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Role of national conference in Jammu and Kashmir (U.T.) power-politics

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Abstract

The provincial ideological groups in Jammu and Kashmir (U.T) are assuming an extraordinary part since it came into power in 1947 and job of National Conference from 1982 till Present. The current examination paper show that the development of National meeting as fundamental intention to make Jammu and Kashmir as Naya Kashmir. Public Conference brought right into it another idea of "Naya Kashmir" in a real sense meaning New Kashmir. Quickly after the arrangement of the state to the Indian Union, on October 26, 1947 its relations with the Center were biased chiefly by its two shaft of force the ruler and the well known pioneer and their common relations. The National Conference has given its perspectives on Center-State relations. "The majority rule interest of the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution is that Country should be worked for Nation not so much for a party.

Keywords: National conference, Naya Kashmir, Jammu and Kashmir, centre-state

Introduction

The Jammu and Kashmir comprises of three primary areas: Jammu, Kashmir valley and Ladakh. Srinagar is the late spring capital and Jammu is the colder time of year capital of the state. The Kashmir valley is well known various altars connect a huge number of Hindu Pilgrims consistently. Ladakh, are known a "little Tibet", is eminent for its far off mountain excellence and Baddish culture ^[1].

The Constitution depicts in India 'a Union of States'. Dr. Ambedkar while presenting the draft of the Constitution in the Constituent Assembly depicted it as 'government'. He clarified "the draft Constitution is government however much it lays out what might be known as a double nation". It comprises of "the Union at the Center and the states at the outskirts each blessed with sovereign powers to be practiced in the field doled out to them individually by the Constitution the Union proposed in the draft Constitutions isn't a class of states nor are the state authoritative units or organizations of the Union government".

K. C. Wheare, reveal reality behind the outside of the public authority ensure by portraying the Center-State relations as "semi regulatory" and (K.Santhanam) depicting the Indian country as a "vital organization" Some researchers have portrayed Indian federalism as "co-usable" federalism and even "dealing federalism" (Morris Jones) or "regularizing federalism" with the Union government setting out the standards of financial projects, or as "serious" federalism ^[2]. Since 1960s, the subject gradually moved as Center-State relations demonstrating that the subject for study or discussion isn't the idea of the nation, or the Constitutional design and plan however the current and creating nature of connection between two arrangements of specialists existing under the Constitution the Union government and the state legislatures. Various issues connecting with Center-State connections emerge from the manner in which the Constitution is worked. Various issues likewise emerge not from the Constitution in principle or practically speaking or from the activities of the legislatures at one or the other side however from the activities of different gatherings and interests, which decipher realities and circumstances as far as Center-State relations. Fiddled as provincial or sub-public loyalties, they request more powers for the states with changing stress ^[3].

The Kashmir's gap their set of experiences into 4 periods: the early time of the Hindu rulers chronicled in the popular Rajatarangini, the time of Kashmir Musalamans, known as the Salatni Kashmir; the time of the Mughals, known as the Padshahi-I-Chagatai or Shahan-I-Mughlia, and the time of the Pathans, known as the Shahan-I-Durani. Every one of these times of managed exhaustively would outfit quite a bit of recorded interest ^[4].

The last guard of Dogra dynasty Maharaja Hari Singh introduced state subject for permanent residents as defined in Notification No 1-L/ 84 of 1927. On one hand he gave citizenship

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rights to J&K residents on the other hand laid punitive taxes on the people 'everyone was taxed' even prostitutes were not spared the condition of people especially Muslims was unbearable as Prem Nath Bazaz a prominent Kashmiri Pandit and political activist asked the condition of Muslims was "appalling, dressed in rags and barefoot most of landless labourers working as a serf for absentee landlords"^[5].

Objectives of the research work

- 1) To evaluate the emergence of national conference regional political parties, Particularly National Conference.
- 2) Role of National Conference from 1982 till Present.

The emergence of national conference

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was ruled by Dogras from 1846 to 1949. In those periods four paramount kingdoms exercised all powers, such as the executive, legislature and judicial powers. In other words they used personal rule. Under this system question of freedom and civil liberties of the people did not arise. Such rights denied to them especially Muslim community. They had been discriminated on the basis of religion. The Maharajas also interfered in their religious interaction. Regarding the nature of the Dogra government, P. N. Bazaz in 1941: "speaking generally and from the bourgeois point of view, the Dogra rule has been treated fairly, by which I mean as fairly as the Hindus, firstly, because, contrary to all professions of treating all classes equally, it must be candidly admitted that Muslims were dealt with harshly in certain respects only because they were Muslims^[6]. The people of Kashmir launched political agitation against the rule of autocracy and despotism.

Before 1931, there was little political activity in the state of Jammu and Kashmir and consequently political parties did not remain completely isolated or immunised from the influence of the National movement in British India. Some of young men who went for higher studies to the Universities outside the state happened to mix with their contemporaries and thus get sentiments. The launching of the Civil Disobedience movement by Mahatma Gandhi in 1921, followed by another movement in early 1930's, and the intermitted hertals and Satyagraha, etc. Did not fail to percolate into the students of the state the growth and role of the press particularly from British India had greatly helped in disseminating this news in the state. The growing tide of nationalism in the then British India, thus found a ready repeat in Kashmir state because of the poverty and exploitation of the masses, who too were not satisfied with the bureaucratic functioning of Maharaja's government, their inadequate representation in the state services, neglect for their education, appointment of Rajputs at responsible posts, discrimination against them, denial of religious freedom, and lack of freedom of press and platform were the main grievances particularly of the Muslims which comprised a majority of population, against the state administration^[7]. Some prominent Muslims of the valley believed that their liberation will sound the death-knell of imperialism, colonialism and autocratic rule. Like Saad-ud-Din Shawl, Maqbool Pandit, Noor Shah Naqshbandi, Agha Syed Hussain Shah Jajali and others, sent a memorandum to the viceroy of India in 1926 contained of following demands.

- a) Proprietary rights in land should be granted to the tenants as these had been forcibly snatched away from them.
- b) Muslims representation in the state council should be according to their ratio in the population.
- c) In order to gave Muslims effective representation in the services, all future vacancies be made available to them and in case Muslims with requisite qualifications were not locally available, Muslim from outside Kashmir, be appointed till such time as the local talent was available.
- d) To weed out corruption from services which had exceeded all limits, an impartial tribunal be appointed to inquire these complaints and award punishment.
- e) The case registered against labourers of the silk factory is made over for trial to a tribunal which should consist of at least two law-knowing and impartial judges, one of whom must be a European.
- f) Since the entire labour force of the silk factory consists of Muslims, it is essential that the latter be appointed to the higher administrative posts in the factory
The land that had been forcibly and illegally seized from Muslims and awarded to Non-Muslims should be restored to their respective owners.
- g) An elected Legislative Assembly which should also work as a Constituent Assembly for the drafting of a Constitution for the state; be set up immediately. Muslim population must be kept in view while granting representation to the various committees.
The mosques and other religious properties which are in possession of the government are immediately restored and steps to taken to ensure that Muslim religious place and graveyards remain protected from the future encroachment by Non-Muslims.
- h) Since the rights of Muslims are insecure and are trampled under by the local authorities, the resident of Kashmir is made answerable for their plight^[8].

When Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah returned to Kashmir after taken his M.Sc. examination from the Aligarh Muslim University (AMU). It was at time that (J&K) government found to make changes in the Constitutional and roles of the Civil Services Recruiting Board, as the number of educated young men in the state was steadily increasing and only a few could be gain employment every year. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah seized this as a God-send opportunity to raise the slogan of "Islam in Danger"^[9].

When the Muslim population of the state blew the bugle of Jihad against the autocratic rule of the Dogra Maharaja, a need was felt to bring all Muslims of the state on one common platform in an organised manner with that end in view; the various Muslims groups coalesced to form the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in 1932. Its first Session, with Sheikh M. Abdullah as President, was held on 14, 15 and 16 October, 1932. The party supported Two-Nation Theory of the Muslim league, although it had time and again declared that if and when it would come in power, non-Muslims would be treated fairly and even generously. It took part in Praja Sabha (State Assembly) Elections of 1934 and 1939 and captured 16 out of 21 and 19 out of 21 Muslim seats, respectively^[10]. The Muslim Conference committed itself to the following matters.

- a) To organize the Muslims of the state and secure for them their rights.

- b) To struggle for the improvement of their economic and cultural lot.
- c) To emancipate them from disabilities they laboured under.

The party through its resolutions in an open session at Pather Masjid Srinagar, envisaged;

- a) Property not is confiscated on account of conversion of a person from one religion to another, which was a practice during Dogra ruler.
- b) The recruitment to the administrative posts to be made in proportion to the various communities of the population.
- c) Reduction of land revenue.
- d) Recruitment to the state army should be thrown open to all communities.
- e) Freedom of speech and expression to be guaranteed.
- f) Release of all political prisoners unconditionally^[11].

Naya Kashmir

A memorandum raised by the then popular statesman and one of the famous political revolutionists of the state of Jammu and Kashmir Mr. Sheikh M. Abdullah, the top bras leading political and social activist and the leader of the then most popular and dominant political party National Conference brought into action a new concept of "Naya Kashmir" literally meaning New Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah placed this concept before the then ruler of the state Shri Maharaja Hari Sing in the year 1944. It was the define of an idea to convert the Jammu and Kashmir state from an absolute autarchy to a Constitutional democracy with the Maharaja remaining head of the state because the monarch is in Great Britain^[12]. The new Kashmir Manifesto is the blue print of the Conference, was a document that was set in a typical communist language and not any provided a vision of the future Constitution of the state but also for the socio-economic restructuring of the state. Linked with the process of broadening the political movement, this Manifesto was to reflect the shift in political discourse from religious to a Class-Based one referring to the background in which this manifesto was adopted by the National Conference^[13]. First full fighting the long-standing poverty of peasants and artisans and unmitigated helplessness of workers was the major goal of the New Kashmir Manifesto. This was to be achieved through complete reorganisation of the agrarian structure and eliminating its freeloading and feudal components, on the one hand and empowering the peasantry, artisans and other working classes, on the other. Hence, the Manifesto was a complete plan for restructuring the economy. Among other things it called for planned development of economy with a view to ensuring a rapid rate of economic growth along with increasing social justice. It also talked of compulsory work for all residents of the state, right to rest, right to education, minimal wages and so on. Among the crucial parts of the Manifesto were specific Charters for peasants, works and women.

The Manifesto is divided into two parts-Constitution of the state and the National Economic Plan the first part is sub-divided into (a) Citizenship (b) National Assembly (c) Council of Ministers (d) Ruler (e) Justice (f) Local Administration and (g) National Language.

The National Economic Plan was sub-divided into production, transport, distribution, utility services, and

currency and finance^[14]. The ideal of "Naya Kashmir" can be summed up in Sher-i-Kashmir's words:-

"We will produce such magnificent human beings, who are equal to the glory of this beautiful land, where such happy and cultured people live, whose creative and cultural aspirations may be many; but who are filled with spiritual endowment as well, where the wise, the skilled and the intelligent citizens earn their livelihood by honest toil, be happy and enjoy the beauties of nature"^[15].

In May 1946, the NC launched a mass agitation which it called 'Quit Kashmir', (clearly modelled on the Indian National Congress 'Quit India' Movement of 1942) against the last Maharaja, Hari Singh. Abdullah declared that 'the time has come to tear up the treaty of Amritsar Sovereignty is not the birth right of Maharaja Hari Singh "Quit Kashmir" is not a question of revolt. It is Matter of right^[16]. The Muslim Conference under the advice from Mr. Jinnah opposed the movement and sided with the Maharaja. It advised the Muslims not to participate in the movement, because that would jeopardise the interests of the Muslim Community. They declared that the movement was started at the behest of the Congress and was aimed at restoring the lost prestige of the Nationalists^[17].

By virtue of Delhi Agreement, signed between Jawahar Lal Nehru (PM of India) and the Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah as the head of the state administration and the Central government on July 24, 1952 monarchy was abolished in the state. A separate flag, in addition to the National Flag, was accepted for the state. The jurisdiction of the powers of President of India were extended to the state, the people of the state were also granted the Indian citizenship rights. On August 9, 1953, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was dismissed by a proclamation from the Sadar-i-Riyasat, and was arrested. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the second in power hierarchy, assumed the office of state Prime Minister under the patronage and inspirations of New Delhi^[18]. During Bakshi's tenure the Indian government give much attention to Jammu and Kashmir and invested 100 million dollars for the improvement of state.

On assuming power again in 1975 after a lapse of 22 years under the Indira-Sheikh Abdullah decided to revive the National Conference. In 1977 state Assembly Elections, the newly-revived National Conference returned to power with a comfortable majority. Again, the factional trouble emerged in the National Conference. M. A. Beg, one of the most trusted and the closest lieutenants of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, sponsored the candidature of his son-in-law for the state Legislative Council. The voting pattern revealed that some members (more than expected) of the ruling party had voted for Beg's son-in-law. At this, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah suspected the bonafides of M. A. Beg. In order to test his sincerity towards him, the Sheikh asked the members of the ruling party to take an oath of personal loyalty and allegiance to the party leader, which step M. A. Beg did not approve of. Therefore, Sheikh Abdullah relieved him from the post of the Cabinet Ministry. It marked the climax of the factional crisis of this phase. Feeling humiliated, M. A. Beg defected from the National Conference and formed another party, named the Inqlabi National Conference (INC). He and his few supporters started sitting separately in the State Assembly. There was also a danger of further defection in the National Conference as well as the Assembly. The latter, therefore,

moved an Anti-Defection Bill and got it passed by the State Assembly ^[19].

Role of National Conference from 1982 till Present

Sheikh Abdullah's fight for democratic rights was not always reflected in the internal structure and political development within the National Conference. When Sheikh Abdullah passed away in 1982. He left a dual legacy to his son Farooq Abdullah who was taking over the party leadership. On the positive side, he left a state where religion and the status of the region had not yet become the only or the primary dimension of polarization sentiments in Jammu and Kashmir favoured peaceful democratic development on the other hand institutional structures in the state weak and this made the newly introduced democracy in Jammu and Kashmir vulnerable ^[20]. Farooq Abdullah, unlike his father had not been schooled in the freedom movement. He had spent most of his adult life in Britain, where he had trained as a doctor. In a ceremony which dazzled the people who had assembled in Iqbal Park in Srinagar, on 21 August, 1981, Sheikh Abdullah appointed him as President of National Conference ^[21]. His main qualification was that he was the son and heir of Sheikh Abdullah after his father's death in 1982, Farooq Abdullah became the Chief Minister of the state of J&K.

Furthermore, Farooq Abdullah inherited a popular but internally fractured party from his father in 1982 the leadership rule came to him in less than ideal circumstances. Some of the trouble had started back in 1978 when Mirza Afzal Beg was expelled from the National Conference after more than 40 year of friendship and political struggle at Sheikh Abdullah's side. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah seems to have followed the same political strategy as Indira Gandhi, allowing the tendencies inherent in dynastic rule to assert them instead of building an internally democratic political apparatus firmly anchored in local organizations. Distrusting Beg, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah rejected him and began to look for a successor. The choice was between his son, Farooq Abdullah, whom he considered too young and inexperienced, and his daughter's husband, Ghulam Mohammad Shah, whom he thought too superior and far too eager to take over the party leadership, Ghulam Mohammad Shah was shocked by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah's decision to let Farooq Abdullah succeed him and later he was further provoked by Farooq Abdullah decision to remove Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din Shah, Ghulam Mohammad Shah's nephew, from the post of party General Secretary ^[22].

Farooq Abdullah's dismissal was seen as a certain demonstration of New Delhi's absolute and undemocratic control over Jammu and Kashmir. Despite his protestations against his undemocratic dismissal and general denunciation of Indian policies in Jammu and Kashmir, Farooq Abdullah re-entered politics by agreeing to a National Conference-Indian National Congress alliance proposed by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Gandhi reappointed Farooq Abdullah as Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir in November 1986, and Elections were scheduled for the following year. However, Farooq Abdullah much like his father lost considerable credibility for accepting an arrangement that Kashmiri Muslims saw as politically expedient. Unfortunately, the stage was set for both rising militancy and violence ^[23]. The proximity of the National Conference with the Centre led to decay of its authority and

created a political void in Kashmir that was filled by religious and separatist forces. The Muslim United Front (MUF) a new corporation of religion-based parties led by Jamaat-i-Islami, that staked its claim in Kashmir's politics in 1986-1987 periods, was successful in evoked political emotions in favour of its violent Anti-Centre politics bordering at times with separatist sentiments. It was the political environment that the tragedy of the 1987 Assembly Election, which was perceived to be heavily manipulated in favour of the National Conference and Congress combine, took place.

The onset of militancy in 1989 and the popular support that it could obtain in the initial period was a direct fall-out of this Election. While weakening the authority of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir and its political institutions, the popular disillusionment with the 1987 Assembly Elections caused severe damage to the legitimacy of the National Conference and erosion of its popular base. Consequently, it was forced to abandon power in early 1990. Moreover, the popular resentment against the party, it was rather difficult in maintaining the political order that led to withdraw not only from governance but also from the political scene. The imposition of the President rule in January 1990, the party went into hibernation. The crisis that underlay the situation during that period, however, National Conference withdraws the political scene. It concerned almost a total fall down of political processes. With arms militancy gaining ground, normal political activities was brought to a pause. Meanwhile, an impulsive popular response in favour of the demand for Azadi (Liberation) manifested itself in the valley. The valley soon slide into violence from 1988, and in January 1990, Farooq Abdullah resigned when New Delhi appointed Jagmohan as Governor once again ^[24]. The state remained under President's rule from July 1990 to 1996 ^[25]. In 1996 Elections was extraordinary in the Parliamentary history of Jammu and Kashmir. For the first time in Jammu and Kashmir National Conference emerged as the single largest party in all the three regions of the state of J&K. Dr. Farooq Abdullah was sworn as Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir on October 9, 1996.

In 2002 state Assembly Elections, National Conference won 28 seats, People's Democratic Party (PDP) won 16 seats and Indian National Congress 21 seats. No party got clear majority with the result coalition's government was formed between Indian National Congress (INC) and People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Mufti Mohammad Syed was sworn in as Chief Minister of state on November 3, 2002 for first three years. After completing three year term as Chief Minister by Mufti Mohammad Sayeed. Ghulam Nabi Azad of senior Congress leader was sworn as 10th Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir on 2 November, 2005 ^[26]. But PDP withdraw her support to Ghulam Nabi Azad Ministry two months earlier Mr. Azad resigned. Whole state witnessed agitation on Amaranth Land Transfer issue in 2008. In December 2008 Legislative Assembly Elections National Conference won 28 seats, Congress 17 seats, PDP 21 seats and rest seats were won by others. National Conference-Congress coalition government headed by Mr. Omar Abdullah took oath office. Mr. Omar Abdullah (son of Dr. Farooq Abdullah) led coalition government lunched so many developments in the last three years. Mr. Omar Abdullah made several policy interventions to effectively try over unemployment problem in the state. His government came up with a land mark employment policy.

“Sher-i-Kashmir Employment and Welfare Programme for Youth (SKEWPY) to comprehensive address unemployment issue in the (J&K) state ^[27]. Omar Abdullah served as Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir from January 2009 to December 2014. After representing the National Conference party in close Elections at Jammu and Kashmir Assembly last few years, he resigned as Chief Minister.

In 2014 Legislative Assembly Elections on expected Election results declared with PDP emerged as single largest party bagging 28 seats. BJP got the second place with 25 seats, National Conference 3rd with 15 and Congress fourth with 12 seats. Amid this fractured mandate a number of options are available to the political parties for government formation. At last PDP-BJP led coalition government and NC is happy with sitting in opposition. In the next chapter, we suggest to study the major relations between Indian government and Jammu and Kashmir National Conference government. They organized from time to time. On which the present work has been based

Conclusion

The National Conference has consistently maintained that reclamation of Autonomy is the main achievable answer for the Kashmir issue. The National Conference shell endeavor with restored solidarity to fabricate an agreement in the Country on this and help the public authority to remember India about the goal of the state Assembly for this sake which requires their pressing thought.

The provincial ideological groups in Jammu and Kashmir are assuming an incredible part. The principle provincial ideological group of Jammu and Kashmir is the National Conference, the single predominant ideological group of the Indian territory of Jammu and Kashmir. Public Conference brought right into it another idea of "Naya Kashmir" in a real sense meaning New Kashmir. The image of party is Plow and Autonomy its Manifesto. The party is attempting to take care of the is.

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