



## The Nature and History of Sell-out Politics in Jammu and Kashmir from 1939 to 1975

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**Abstract:** - Sell out is to give up or yield in exchange for value or payment.<sup>i</sup> One who betrays a cause for personal progress<sup>ii</sup> Barack Obama, Condoleezza Rice, Bill Cosby, Oprah, Michael Jordan have common at some point that they have been labeled a sell out to their breed. Randall Kennedy, takes up the topic in his latest book, sell out the politics of radical Betrayal. A sell out is a person who betrays something he/she is said to owe allegiance. When used in a radical context among African Americans, sell out is a disparaging term that refers to blacks who knowing or with gross negligence acts against the interests of blacks as a whole.<sup>iii</sup> It is a common natural sneering expression for the compromising of a personal integrity, morality, authenticity or Ideology in exchange for individual gains. In political movement a "sell out" is a person or group claims to adhere to one ideology, only to fallow these claims up with actions contradicting them, such as a revolutionary group claiming to fight for a particular cause but failing to continue this upon obtaining power. Like a Political party who has formed a coalition with another party which it has historically opposed. Like, In UK coalition of conservative party with liberal Democratic Party in 2010 general elections.<sup>iv</sup> In Jammu and Kashmir Hari Singh invited National Conference to depute its two representatives to join his government in 1954. thus Beg and Ram Ganga joined the cabinet of Ram Chander Kak (PM). In 1965 NC merged with INC. In 1974 National Conference made coalition with Congress. G.M. Shah in 1984 made coalition with Congress. In 2002 PDP made coalition with congress again in 2008 NC with Congress. In 2014 coalition government was made between PDP and BJP.<sup>v</sup>

**Keywords:** Muslim Conference, National Conference, Accession, Article 370, Accord 1975 etc.

### Introduction

**Jammu and Kashmir Region:** Jammu and Kashmir obsoletely spelled Cashmere north western region of south Asia. The Jammu and Kashmir state has been particular political entity for over a hundred years, it cannot be denied that geographically, ethnically, culturally and historically, it is composed of five separate homogeneous regions, namely Jammu, Kashmir (both sides) Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit.<sup>vi</sup>



### Map of Kashmir

**Source:** [http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in\\_depth/south\\_asia/2002/india\\_pakis](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/south_asia/2002/india_pakis)

On August 15 1947 the area of state was more than the state of Hyderabad three times more than territory of Mysore, two times increasingly the province of Gwalior and Bikaner, five times more than province of Jaipure, ten times more than Baroda and five times more than united Punjab. It was bigger than 111 free nations of the world.<sup>vii</sup>

It includes the Indian administrated territories of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and parts of Siachen Glacier since 1947. The Pakistan administrated territories Azad Kashmir, Gilgit, Baltistan and parts of Siachen Glacier since 1947. China administrated territories Aksai chin since 1940 and Shaksgam, parts of Baltistan since 1963.<sup>viii</sup> Out of total area 222,870sq .km. 45% is under India, 35% under Pakistan 20% under china.<sup>ix</sup>

In 1947 at the season of segment, the aggregate range of state was around 2, 22,236sq kms. Jammu division involved a range of 32,315 sq km. Kashmir territory 22,133sq, kms and boondocks areas of Ladakh and Gilgit 1, 64,139sq kms .Out of this aggregate range 79,000sq kms in recent state is under Pakistan occupation and remaining zone 42,000sq kms is with china. It happens that out of the past territory of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian administrated state is involved 1, 01,387 sq, kms. at the point when deduct this region from the aggregate region of the express the rest of the region which is forgotten goes to the degree of



1,21,064sq.kms. which is the greater part of the aggregate region of the first state.<sup>x</sup>

**Sell-out in Jammu and Kashmir from 1939, onwards:** Sheikh Abdullah spoke in favour of conversion of Muslim conference into Notational conference. On June 24, 1938 Sheikh placed the resolution before working committee. On 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1938 the working committee of the Muslim Conference met in Srinagar to consider the question of changing the name of the party. A special session of All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim conference was held at Srinagar on 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> of June, 1939 under the Presidentship of Gulam Mohd Sadiq, reception committee chairman Masoodi introduced some resolutions, it approved to change the name of Muslim Conference to National conference and bring the necessary amendments in the constitution. This conference therefore decided to bring All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference into power.<sup>xi</sup> Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah Young Muslims leader declared the conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference as a SELL OUT of Muslim state.<sup>xii</sup> Jinnah too disapproved of the sheikh's conversion of the Muslim Conference to National conference of 1939.<sup>xiii</sup>

#### Objectives of the study:

1. The objective of this paper is to travel around the theory of sell out politics.
2. The paper tries to explore the historical background of sell –out politics in Jammu and Kashmir.
3. Specifically, this study aims to investigate the governments during the sell out took place and their justification of it.
4. The study also attempts to explore how the people re-acted the governments during sell out took place.
5. The research paper tries to explain the impact of sell out on the people of Kashmir.

**Methodology:** In this paper, Researcher endeavored to demonstrate the presence and operation of sell-out on the premise of Qualitative research and with the utilization of analysis method. Subjective or qualitative research strategy has to a great extent been acknowledged by researchers, treated and considered the best to examine data. It has many sorts of strategies, for example, perceptions and talking and substance investigation to accomplish the destinations of study, information and data was gathered from both essential and optional sources

Optional wellsprings of data was gathered from distributed and unpublished Books, Research reports, Journals, Articles, Magazines, and driving

National ,International, Regional Newspapers. Essential information gathered through: Scientist utilized some archeological stays from the Sri Pratab Singh museum arranged at Srinagar. Reports and authority records.

**Analysis and discussion:** The annual sitting of National Conference was apprehended in Srinagar on 28<sup>th</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1944 at Pather Masjid. In this sitting party adopted an imperative opinionated, monetary and social programme called NEW KASHMIR.<sup>xiv</sup> Quit Kashmir movement was launched on 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1946. On 19<sup>th</sup>, May sheikh Abdullah suspended the programme of processions and meetings perhaps to ensure that government was not able to bring Hindu-Muslim clashes to end and thus SOLD the authentic objectives of the movement.<sup>xv</sup>

**Accession matter:** The paper of accession was received and forwarded by Maharaja all the way through V.P. Menon who had come from Delhi on 26 Oct 1947 and returned on the similar day. On the revisit of V.P. Menon the instrument of accession was also signed by Sheikh Abdullah on behalf of NC who was present in Delhi at the abode of Nehru. Mehar chand Mahajan also proceeded to Delhi in order to receive the armed relieve against the tribal intrusion, who was also present on the event and signed the document of accession. But accession was conditional.<sup>xvi</sup> Neither the Maharaja nor those inherited power from him (sheikh Abdullah) were prepared to surrender (sell out) the identity of Kashmir.<sup>xvii</sup> In accepting the accession, the government of India made it clear that they would regard it as purely provisional until such time as the will of the people of the state could be ascertained. In a letter to the prime minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan on 31 October 1947. Nehru assured him that Kashmiris accession to India was accepted on the condition that as soon as the invaders has been driven from Kashmir soil, the law and order restored ,the people of Kashmir would decide the question of accession. Nehru's broadcast on 2 November 1947 repeated the words we made a condition, reiterated the basic policy of the people's decision on the accession and said it was in accordance with this policy that we added a proviso to the instrument of accession of Kashmir.<sup>xviii</sup>

On 1 November 2009, the president of PDP elaborated on the theme in her address at party convection .The accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India has proved counterproductive. She amplified, "After 1947, we were forced to surrender everything to India, including our water resources. We even lost our own strategic geographic advantage .The state should have been the hub of activities in central Asia turned into a landlocked territory. We have been living under an



economic and physical siege since the states accession to India.<sup>xix</sup> The numbers of militants groups were rapidly growing every day. The youth were grouped by a growing flexibility. They used abusive language against their elders who tolerated that without even a murmur. They would also sarcastically pass such remarks as “we have seen what great deeds you old fogies’ have accomplished. Now it is our time we will show you what we can achieve. In 1947 you SOLD Kashmir for a song”. They believe that the new generation would achieve what they had failed to do. The Kashmiris could proclaim, nobody can Sell-out us now.<sup>xx</sup>

**Sell-out of article 370:** A little over a decade after the enactment of Article 370, its co architect, PM, Nehru, declared in Lok Sabha on 27<sup>th</sup> November 1963 that article 370 has been eroded, and if I may use the word, and many thing things have been done in the last few years which made the relation of Kashmir with India very close. I feel this process of gradual erosion of this article is going on. Some fresh steps are being taken and in the next months or two they will be completed .We should allow it to go on. We do not want to take the initiative in this matter completely put an end to this article.<sup>xxi</sup> There is no need for this that, as the Union Home Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda explained to in Lok Sabha on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1964, the only way of talking the constitution of India into J&K is through the application of this article. It is tunnel. It is through this tunnel that a good deal of traffic has already passed and more will. Only the shell is there. Article, whether you keep it or not, has been completely emptied of its contents. Nothing has been left in it. <sup>xxii</sup>In all ninety four out of ninety seven entries of the Union list were extended to Jammu and Kashmir as were 260 of the 395 Articles of the constitution. Worse, the state’s constitution itself was overridden by those orders; its basic structure was altered. The head of the state elected by the state legislature was replaced by the governor nominated by centre. Article 356 (imposition of president rule) was applied despite a provision in the status’s constitution for Governor’s rule section 92. This was done in on 21 November 1964. On 24 November 1966, the Governor replaced the sadar-I –Riyasat after the states constitution has been amended on 10 April 1965 by the sixth amendment in violation of the section 147 Of the constitution. Section 147 makes itself immune to amendment .It referred to the Sadar-I – Riyasat and required his asset to constitutional amendments. He was elected by the assembly section 27[2]. To replace him by center’s nominee was unconstitutionally to alter the basic structure of the constitution. Article 370 was used freely not only to amend the constitution of India but also of the state. On 23 July 1975 an order was made

debarring the state legislature for amending the constitution on matters in respect of the governor, election commission, even the composition of the upper house, legislative council.<sup>xxiii</sup>

#### **Formation of All Jammu and Kashmir plebiscite front and its sell out:**

Plebiscite has a history which makes us believe that it is a device that gives hopes of a better future to the people. <sup>xxiv</sup> It is this term (plebiscite) or plebiscitum, used by Roman in ancient times, which has a direct and exact bearing on the modern word ‘plebiscite. Plebiscite, C.F. Strong concludes, “Is a device to obtain a direct vote on a matter of political importance but chiefly in order to create more or less permanent political conditions like, Accession to a particular state” <sup>xxv</sup> In other words, it is a direct vote of the whole of the electorate of a state to decide a question of public importance, a public expression, with or without binding the wishes or opinion of a community.

After 1953 incident, Mirza Afzal Beg was released on parole on account of bad health. He went to Delhi on the plea of medical check-up. He contacted various political leaders in Delhi and on his return founded the plebiscite front on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1955. Subsequently, he drafted the constitution which defined the goals, objectives and slogans of the newly formed organized. The organization was named as All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front and Afzal Beigh became its founder president. Its membership was open to all state subjects irrespective of any discrimination but was subject to following condition. 1. He was to have faith in the right to self-determination of the people of the state who are final arbiters and masters of their fate and destiny. 2. He was to admit and accept the accession of the state to India as temporary and without any fear or favour was relinquish to utilize all proper means for getting decided the dispute of accession under the auspices of United Nations organizations by means of impartial and fear plebiscite.<sup>xxvi</sup>

#### **Aims and objectives of Plebiscite Front:**

The very objective of the plebiscite front was to perk up and reconcile the Kashmir question. The organization stood for peaceful and constitutional settlement of the accession issue of the state and affirmed its belief that the issue could be solved only through Plebsite. The front was in favour of holding of holding a free and fair plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations Organization.

The foundation of plebiscite front gave a new impetus to the politics of plebiscite in the state which lasted for two decades and two years. The leaders in Delhi through that Sheikh Abdullah and his National Conference had deviated from the path



of secular politics which they adopted in 1939.<sup>xxvii</sup> The majority of the people of Jammu and Kashmir readily accepted the plebiscite front. Thousands of people joined the new organization within the first few days of its membership campaign. Most of the villages, Mohallas, towns and cities of the state witnessed a mushroom growth of the plebiscite front organization committees. The first convention of the workers of the front organization Sopore, Kashmir in September 1955, caused some anxiety among the leaders of the then ruling National Conference led by Bakshi Gulam Mohd. The convention was attended by tens of thousands of the workers of the plebiscite front, unanimously passed a resolution which reiterated the people's demand for right of self determination and peaceful settlement of the accession issue through plebiscite.<sup>xxviii</sup>

The then Indian Home Minister, Govind Pant gave an indication of this change in an interview with press representatives at Srinagar, on 9<sup>th</sup> July 1955. When the accession of Jammu and Kashmir was established with India there was a declaration of holding plebiscite in Kashmir at that time. We do not deny this declaration was made. But when the declaration was made situation was different and today it is different. The time factor has a great importance. From the declaration of accession till this day much water has flowed down the Jhelum. During these seven eight years Kashmir has adopted a specific policy with regard to its progress and development. Nehru on 22<sup>th</sup> August 1955 in the parliament when the accession of Jammu and Kashmir was made with India in 1947, we first of all made offer that future of this is in the hands of people which will be decided by them. At that time there was no mention of plebiscite. This is our own affair, No other has any authority to intervene in it.<sup>xxix</sup> Bakshi Gulam Mohd on 23<sup>th</sup> August 1955 at Magam said to a gathering "The plebiscite on accession has been done in Jammu and Kashmir. A plebiscite of which the disruptive elements are dreaming will never come pass, even up to the dooms day.<sup>xxx</sup> In a tape –recorded interview to Hodson at his home in Bangalore in September 1964, Menon fully justified India's policy on Hyderabad and also on Kashmir; but after tribal invasion in October 1947. He however honestly and bluntly said :As for as plebiscite is concerned ,we were absolutely dishonest.<sup>xxxi</sup>

Mr. Gunner V. Jarring of Sweden was the president of Security Council for the month of February 1957, when the fresh attempt was being made by the Security Council, in its resumed debate on the Kashmir question to find way out to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. On the same time Bakshi gave an interview to Anthony Mann, the special correspondent of the daily Telegraph, London,

wherein he stated, "A thousand Jarring won't shake our determination. So far as we are concerned, Kashmir issue does not exist." Bakshi hoped that Mr. Jarring would not be allowed to come to Kashmir. He justified the detention of plebiscite leaders as being perfectly consistent with norms of democracy. Front leaders and workers reacted sharply to Bakshi's utterances. In a conversation with the same correspondent, Gulam Mohi Din the General Secretary of the front described Kashmir valley as "a vast concentration camp. Repudiating Kashmir's accession to India. Appeals were made to Mr. Jarring through the correspondent of the Daily Telegraph. Plebiscite Front urged Mr. Jarring to find out truth of the situation. It is essential that he comes to Kashmir. We are surrounded here by police and spies. Foreign visitors are prevented from contact with the people critical of the regime. Elections held in the state are shame. We want reign of terror unleashed by the ruling party to end and release of the true leaders of Kashmir ordered through Mr. Jarring's intervention.<sup>xxxii</sup>

On 13<sup>th</sup> January 1958 sheikh at Srinagar "our struggle will continue ---This country does not belong to Krishna menon, or the U.S.S.R, The U.S.A, Pakistan or India--- It belong to the lakhs of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims of Kashmir ---The decision regarding the future of this country will have to be collectively taken by 40 lakh men and women of Kashmir. India and Pakistan who are eating Kashmir all within. I empathically declare that our honour will not be safe unless that Kashmir dispute is settled satisfactorily. The dispute can neither be solved by sitting in India, nor by meeting in Pakistan. The only way to solve it is that the opinion of the people of Kashmir be sought .We are prepared to face as much trouble for it as we can. The right of self determination became an inviolable principle for plebiscite front. Front leaders defended it with full might.<sup>xxxiii</sup> For bye-elections in 1969, the plebiscite front leaders decided to contest the election. The decision to contest the election was attributed to the overall changing attitude of the front leaders.<sup>xxxiv</sup> The government immediately banned their entry into state on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1971. According to Afzal Beg, during the night of 8/9 January 1971 the plebiscite front organization was declared unlawful organization and its offices throughout the state were taken possession of police. Later the state assembly passed a law declaring the members of the front ineligible to contest any election.<sup>xxxv</sup>

From 1972 onwards there were many meetings between Sheikh Abdullah and Mrs. Indra Gandhi, PM of India. Mrs. With the passage of time a perceptible change occurred in the thinking of central leadership and plebiscite front leadership in relation to the federal set up. With 1971 war,



Pakistan was cut to size with emergence of former East Pakistan into independent and sovereign state Bangladesh. The front had shifted from trilateral to bilateral discussion and had decided to find a solution of the Kashmir tangle within the Indian constitutional framework. By the end of 1974, the plebiscite front and central government through two negotiators –Afzal Beg and G.Parthasarty – struck an Accord with the on the guidelines of Mrs.Indra Gandhi and Sheikh Abdullah, The same accord was placed before the parliament and got ratified.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Under the agreement reached between the central government and the plebiscite front leaders, it had been decided that the front would be disbanded as a political organization. The plebiscite front general council met in a convention at its headquarters at Mujahid Manzil, Srinagar on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1975 to effect the disbandment of the plebiscite front. A resolution to this effect was moved and the organization was converted into National Conference, reviving the old organization and its flag of the freedom movement era. Accordingly, on the said date after 20 years the flag of plebiscite front was lowered from the party headquarter and this was followed by national conference flag. Describing the scenario of the function, sofi Mohiuddin considered it a very moving and pathetic sight to witness.Mr.Abdul Rehman Sodagar shed copious tears while he was engaged in the task of lowering the flag of the plebiscite front. Sofi reported that all the people around were grim and in tears. Thus after twenty long years of politics of plebiscite front was shunned in the wake of the Accord and conversation of the organization into national Conference was brought about.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

The slogan “Rai Shumari forwan karaon” was buried forever and the political struggle spanning between 1953-1975 was referred to as maundering (siyasi Awargardi) insulting the sacrifices of countless people who had gifted their lives and treasure for the cause.Pakistan too was shocked with Sheikhs somersault and Prime Minister Zulfkir Ali gave a call for Hartal which was widely observed in the valley. The Indra sheikh accord generally was viewed as a sell-out by Pakistan Government.<sup>xxxviii</sup>The people’s league marked a watershed. Its founders shot into prominence later Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Azam Inquabi, and, Abdul Hamid Wani who was the president of the Young Men’s league and Shabir shah its general secretary, all stoutly opposed to the 1975 accord. The BJP’s

ancestor, the Jan Sangh, Which true to form called it surrender. Sufi Mohammad Akbar, parted company with sheikh over the accord and attracted some support.<sup>xxxix</sup>

In an interview with mother land Maulvi Farooq said, “How can he now change his opinion and declare that the states accession to India is final? The plebiscite front, the party which sheikh leads, had been raising the voice for plebiscite during all these years and now they announced their final verdict on the accession.<sup>xl</sup> By 1968 Sheikh Abdullah had accepted the states accession to India, and Indra Gandhi and her advisers knew that. The accord of February 1975 was a worst he could have secured, a fig-leaf to cover abject surrender as the price foe return power-not least because of his own ineptness during the Bangladesh crises when he supported Pakistan. The Smila accord of July 1972 had frozen the status quo.<sup>xli</sup>

### Conclusion

At last the way forward, India has to give up its stubbornness and engage with the sentiments in Kashmir and simultaneously India and Pakistan have to talk to each other. It talked of progressive military de escalation to begin with, a huge relief for the people of Kashmir. Unfortunately for the people of Kashmir we are also held hostage to internal and external dynamics of Indo-pak politics. India and Pakistan have to get together and begin to think of Kashmiris as people demanding freedom from the tyranny of victimization that is being forced on Kashmiris and for which Kashmiris are paying a massive price. Kashmiri people are in turmoil everywhere, almost every day a youth is martyred, and all it becomes is political grist for them. As the dispute lingers the people of India and Pakistan are also paying a price. It is totally inhuman and thoughtless, you cannot be treating human beings as instruments... it’s time to think about these things to reach out politically and find humane solutions. It is the responsibility of the leaders in India and Pakistan to understand this and to initiate steps for resolution. Let’s put an end to this and release the subcontinent of this burden. Only then can we look forward to a new beginning where all the people can live in peace with dignity and honour, where petty politicking can give to harmony and happy co-existence, where both the countries can divert their resources from huge military upkeep to eradication of poverty and illiteracy afflicting both of them. The solution to Kashmir, may friends, holds the key.



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## THE NATURE AND HISTORY OF SELL-OUT POLITICS IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR FROM 1846 TO 1939

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**Abstract:** *Sell out is to give up or yield in exchange for value or payment.<sup>1</sup> One who betrays a cause for personal progress?<sup>2</sup> It is a common natural sneering expression for the compromising of a personal integrity, morality, authenticity or Ideology in exchange for individual gains. In political movement a “sell out” is a person or group claims to adhere to one ideology, only to follow these claims up with actions contradicting them, such as a revolutionary group claiming to fight for a particular cause but failing to continue this upon obtaining power.<sup>3</sup> In Jammu and Kashmir sell-out has an elongated history. Sell-out in Kashmir started in 1846 when “The deal of worth Seventy Five lakhs was signed, accepted and Patented by none other than British. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was created by the British Raj for its own imperial ends. From then Sell-out remains a continuous process in Kashmir. It made people slaves of their rulers from then.<sup>4</sup>*

**Keywords:** *Treaty of Amritsar, Jammu and Kashmir, Muslim Conference, Sell-out etc.*

### INTRODUCTION

#### Jammu and Kashmir Region

Jammu and Kashmir absolutely spelled Cashmere north western region of south Asia. Jammu and Kashmir state has been particular political entity for over a hundred years, it cannot be denied that geographically, ethnically, culturally and historically, it is composed of five separate homogeneous regions, namely Jammu, Kashmir (both sides) Ladakh, Baltistan and Gilgit.<sup>5</sup> (Figure 1)

#### Set up of sell-out in Jammu and Kashmir

Text of the treaty: English translation of the Persian text treaty signed at Leh on second of Asuj 1899 Bikrami (September 1842 AD) between the government of Maharaja Gulab Singh and government of Tibet. Where as we the officers of the Lhasa country, viz, firstly, Kalon Surkhan, and secondly, Fepon Pishi, commander of the forces of the Empire of China, on the one hand and Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratanu on behalf of Maharaja Gulab Singh



,on other, agree together and swear before God that the friendship between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Emperor of China and Lama Guru Sahib Lassawalla will kept and observed till eternity; no disregard will be shown to anything agreed upon in the presence of God; and will respect the boundary of Ladakh and the countries bordering on it as fixed since old times we will carry on the trade in Shawl, Pashmina and tea before by the way of Ladakh; and if any one of the Shri Maharaja enemies comes to our territories and says anything against the Raja we will not listen to him and will not allow him remain in our country, and whatever traders come from Ladakh sell experience no difficulty from our side.<sup>6</sup>



Figure 1: Map of Kashmir

Source: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in\\_depth/south\\_asia/2002/india\\_pakis](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/south_asia/2002/india_pakis)

#### Treaty of Lahore became the road map for treaty of Amritsar

Treaty between the British government and the State of Lahore concluded at Lahore on March 9, 1846 between Sir Henry Hardinge and Maharaja Dalip Singh Bahadur. Article III of the Lahore Treaty states that the Maharaja ceded to the honorable company in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories and rights in the Doab and Country, hills and plains situate between rivers Beas and Satluj. Article IV of the Lahore Treaty states that the British government having demanded from the Lahore state, an indemnification for the expense of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in Article III, payment of a one and



a half crore of rupees; and the Lahore government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time or to give security satisfactory to the British government for its eventual payment; the Maharaja cedes to the honorable company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees all his forts, territories rights and interests in the hill countries which are situated between the rivers Beas and Indus including the province of Kashmir and Hazari. Article IX the control of the rivers Beas and Sutlej with continuation of the later river, commonly called the Ghara and Panjnad to the confluence of the Indus from Mithankot, and the control of the Indus from Mithankot to the borders of Balochistan, shall in respect to tools and ferries, rest with the British government.<sup>7</sup>

Article XII of the Lahore Treaty states that in consideration of this service rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to the Lahore state, toward procuring the restoration of relations of amity between the Lahore and the British governments the Raja Gulab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Rajas possession since the time of the Late Maharaja Kharak Singh; and the British government in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh, also agrees to recognize his independence in such territories and to admit him to be privileges of a separate treaty with the British government. Article XIII of Lahore Treaty states that in event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore state and Raja Gulab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government, and by its decision the Maharaja engage to abide.<sup>8</sup>

Kashmir was sold in 1846 by the British to Gulab Singh a Dogra Rajput. The Maharajas Ranjit Singh conquest of Kashmir in 1819 was in no small degree due to the valuable service rendered by Gulab Singh in person. He became most important chiefs of Lahore Darbar. In 1822 he was made the Raja of Jammu which the Maharaja Ranjit Singh had conquered during 1808-09.<sup>9</sup> When anarchy regained in the Punjab after the Maharaja passed away and murders and intrigues became order of the day, Dhian Singh his son Hera Singh Singh and Suehet Singh fell victims to them. Raja Gulab Singh was however saved by the evidences from this turmoil to play a significant role in the first Anglo-Sikh war which broke out in 1845. This war came to an end by the treaty of Lahore dated 9<sup>th</sup> march 1846 A.D. which brought to the British from the Lahore Darbar the hilly territories lying between the rivers



Bias and Indus including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara. The British in their term sold out Kashmir to Gulab Singh against the payment of 75 Lakhs of rupees. Through treaty known as Treaty of Amritsar concluded on 16<sup>th</sup> March 1846 corresponding with the seventeenth day Rabi-ul-Awwal 1264, Hijri and Raja Gulab Singh were further honored with the title of Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.<sup>10</sup> He was already the master of Jammu, Ladakh and Baltistan had also been earlier conquered for him by General Zorawar Singh (1835-40). After taking the possession of Kashmir, Maharaja Gulab Singh occupied Gilgit as well. Thus he founded the state of Jammu and Kashmir with the help of sell-out concluded by British Government.<sup>11</sup> This Treaty consisting of the 10 Articles, Article III of the Amritsar treaty states that in consideration of transfer made to him and his heirs ... Maharaja Gulab Singh will have to pay the United Kingdom Government the sum of seventy five Lakh of Rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lakhs to be paid for the ratification of this Treaty and Twenty-five lakh on or before 1 October of the current year 1846 AD.<sup>12</sup> Imam din decided, in the third week of August to leave for Lahore after handing over possession to the agents of Gulab Singh.<sup>13</sup> The sum of rupees 50 lakhs was to be paid on the ratification of the treaty and the remaining 25 lakhs by 1st October 1846. Actually what happened was that sometimes after the signing of the treaty at Amritsar, Gulab Singh came forward with the claim that a sum of rupees 15 lakhs which the British government had recovered before the treaty from Ferozepur, belong to his brother Suchet Singh and should be adjusted against his payment. It was accepted.<sup>14</sup>

The first installment of rupees fifty lakhs, fell due on 30<sup>th</sup> March, 1846 and remained rupees twenty five lakhs, stipulated amount was paid in 42 installments. The balance due on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1848- more than two years of sale, was rupees seven lakhs, forty seven thousands, eight hundred and thirteen. There are at least five installments of rupees ten thousand each. The last installment was paid on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1850, exactly four years after signing of infamous treaty and amount to rupees one thousand, three hundred thirty seven.<sup>15</sup> A perusal of the details shows that all types of currency were used in payment including the Muhammad



**Nanakshahi coins Source:**  
Shri Pratab Singh Museum,  
Srinagar



Shahi (Mughal) ashrafis as well as coins from Oudh.<sup>16</sup>

Sikhs used to farm out Kashmir valley, for rupees sixty eight lakhs a year; that makes an income of rupees two crore, seventy-two lakhs in four years from Kashmir alone. It is acknowledged that while the Sikhs had taxed heavily, Gulab Singh sucked the very life-blood out of them. Imagine what it must have then meant in terms of money? By the time the sale-price had been fully paid, the vendee may have already realized corers of rupees and thus on 14<sup>th</sup> March 1850 when he paid the final installment, he must have satisfaction of having already tons of money from the slave-deal.<sup>17</sup>

### **VIEWS OF PEOPLE ON THIS SELL OUT**

“Affairs in Kashmir are only growing worse and worse, That Government is a disgrace.”<sup>18</sup>

**-Arthur Brinkman 1867**

“Three-fourth of India is directly under the slavery of the British and one-fourth is indirectly under them. Kashmir forms part of this unlucky region, in which ten crore people lead a life of slaves. We the forty lakh people of the state are suffering under the yoke of the Dogra Rule.”<sup>19</sup>

**-Sheikh Abdullah-1946**

“For seventy five lakhs of rupees, the unfortunate Kashmiris were handed over to the tender mercies of the most thorough ruffian that ever was created- a villain from a kingdom down to half penny.”<sup>20</sup>

**-Knight**

“Lakhs of hungry naked and suffering Kashmiris are breathing their last. Deprived of the necessities of life, clothing and food they are covering their life-span rather nearing their death under extreme oppression, degradation and atrocities.”<sup>21</sup>

**-Sardar Buddh Singh 1946**

“Villages, streams, meadows have been sold; Whole nation has been sold, at what a Low cost.”<sup>22</sup>

**-Iqbal**

“Valley, mountains, forests, rivers, fruits, flowers and grain...cattle ,sheep, humans and their work and labor...all traditions inherited by us from our forefathers...look at the sale deed, everything is in black and white... Ownership of the country bought for seventy five lakhs...confiscated all this booty in seventy five lakhs, Be it cattle or humans to be bought, all for sale...their sons, daughters and progeny all for sale...None can ever be free, all are up for sale...Homeless till doomsday, ruined, forever on sale, Sold is Kashmir’s paradise for seventy five lakh”<sup>23</sup>

**Hafeez Jalandhari**



## **SUPPRESSION AND FORMATION OF ORGANIZATIONS**

It was on every body's lips that Dogras meant the pillage of the nation.<sup>24</sup> Dogras rule was characterized as despotic, tyrannical and sectarian. Khawaja Gulam Hassan Nizami, a prominent Punjabi Muslim various times met Pratab Singh describes pratab orthodox Hindu. He did not like face of any Muslim from morning to evening, even not tolerated Muslim shade on drinking water, was punishing or imprisoning Muslim if their shade felt on him.<sup>25</sup>

Hathi killing cows was crime; slaughters were dealt with serve punishments. E.F. KNIGHT in 1891 visited Kashmir says killing of cows was punished with death, after a long time it changed into life sentence imprisonment.<sup>26</sup> Mosques, shrines were converted into store houses for grains and ammunition.

Muslim leaders demand by a memorandum submitted to Lord Reading in 1924, that all religious places to be freed from government possession and should be protected from future encroachment by non Muslims. From the 106 years of Dogra rule 28 prime ministers took charge none among them was Muslim. Glancy commission which put it on record that there were 12 graduates and 133 matriculates in Kashmir. Gulam Rasool presented a written statement to riots enquiry committee in 1931 the principal of efficiency is merely a smoke, two non Muslims deputy director of sericulture department had studied up to entrance ,six senior assistants three non Muslims had no qualification. To loot the peasants was no sin; society did not disapprove of it.<sup>27</sup>

According to Maulana Mohammad Saeed Masoodi the decision to form a party and name it Muslim Conference was taken in central jail Srinagar in course of discussion he had with Sheikh Abdullah. All India Kashmir committee was largely responsible for its decision. Committee was therefore set up to convene the conference. It drafted a constitution and decided to name the organization as the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference. The inaugural session was held on the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of October 1932AD, in the historical pather Masjid Srinagar under the Presidentship of sheikh Abdullah. It was a unique gathering, especially in the sense that all Muslims, irrespective of their religious differences or social distinctions sat shoulder to shoulder on the same platform with the common objective of providing Muslims with a single political platform<sup>28</sup>. The flag hoisting ceremony was performed on 14<sup>th</sup> by Walliullah-Zain-ul-Abedin, a representative of the All India Kashmir committee. Khawaja Gulam Ahmad Ashai read the address of welcome on 15<sup>th</sup>



October. Sheikh Abdullah's presidential address reads as our movement is not directed against the minorities. I assure all my countrymen are they Hindus or Sikhs that we shall always try to redress their grievances but they must also respect our just right, our collective work is to get rid of from the oppression and autocratic rule of Maharajas.<sup>29</sup>

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF MUSLIM CONFERENCE**

Property rights in land, concessions in connection with the use of forests, abolition of taxes on cattle and nazarana, freedom of press and platform, right to form association and establishment of assembly and district and municipal boards. Glancy commission report was published in May 1932. Whose reforms were accepted by all Muslims as well as non Muslims?<sup>30</sup>

Sheikh spoke in favour of conversion of Muslim conference into National conference. On June 24 1938 Sheikh placed the resolution before working committee. On 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1938 the working committee of the Muslim Conference met in Srinagar to consider the question of changing the name of the party. After marathon discussions lasted for five days and spread over fifty two hours. Chaudri Gulam Abbas, Maulvi Abdullah Vakil and Ahmad –ud – din Banihali opposed the resolution and voted against it. Chaudri Gulam Abbas khan and his colleges had an apprehension that the conversion weakens the movement because non Muslims would not participate in national conference sincerely but the safeguard of their vested interests. Rivals Muslim conference would launch a disinformation campaign against the new party in the name of religion and government would get an opportunity to root the movement.<sup>31</sup>

A special session of All Jammu and Muslim conference was held at Srinagar on 10<sup>th</sup>, 11th of June, 1939 under the Presidentship of Gulam Mohd Sadiq, reception committee chairman Masoodi introduced some resolutions, it approved to change the name of Muslim Conference to National conference and bring the necessary amendments in the constitution. This conference therefore decided to bring All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference into power. This session was attended by 176 delegates of all districts. On this occasion the president Gulam Mohd Sadiq said, that it is essential that the struggle for establishing a responsible government, every citizen of state, irrespective of his religion or race should be able to participate, make their contributions towards freedom movement from Dogras.<sup>32</sup> . Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah Young Muslims leader declared the conversion of



Muslim Conference into National Conference as a SELL OUT of Muslim state.<sup>33</sup> Jinnah too disapproved of the sheikh's conversion of the Muslim Conference to National conference of 1939.<sup>34</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The sell-out politics has done mess of the state in all walks of life; Kashmir lost its unique identity, fraternity and homogeneity. People of state lost faith in democratic set-up. People of the state were not treated better than animals due to sell-outs. As Gulab Singh treated, they purchased property. The most injustice people feel is, that they are never taken in to consideration. When Amritsar treaty took place, Kashmir who constitute majority Muslims were not even made aware of it. People of Kashmir have suffered due to the arrogance of Leaders at different times and on different sell-outs.

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The Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly also known as the Jammu and Kashmir Vidhan Sabha is the legislature of Jammu and Kashmir. Prior to 2019, the State of Jammu and Kashmir had a bicameral legislature with a legislative assembly (lower house) and a legislative council (upper house). The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act, passed by the Parliament of India in August 2019, replaced this with a unicameral legislature while also reorganised the state into a union territory. A political feature on politics in Rajouri and Poonch region of Jammu and Kashmir. A Boon for individuals, Bane of Region By offering petty largesse to local legislators, NC and Congress have systematically kept this region unrepresented in Cabinet for last 10 years. ZAFAR CHOUDHARY. Within the definition of "mainstream" if you are looking for best examples of participatory, competitive and truly democratic politics in Jammu and Kashmir, the twin border districts of Rajouri and Poonch, perhaps, offer an excellent example. If castes were not a factor, Rajouri and Poonch would have offered best examples of secular politics as well but such a possibility is remote.