, the presence of traditional or newly

established economic and cultural ties, the possession or absence of language of inter-regional-national inter-course.

The standard approach or any kind of simplification have less scope here than in any other field. Any national problem needs to be analysed dialectically and objectively, with due regard to all its aspects, ethnic separation in particular.

In this background, let us analyse, authors formulation of the identity of Kashmiri people in the chapter I and sound the tenability of his premise to construct and evolve the same. The identity of Kashmiri people. Prior to examining authors shaky grounds and wrong inferences, it is incumbent to define 'ethnos' in the concrete formulation of ethnic features. Thus some, researchers regard language and culture as fundamental features of this kind, others add to these territory, and ethnic self consciousness, (concerned with typology); still others include in addition the peculiarities of psychological make up, a fourth group common origin and state affiliation and fifth group sees the essence of the ethnos only in specific psychological stereotypes. The learned author hardly noticed the distinctions between close anthropological types. He therefore generally regards ethnic communities as an integral physical anthropological unit. But despite the fact that in everyday life it is the layman who determines the ethnic "we-they" opposition, racial distinction in most cases are not essential ethnic features. And so much because there are no 'pure' racially unmiixed ethnoi, but rather because there are no clear-cut physical anthropological boundaries between adjacent communities belonging to one of the races. It is true that such a situation may arise as a result of the migration of a part of the 'ethnos in question.'

The authors formulation of Kashmiri race is pseudo-scientific, there are clear cut physical and psychical distinctions between race and hereditary causes are responsible for these distinctions. These concepts may be divided into two categories known as the "typological, and populationist approaches."

The essence of the first approach is that a race is regarded as a totality of the individuals belonging to single morphological type, which is inherited from generation to generation. The genetic basis for this view is the hypothesis that 'pleiotropism' is responsible for the main racial features.

The other concept, the populationist one, considers a race historically formed combination of morphological and physiological features among the population of certain territory. This is true of Kashmiri Nationality. It is obvious that, such a viewpoint provides a more solid ground for exposing and criticising racist theory advocated by the author in his book.

Nevertheless mixed population in Kashmir, which had absorbed different racial components over a long period of nearly complete isolation, always tended eventually to develop into separate races, no less consolidated than other races, formed from genetically more homogeneous population.

Most of the major human races have their presence in Asia and subcontinent being part of it. These are Mongoloid, the Europhide, the Negroide, and the Australoid. The Europeoid race is represented in Asia by various types of southern Branch (the Armenoid, Indo-Afghan and other types); these types of prevalent among the peoples of northern India. It is a historical fact that Kashmir is located in northern India. On the advent of Islam in Kashmir, it smothered ethnic differences because it encompassed people who, although differing in their level of social economic development, all belonged to the same broad historical and ethnographic region, or to closed related areas. The substitution of a sense of religious identity for self ethnic consciousness still occurs in this part of India.

The role played by economic and cultural factors in ethnic development is a very considerable one. It is of interest first of all, to note that a peoples numerical strength and demographic composition and directly influenced and their economic cultural type, the importance of the nature of economic activity in origi-

nating ethnic distinctions was noted by eminent anthropologists with regard to the ancient Hebrews, who had become different from other pastoral semitic people by shifting to Agriculture.

Professor D.D. Kosambi, using scientific methodology for his investigations writes. "The need to import trade goods, particularly salt and metal, difficult transport lowering of grain processes with great increase in Village settlements. A Kashmiri village could not be as nearly self sufficient as one in India. The main influences cultivated or imported deliberately from outside the valley were Indian, first Buddhism and than Brahmanism in developed form.

In the next chapter of the Book, the author dialates on 'The Antiquity of the Kashmir language and stresses that the Kashmiri language is the chief ingredient of the ethnicity. He complains about the 'unhealthy, attitude of the Kashmiri Sanskrit authors towards their own mother tongue. He reproaches Kalhan for his pro-Sanskrit attitude and his bias for local language.

The author is quite unfamiliar that — "Class and Nation State" is the basis of language and literature. Language is not to be constructed as a static concept and free from multiform influences and social transformations. The class factors in the ancient Kashmiri literature is seen in the fact in the most ancient period fo Kashmiri history, Kashmir including north India had its written language and literature in Sanskrit. It was not spoken by the common people who had their own spoken language. The literary tradition in Kashmiri dates back to the 13th century when sitikantha choose "the language of the people intelligible to all" for his 'Mahajana Prakisa, a saiva (Tantra) treatise.

When class conflicts appeared in the form of mass anti-Breahaman movement, revolt was 'Pali' in which language of that the major literary works of Buddhism were written.

The first revolt against Caste dominated sociey took the form of Bhakti movement, in Kashmiri particularly 'Rishi movement' of

Ruhis Nund Rishi, Lal Ded, which was the beginning of the formation of what are today's spoken and written languages of the North which includes Kashmir. That was how the modern languages took shape. This new trend in Kashmiri literature assimilates all that is grand in the ancient Sanskrit in the medieval Persian and Arabic, absorbs that is democratic and radical in the Bhakti movement as well as in the subsequent renaissance movement—anti caste, anti communal, anti-colonial and anti feudal landlordism.

The principles that Gramsci (Italian Thinker) most powerfully formulates: "there is no 'parthenogenesis' in cultural history, language does not merely produce other language" does not change by reacting solely upon itself: on the contrary, "innovations occur through the interference of different cultures" — cultures, of course, are subject to the same process.

Literary reaction to superposed cultural forms is not only a literary problem. Again it was Gramsci who understood better than anyone—except Bakhtin. For Gramsci language, above all as manifested in literature, was the very paradigm of hegemonic power, as he put it, every time the question of the language surfaces, in the way or another it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore.

The eastward cultural consequences of the eastward expanding of the world cultural system represented by Islam, the development of the modern regional languages in north India cannot possibly be understood. In similar way Iran functioned as India's west, especially in the 15th and 16th century and we can perceive India as China's west. "There is nothing 'pure' nothing ones' to retrieve in same past, as reactionary politics believes, there is nothing 'authentic,' nothing beyond the process itself. It is thus that the study of language and literature becomes part of general history," as Gramsci put it, and 'not pointless and merely crude. Whose cultural is it anyway? that since it is at once nobody's culture and everybody's culture.

**(Problem of space puts constraints : Archival Historical aspects I will deal separately in next issue).**

The author suffers from 'Cultural relativism'— regards history as a process of quantitative changes within the framework of a unique tradition characteristic of every people. He regards human society as the sum of unique and incomparable cultures and civilizations. Scientific differences in the cultural levels of people do not depend on any racial or national peculiarities but on particular stages of historical development. Scientifically it has been proved, that the development of peoples take place in accordance with universal social laws. The people have certain basic features in common at certain historical stages of their development, despite their national characteristics. Distortion of one feature or another in the historical and cultural development of peoples has always been motivated by reactionary class interests. Cultures are never other than hybridized and creolization becomes the normal cultural condition.

Authors formulations are epistemologically unsound, empirically and linguistically weak, historically deficient for fault of presuppositions. Yet the questions, author has posed are hard and good and will not go away.

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