Recounting Kashmir: Selected Translations from the Autobiography of S.A. Geelani

A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
in partial fulfilment for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Comparative Literature

by

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"If tears could build a stairway,
And memories a lane,
I would walk right up to heaven,
And bring you home again"

Dedicated
to my
Beloved Mother

Hazrat Begum Noor Rahmatullah Alay

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Introduction

On Translating *Wular Kinare* by Syed Ali Geelani

SA Geelani (1929-2021)

Almost all Indian mainstream newspapers, television channels and online portals, irrespective of their ideological differences and political allegiances, resorted to similar adjectives while reporting Syed Ali Geelani's death on 1st September 2021. The *Indian Express* reported: "Separatist Patriarch, firm pro-Pak hawk on Kashmir, Syed Ali Shah Geelani passes away at 92" (Masood) and most of the other major sources concurred. *The Economic Times* came up with a short biography of Geelani titled "Syed Ali Shah Geelani: The hawk who dominated separatist politics for decades" (The Dispatch, 2nd September, 2021). Even the seemingly neutral, unbiased and progressive media, like *Live Mint*, *The Tribune* and *The Print*, echoed the familiar sentence of "the separatist leader," "hardliner," "hawk," "hartal man," etc. Though it is not my intention to challenge these views, a brief outline of Syed Ali Geelani's life and works may go directly in contrast to the media-constructed image of Geelani.

Syed Ali Shah Geelani, or Syed Ali Geelani, which he seems to have preferred, was born on 29th September 1929 in the small town called Zori Munz, now in the Bandipora district. He was born into a modest family and his father was a seasonal coolie worker who earned a meagre amount. He spent his childhood in penury, and education was a luxury. He completed his primary education in the nearby town of Boetengo and struggled to pursue higher studies. Once he was taken to Lahore by a Muhammad Din Fok with the promise of higher studies, but this man made him a domestic helper at his elder daughter's house and Geelani, somehow, managed to return home. Thereafter, his brother took him to Lahore again, enabling him to complete Adib 'alimfrom the Oriental Night College. Later, Geelani went on to get Munshi Fazil, a post-

graduate Urdu and Persian honours degree (Hakeem 26), before returning to Kashmir, where he met Maulana Masoodi, the then General Secretary of the National Conference, who was also handling the newspaper called *Khidmat*, which was being published from Srinagar. On the invitation of Moulana Masood, Geelani came from his village to stay at Mujahid Manzil,[1] the central office of the National Conference, where he interacted with many scholars and political leaders. Masoodi was one of Geelani's early influences, and the warmth of their relationship continued even later, despite Geelani choosing to tread a different path from that of Maulana Masoodi.

Two features of Masoodi attracted Geelani profoundly: his simple lifestyle and his scholarship. Ironically, Geelani had these qualities, which were evident in his words and deeds until his death. Another important aspect is that the future teacher of the masses has worked as a real "teacher" in the dictionary sense of the word in a number of institutions ever since he completed his higher education (Hakeem 21). In a different sense, he has been a life-long teacher and a life-long-student and his evolution, from a student to a teacher, a teacher of students to a teacher of the masses and also from a student-teacher to a preacher and philosopher, is discernible in the progression of the autobiography.

Probably, the most important turn of Geelani's life was coming into contact with the Jamaat-i-Islami's (JI) ideology when working as a teacher at the Rainawari High School. Geelani became a member of Jamaat-i-Islami in the year 1952. He resigned from his teaching job in 1959 to become a full-time party worker. Also, Jamaat-i- Islami was growingin terms of visibility and acceptance in Kashmir, from a small entity that used to publish a few pamphlets

[1] When Sheikh Abdullah decided to go all out against the Dogra government in Kashmir with the slogan "Quit Kashmir." The state government reacted violently and the Mujahid Manzil also came under severe scrutiny.

into an organization with global reach. At least in Srinagar and Baramulla, the Jama'at had become significantly strong (Geelani: 2012). When Jama 'at-i-Islami was growing in strength, so was Geelani's intellectual and political career. Eventually, Geelani became the face of Jama'at, and the organization was banned in 1975.[2] At this stage of his life, Geelani was influenced by two apparently different political outlooks. On the one hand, he was influenced by the Jama 'at-i-Islami's ideology which stood for the freedom and self-determination of the Kashmiris. On the other hand, he was deeply moved by the simple life style and the compassionate approach of Maulana Masoodi. Despite being a member of the National Conference, Masoodi was open-hearted enough to receive anyone regardless of their ideological positions and had lengthy discussions, which also proved to be beneficial for Geelani (Geelani, 2014). Apart from Masoodi, the three key figures that influenced his intellectual career were: Maulana Abul A 'la Maudoodi, also spelled Maududi, the founder and most important theorist of Jama 'at-i-Islami; the great Syrian theologian Imam Ibn Taymiyyah; and the poet Muhammed Iqbal.[3]

Geelani, of course, contested and won/lost many elections, like any politician.[4] However, electoral politics was not the sole solution for the problems of democracy,according to him. Sometimes, he abandoned the election just like he contested them and towards the end of his life, he even expressed indifference to the whole system, for which he was also harshly judged

[2] The ban on JI was imposed as JI opposed Sheikh Abdulla's policies and affected not just the organization but also the many Kashmiris who depended on the Jama 'at institutions for livelihood. For example, as part of the ban, all the schools run by Jama 'at were shut down, and the teachers who worked there lost their jobs. The students had to find other schools to continue their education (Geelani, 2012).

[3] It should be mentioned here that Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood also influenced him considerably, and in return, Muslim Brotherhood had very high respect for Geelani.

[4] Geelani was also not free from political scandals and allegations regarding his personal integrity. There were even allegations about him receiving huge sums and purchasing luxurious property in many places, but in the absence of proper evidence and considering the fact that he was one of the most detested persons in the eyes of those who never approved the plebiscite, all these allegations remain hoax. It has to be added that enemies also targeted him on many occasions, and there were even assassination attempts on him. Geelani recollects many of such instances in his autobiography (Geelani, 2012).

by the liberal democrats. However, while abstaining from elections he seems to be exposing the undemocracy inherent in the democracy itself and exhorting the need to democratize democracy itself. For, it was the same democratic machinery that also imprisoned or held him in custodial detention many a times, like many a politician. But rounding up the years of his incarceration, in 1990, 1993, 1995, 1999 and in 2002, followed by a decade-long house arrest from 2008 till death, SA Geelani seems to have spent more than 17 years, unlike any/many a politician, of his life in prison.[5] Which reveals the remarkable resolve of a person fighting without compromises for a cause he believed in and the people who believed in him without a thought for his own comforts in an area recognized as an extremely sensitive conflict zone afflicted with an imponderable political past and present. Like the man he was, Geelani of course devoted his jail life and house arrest to improving his knowledge and has 30 books and booklets to his credit, among which I, as a literature student, see the *Wular Kinare* as an important one.

Geelani's turbulent life should also be placed in the context of the 1978 Public Safety Act of Jammu and Kashmir (PSA),[6] as his fight was also against certain draconian laws that paved the way for the violation of human rights.Previous similar acts were the Defense of India Act passed in 1915 and the Public Safety Act of 1946, the latter imposed when the Kashmiris agitated with the slogan "Quit Kashmir" (Kirmani & Kumar, 2022).The 1978 Act was misused mainly in four ways. Firstly, for the custody and detention of minors. Secondly, the citizens of

[5] The case of the Abdullah family, which ruled Kashmir for these many years, runs directly in contrast. Shaikh Abdullah was imprisoned and released in 1975 after the 'Kashmir Accord' where he agreed to not to raise the demand of the plebiscite (Hakeem 20-21).

[6] Also, known as the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act, 1978.Public Safety Act, the international media and even the UN report have criticized the act for the gross violation of human rights. The act is misused mainly in four ways. First of all, it is used for the custody and detention of minors. Secondly, the citizens of Kashmir were taken into custody without any solid evidence against them. This was basically used to suppress the dissenters. Thirdly, this act made the entire judiciary and judicial system mere spectators. There were occasions when even those who were absolved by the court were taken into custody using the powers of this act. Last but not least, on many occasions, citizens were convicted and taken into custody for an alleged crime that took place two or three years ago (Bhakto, 2018).

Kashmir, basically dissenters, were taken into custody without any solid evidence against them. Thirdly, this act made the entire judiciary and judicial system mere spectators, as even those released by the courts were again taken into custody using the powers of this act. Last but not least, citizens were taken into custody for an alleged crime that took place two or three years ago (Bhakto, 2018). In their report titled "A 'Lawless Law': Detentions under the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act," Amnesty International has repeatedly criticized this act. They have specifically emphasized the harsh mistreatment of Geelani under this act (62) and observes that even the Supreme Court of India's intervention regarding affairs related to the custody and detention under this act in Kashmir has been limited since 1989-90. On a few occasions, it is true that the court has quashed the detention orders under PSA, but these orders are not reported, making it difficult to know whether the court has made any observations regarding this act. The same report specifically mentions the detentions of Geelani and Abdul Ghani Lone in 1994, after which the court was approached with a Habeus Corpus petition. Here also, the government acted judiciously. Geelani and Lone were released before the petition was considered by the Supreme Court of India (65).

Still, most of the mainstream Indian media and intellectuals refuse to consider Geelani even as a champion of human rights. Perhaps, AG Noorani is one of the most prominent intellectuals who did some justice to Geelani in his "Sen and Geelani" in *Frontline*, by comparing Geelani with Binayak Sen and Arundhathi Roy. The context of his article was the sedition laws prevalent in India. To what extend one may agree with Binayak Sen's or Arundhati Roy's ideology and activism can be conveniently ignored in my context. What matters here is the fact that these two figures have gained wide acceptance both in India and on the international stage as the champions of human rights, whereas Geelani was mostly treated contemptuously except by a few Islamist groups. But Noorani doesnot hesitate to endorse Geelani's "courage,"

"integrity," and"impeccable manners" in contrast with most of the politicians in India. The central reason for the mainstream Indian media to cow down and characterize Geelani as "the separatist leader," "hardliner," "hawk," "hartal man," etc is of course because of his stance on the "plebiscite"which was actually promised by the national leaders of the Indian Nation State when the British rulers left the country. In an article by Arundhati Roy in *The Hindu* on 28 November 2010, she cited 13 occasions when Jawaharlal Nehru repeated this promise[7] and one occasion when VK Krishna Menon stated the same in a meeting of the United Nations Security Council.Arundhati Roy's painstaking research proves that the position of Geelani with regard to the plebiscite and the freedom of Kashmiris is nothing less than the stated policy by Nehru and Congress in general. But by demanding the same, he has been called as a "separatist" and "pro-Pak sympathizer" by the mainstream media and intellectuals in India. Even if a pro-Pak sympathizer, Geelani was also a freedom fighter and a human rights activist. Perhaps Iftekhar Geelani's moving tribute to Syed Ali Geelani, expressed in an article published in the *Frontline*

[7] In a telegram sent by Nehru to the then Prime Minister of Pakistan in October 1947, he promised that the question of accession of Kashmir had never been framed by India, and it relied completely on the wishes of the people of Kashmir. In another telegram sent by Nehru just three days after the first one, he changed his tone and said that India had approved the accession of Kashmir to the country at the request of Ranjit Singh Ji and also at the request of the most prominent organizations that represented the majority of the Indian Muslims! But again, he did not forget to show his commitment to the condition of a plebiscite once law and order is re-established in Kashmir. In an All India Radio Broadcast aired in November 1947, Nehru repeated the same stance that if there is a dispute, the question of accession of Kashmir will be decided solely by the choice of the Kashmiris. The next day, he addressed the world through the All India Radio again and stated that promise had been given by India not just to the Kashmiris but to the international community that the fate of Kashmiris would be decided solely by the Kashmiris alone. In the same month, Nehru sent a letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan stating that the question of accession would be decided by the Kashmiris alone. Later in the same month, Nehru stated in the Indian Constituent Assembly that it is not the military force that should decide the fate of the Kashmiris but their own will. In March 1948, after acceding Kashmir, Nehru stated that even then, India would hold a plebiscite, and the Kashmiris could decide their own future. After three years, in a press conference that he attended in London, Nehru gave the promise that India would work with the United Nations to conduct a plebiscite in Kashmir. He went one step further and claimed that the idea of a referendum or plebiscite was India's own proposal long before the UN entered the scene. Arundhati Roy brings out the evidence that this was also the view of the All India Congress Committee by quoting his speech in an AICC meeting in which he said that "Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered" and that any decision on Kashmir rested with them alone. In a letter sent to the UN Security Council, Nehru repeated the same stance. In 1952, while replying to a question of Mookerji in the Constituent Assembly, Nehru had stated that India had taken the issue to the UN and could not go back from its stance. The same year, while addressing the Parliament, Nehru reaffirmed the policy that whatever had been said on the plebiscite was the nation's policy and the nation could not deviate from it. In 1955, while addressing the Lok Sabha, Nehru repeated the same view and said that Kashmir has a "soul of its own" and the state also has an "individuality of its own." V. K. Krishna Menon replicated Nehru's views in the UN's Security Council in 1957 and stated that India was bound to honor its own promises given to the Council (Roy, 2010).

immediately after Geelani's death, explores this irony better. Iftekhar Geelani observes that "for the generation born in the 1960s and 1970s in the North Kashmir town of Sopore, Syed Ali Geelani, a fiery orator, was a local version of Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh or Ayatollah Khomeini."The tragedy of Geelani is that the Indian state went back on its promises and the new generation in India does not care to know their own complicated histories, which gives Geelani's life and its recounting a liminal and luminary significance beyond the ordinary.

***Wular Kinare* (3 vols.)**

The three volumes of SA Geelani's autobiography in Urdu, *Wular Kinare* (On The Shores of Wular, Wular being a lake in Kashmir), was published, respectively, in 2011, 2012 and 2015. Probably take note of the criticism of the first volume, that it was a bit rambling and does not succinctly present a political picture of Kashmir, Geelani added "*Sawaneh Hayat*" (Incidents of Life) as a subtitle or description to the second and third volumes. In the second preface to the first volume, included in this thesis, Geelani clarified that his intention was not to write a political manifesto but rather an autobiography. All the three volumes saw many reprints, though without any significant changes except the addition of new prefaces. The first volume published in February 2011 quickly had two reprints, in October 2011 and November 2012. The second volume published in September 2012 had a reprint in November 2012. The third volume published in April 2015 is yet to see a reprint. I have used the last editions of all three volumes and hence have only translated one preface from each of the volumes; for the first and second volumes I have translated the second prefaces.

Since Geelani was above 80 years old when the first volume was published, though his incarcerated life was hardly of leisure, *Wular Kinare* remains a rich source of information, if not inspiration, for those who wish to understand about Kashmir and the resistance of the

Kashmiris as well as the complexities of secular-modern nationalism. In a general sense, the book is about the Kashmir issue and about what the Jama ‘at-i-Islami has been doing in Kashmir, but at the same time, it is also about the feelings and aspirations of the Kashmiris. Hence, it is an autobiography of a Kashmiri as well as an autobiography of Kashmir and thereby of all Kashmiris. But the problem is also, as Geelani well understood, that Kashmir and Kashmiris, unlike most other states in India, cannot have an normal auto-bio-graphy because of it chequered history. Hence, Geelani’s autobiography is a recourse for most of us worrying about the imperatives of a resurgent nationalism.

The first and foremost limitation of the sympathetic scholarly literature on Kashmir has been that it lacks genuine “lived experience,” which includes but may also exceed what is usually embodied as “Kashmiriyat” of the Kashmiri people. One may talk about the history and politics of Kashmir by citing countless sources, as Arundhati Roy does (which is, indeed, a remarkable effort which should be appreciated), but the reality of the Kashmiris have always been worse than what sources of data could ever say. Hence, Geelani’s autobiography, which is a record and a recounting that emerges from the politics of the marginalized with a humanitarian vision, will help substantiate—correct, correspond as well as counter—further work by just academicians, bureaucrats, researchers and journalists. Secondly, the other famous autobiographers from Kashmir are from mainstream political parties, like that of Shaik Abdullah and Mir Qasim. When autobiography has already acquired a national and international market, for writers as well as readers, whether as memoirs, testimonies, life writings or such, from gender, race, caste, other/minor perspectives, a 83 year-old Geelani publishing the first volume of his autobiography in 2011 in Urdu, the subsequent volumes in

2012 and 2015, definitely presents very many issues.[8] Writing one's autobiography itself has become a kind of elite privilege in Kashmir. In fact, my initial research project was to study the Jammat-e-Islami in Kashmir till I kind of stumbled upon and actually started reading and realized the significance of Geelani's autobiography. Though I met him a few times, due to his incessantly busy life and my own reticence, I never got to ask him many questions which will now remain in the dark. Hence, my selected translation—I have already completed a full translation of the 2000 page three volume autobiography—from *Wular Kinare* does aspire to be definitive and conclusive. For there are resonances of Geelani's life and writings which will continue to animate future generations in Kashmir, India as well as all over the world. For example, Yoginder Sikand (2000) finds a correlation between the increasing violence against Indian Muslims in India and the increasing anti-Indian attitude of the Kashmiris as exemplified by two comments of Geelani implying that the Indian Muslims are Indians by choice and that the Kashmir issue does not have much bearing on the Indian Muslims. Sikand goes on to see a larger cosmopolitan outlook in Geelani, even though Geelani does not use the same word. In his writings, Geelani often tries to place the Kashmir question in the light of political events

[8] Comparing and contrasting Geelani's autobiography with that of the nationalist leaders may yield some results. In the preface to his autobiography titled, An Autobiography, Nehru mentions the target readers he had in mind while writing the book. He states that he has written it for the "Indian readers" and not for the "foreign readers." He also states that for foreign readers, he would have written the book differently (xv). Nehru also makes a distinction between historical writings and personal narratives and states that students wishing to study the recent history of India should not rely on his book; instead, they should use some other historical sources as his account is personal. However, he is hopeful that each such personal narrative can fill one void in the vast scheme of history and in that sense; they will be contributing to the larger project of history writing (xvi). Thus Nehru has this concept that his personal narrative may fit into some larger narrative. That larger narrative is nothing but the nationalist discourse. When he uses the phrase "Indian readers," he imagines a homogenous category of Indians sharing a common history; for the writing of which he can make his bit of contribution. The content of his book attests to this assumption. What he writes in his autobiography is nothing but his involvement in the grand events of recent Indian history. Maulana Azad does not offer any different view from Nehru. In fact, Azad goes one step ahead of Nehru in terms of maintaining a sort of impersonal attitude. HumayunKabir wrote the book *India Wins Freedom* for Azad by conducting a series of interviews with Azad. In the preface to Azad's autobiography, he states that Azad was even against the idea of writing his autobiography (Kabir xi). Later, when Kabir finished the draft and showed it to Azad, he directed him to exclude thirty pages of it as it contained only his personal information (xii). This tradition of writing autobiographies that are not really personal was motivated by the nationalist imagination. The nationalist thought creates the sentiment that individuals are important as far as they contribute to the nation's making. Nehru and Azad showed utmost justice to this tradition. Geelani's approach to writing is more personal, trivial, and ordinary events from which the day-to-day life can be viewed as a symbolic escape from this tradition.

unfolding across the world. He had become a member of the World Muslim League in 2000, a high honour considering that he was only the third person from the subcontinent to be accorded this position after Maulana Maudoodi[9] and Maulana Hasan Ali.[10]

In his *Oppressed Nation*, Geelani had also expressed his discomfort with the Indian Muslims' insensitive attitude toward the Kashmiri Muslims. In his writings, Geelani highlights the disconnect that Indian Muslims have had towards the issues of Indian state's atrocities, violence, and human rights violations in Kashmir as well as their silence on these matters. Despite his complaints, he understood the marginalized position of Indian Muslims, and so he encourages them to be courageous and live a life of warriors, standing up for their rights and to speakout against injustice. Geelani argues that in post-independent India, there have been numerous communal clashes, which further emphasize the need for Muslims to be courageous and resilient in the face of adversity. He believes that it is the responsibility of the majority community in any country to ensure the security of the minority and the state has a duty to protect and ensure the safety of Muslims in India. But the Indian state's failure to protect Muslim minority in India lies somewhere embedded in religious prejudices and hatred after the event of partition. Further, Geelani also points out that during the partition of the Indian subcontinent, Indian Muslims chose to remain in India, and therefore, their security is the responsibility of the Indian state.[11] But a historical analysis on discrimination with Muslims in post-partition India will reveal that in theory the constitution of India stands on secular

[9] Maulana Maudoodi (1903-1979) was a prominent Islamic scholar and political activist who played a significant role in shaping the development of Islamic political movements in South Asia during the 20th century. He was the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami, one of the largest and most influential Islamic political parties in the region (which region),

[10] Maulana Hassan Ali:was a prominent Islamic scholar and educator who lived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in what is now Pakistan. He was was known for his contributions to the development of Islamic education. Ali was a prominent figure in the Deobandi movement, a conservative Islamic movement that originated in India in the 19th century and continues to be influential in South Asia and other parts of the Muslim world today.

[11] See, "Kashmir: Wail of a Valley in Turmoil" by AG Noorani and *Muslims and Media Images: News versus Views* edited by Yasmin Ibrahim.

credential, however it is a far-fetched story in practice and Geelani even uses the word "colony" to denote Kashmir's status in relation to the centre.

Geelani was a preacher, leader and a political philosopher. He had a very clear idea about the liberation of Kashmir, as embodied to a large extent in *Wular Kinare*. This is reflected in the six demands that he put forward regarding the freedom of Kashmir. His first and foremost demand was to consider Kashmir as a disputed territory, which also meant that we should continue to recognize it as a dispute and not resolve it as per the dictates of any one party. The second demand was for demilitarization of Kashmir, which should be done under the supervision of the UN. The third was to release all the prisoners imprisoned by the Indian state and also, the fourth, the removal of draconian laws like the AFSPA[12] and Disturbed Area Act.[13] Next, he demands the lawful trial and punishment of all those who committed heinous crimes

[12] The Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) is a controversial law in India that has been in place in certain regions, such as Jammu and Kashmir and some northeastern states, since the 1950s. The AFSPA grants special powers to the armed forces, including the power to arrest, search, and use force against individuals or groups, and provides them with immunity from prosecution for actions taken under the act. The AFSPA was enacted to enable the armed forces to combat insurgency and maintain law and order in regions affected by armed conflict or violence. However, it has been a subject of criticism and controversy due to allegations of human rights violations, extrajudicial killings, and abuse of power by the armed forces. Human rights organizations and civil society groups have called for the repeal of AFSPA, citing concerns about the violation of fundamental rights and lack of accountability for alleged abuses. The AFSPA has been a topic of extensive debate and discussion, with advocates arguing for its necessity in maintaining security and opponents calling for its repeal or amendment to address concerns related to human rights and accountability. See, "Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958: A Study in National Security Tyranny" by G. B. Singh and "Repeal AFSPA: A Human Rights Imperative" by Human Rights Watch.

[13] The Disturbed Area Act (DAA) in Jammu and Kashmir is a legislative provision that grants special powers to the armed forces in designated "disturbed areas" of the region. This Act, similar to the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA), empowers security forces with wide-ranging powers to maintain law and order, arrest and detain individuals without a warrant, and use force, including firearms, in areas declared as "disturbed" by the government. The Disturbed Areas Act in Jammu and Kashmir was initially introduced in 1990 as a temporary measure to address the ongoing insurgency and violence in the region. Proponents of the DAA argue that it is necessary for maintaining security and combating insurgency in the region. They argue that the Act provides essential powers to the security forces to tackle terrorism and restore peace in areas that are facing significant security challenges.However, critics of the DAA raise concerns about its potential for abuse and human rights violations. They highlight incidents of alleged excesses by security forces, including extrajudicial killings, arbitrary detentions, and violations of fundamental rights under the pretext of the Act. Critics also argue that the DAA gives sweeping powers to the security forces, which can lead to violations of civil liberties and erosion of democratic principles.It's important to note that the Disturbed Areas Act in Jammu and Kashmir has been a subject of ongoing debate and controversy. There have been calls for its repeal or modification, as well as efforts to review its implementation and ensure that it is in line with international human rights standards. The Act has also been the subject of various legal challenges in the courts of India, with differing opinions on its constitutionality and compliance with human rights norms.

against the Kashmiris, like murder, theft, arson, rape, vandalism, etc. His sixth and last demand is more of a universal kind in that everyone should get the same justice and that all religious places should get respect (Geelani, 2015). As anyone can see, the above six demands emerge directly from the humanitarian concepts of justice, freedom of worship, and the rule of law. In fact, the Kashmir conundrum cannot be resolved without addressing these demands put forward by Geelani. All his life, he stood for the liberty and justice of the Kashmiris. His vision of Kashmir and its liberation is simple and does not offer any magical solutions.

Probably all of the above are the reasons why an octogenerain resorted to recording and recounting his life, whether as autobiography or memors or testimoniy or life narrative. Geelani's effort is significant if only as an important political leader, in all senses of the term, in post-1947 Kashmir. That most Kashmiris, even some of those who disagree with his vision, call him as "Bub" or "Toath," in the sense of being their father/godfather, is an indication of their enduring trust and also respect. Evidently, a lacunae has been created after his demise in 2021, and he may soon be exalted as a mythical figure, a legend in their memory. Hence, all the more reason to translate *Wular Kinare* for a larger audience. Probably, one has to conceptualize "folk philosopher" or "mob philosopher," even in contradistinction with Gramsci's organic/traditional intellectuals.[14] Gramsci's concept of 'organic intellectuals' can be used as a point of reference here as that term best defines Geelani as he does neither hesitate to assert his affiliations nor conceal the same as he staunchly stood for the cause which he

[14] Gramsci's ogranic/ traditional intellectuals:Gramsci's concept of 'organic intellectuals' can be used as a point of reference here as that term best defines Geelani as an intellectualAccording to Gramsci, intellectuals are of two types; certain intellectuals belong to the category of "traditional intellectuals", whereas the second group are called "organic intellectuals." The first category is defined more by their profession (Hoare & Smith, 3-4). The intellectuals belonging to the first category create an impression that they do not have any particular association with a specific social group. They pretend more like free intellectuals devoid of any bias. The second type of intellectuals is different from them. There are many intellectuals who supported the cause of Kashmir's liberation, but their status as intellectuals is not entangled with the Kashmir liberation struggle. Intellectuals from the international community and some intellectuals from India itself have spoken for the Kashmiris. While appreciating their efforts, it should be noted that, as a class of intellectuals, they fundamentally differ from leaders like Geelani and Leone. The difference is that the latter can be called the organic intellectuals of the Kashmiris..

firmly believed in. Not only this, Geelani commanded the mob, and the mob readily followed, for he was a great orator, and as the book shows, a great writer too.The three volumes of *Wular Kinare* speak directly to the Kashmiris and its youth especially. Many of the issues mentioned in the first and second volumes have historical importance. The third volume brings to light the major issues that torment Kashmir now. As I remarked earlier, I have already translated the 2000 page Urdu autobiography into English, which is ready for publication, though I am using only about 250 pages of it in this thesis. Because it was opined that a translation of the whole autobiography would have been unwieldy for a doctoral thesis, though many theses have been submitted in two or more volumes as well. Hence, as part of my overall translation of the 2000 page autobiography, for this thesis I have only selected those chapters from the three volumes that relate to Geelani's political, in all senses of the term, perrogatives. I have edited out certain routine, repetitive affairs and more personal and familial references in which the general reader may not be interested or do not have a significant bearing on comprehending his life and work. Detailed theological and political remarks that have been made during his work are also omitted, though certain chapters that have a bearing on framing or comprehending his ideology have been included.

Significantly, what *Wular Kinare* does is also to reposition and reproblematize "politics" itself as different from the "political." Which will lead us back to the question of whether *Wular Kinare* is an autobiography, a memoir, a testimony, a life narrative and such. Valid as they are, this thesis is primarily a translation of a very difficult but important Urdu text with ample Persian, Arabic and Punjabi citations, often without any references. Basically, so the man was and so he wrote. And the text encompasses immediate as well as larger environmental issues as well as larger and immediate issues of/for the everyday Kashmiri.

Translating *Wular Kinare*, from Urdu to English

The translation of English texts into Urdu is more institutionalized than Urdu texts being translated into English.[15] Historically, the asymmetrical power relations between Urdu and English have always had their bearings upon the translation between the two languages. One is reminded of Tejaswini Niranjana who argued that "translation as a practice shapes, and takes shape within, the asymmetrical relations of power that operate under colonialism" (Niranjana, 1990). The Urdu struggle during the colonial period refers to the efforts made by Urdu-speaking communities in British India to preserve and promote the use of the Urdu language in the face of British colonial policies that sought to promote English and marginalize the existing languages widely used for literary and adminstartive purpose. It has alienated or made unfit to all those who were trained in either Persian or Urdu language from adminstartive postions especially in education and legal services. Change in language from Persian/Urdu and its burden was borne by the Muslim and their struggles were multifaceted and had cultural, political, and social implications.

The complexities and challenges in translating Urdu texts into English existed from the early phase of Urdu-English translation that began in the colonial period. During this period, translators generally followed domesticating strategies, a translation practice of making the source text closely conform to the culture of the language being translated (Mansour 28). Domesticating strategies were used to make the source text more acceptable to the target

[15] The earliest Urdu-English translation was the translation of Mir Amman's *Bagho-Bahar* by Duncan Forbes in 1857. QurratulainHyder translated her work *River of Fire* into English, giving her international recognition in the post-partition period. Another Urdu-English translation was the translation of the poetry of Ghalib, one of the renowned Urdu poets, in 1957 by JL Koul. It gave Ghalib more recognition in the international community. HadiRuswa's novel *UmraoJaan Ada*, on which two Hindi films were made, had to wait more than seven decades to be translated into English. English translation of Intazar Hussain's *Basti* by Frances W. Pritchett is another landmark in the history of Urdu-English translation. In 2006, Mohammad Asaduddin translated some of the famous Urdu stories into English. Muhamad Umar Memon translated selected stories of Manto, Premchand, QurratulainHyder, Islmat Chughtai, Ashfaq Ahmad, and Intizar Hussain under the title *An Epic Unwritten*, providing international recognition for Urdu literature. The translation of Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah's autobiography as *Flames of Chinar* by Khushwant Singh also received wide attention.

audience. In such practices, the translated text is sometimes condensed, simplified, improved upon and refined for the convenience of acceptability among the target audience, which may have consequences but was considered an inevitable corollary. Some of the issues that I encountered during my translation endeavour are: redundancy or clutter; repetition of themes; peculiar/particular oratoaryecricture; inter as well as intra lingual quotations without references; reproduction of long passages from published and other sources without references; diversions and ruminations; use of very local words and phrases with different resonances; use of same words in contexts with different connotations in English; untranslatability of words and phrases; and, use of synonyms without correspondence in English.

Geelani's autobiography is in Urdu language using the script *Noori Nastalik* but it is a complex blend of Persian, Arabic, Punjabi, and other local dialects which makes the text difficult even for a Kashmiri. Further, Geelani has also included poetry and Quranic verses often without a clear causal sequence, rendering it unsuitable for both insiders and outsiders. Wary that most readers may lack such proficiency, and may hence also lose interest, I have tired to use simple language as much as possible in my translation.

Geelani seems to have three main objectives while writing his autobiography, namely (i) to bring awareness about the "dispute of Jammu and Kashmir," (ii) to unite the Muslim nation *(Ummah)* and (iii) the expansion of Islam. In the tussle between India and Pakistan, the narrative representing Kashmiris' voices and aspirations does not get space. Hence this autobiography attempts to bridge the gap by discussing the regional-communitarian discourse of Kashmir and the nationalist discourse of India. The first volume contains 100 chapters, including four prefaces, out of which I have selected only 10 chapters, including only the second preface, in this thesis. The first volume contains an account of his personal life, of some

significant historical and political issues and of the expansion of *Jama'at-i-Islami* Jammu and Kashmir (JIJ&K) until 1970. The author gives his perspective of the historical background of Kashmir and provides an overview of "Kashmiri Identity," which he crafted from the history of Shahmiri dynasty,[16] and by constructing this historical continuity he claimed political sovereignty to the Kashmiri identity. By challenging the occupation of Jammu and Kashmir, he argued that the demand for political sovereignty is embedded in Kashmir's identity. In this volume, his critique of state secularism and democracy comes to life as he quotes a couplet by Allama Iqbal: "In the name of democracy, the state is ruled by dictatorship."

The second volume is spread across 98 chapters, including two prefaces, the first preface being by the publisher, out of which I have selected 19 chapters, including the second preface. This volume encompasses significant personal and political issues from 1975 to 1995. Geelani observes that "Red-Imperialism"[17] and "White-Imperialism"[18] have both shed massive human blood and that both imperialisms are working against the Muslims. Islam emerges as a critique of the secular nationalist conundrum in this volume as he argues that "to struggle" (جہدوجہد) is the character of Islam. According to Geelani, for the people of Jammu and Kashmir, the biggest challenge is the "Quagmire of Slavery." God will not send his angels to take people out from

[16] The Shahmiri Dynasty of Kashmir, also known as the Shah Mir Dynasty, was a Muslim dynasty that ruled the Kashmir Valley and some adjacent areas in the Indian subcontinent from the early 14th century until the mid-16th century. The dynasty was founded by Shah Mir, a Muslim adventurer from Swat in Pakistan, who arrived in the Kashmir Valley in the early 14th century and established himself as a ruler. The most famous ruler of the Shahmiri Dynasty was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who is also known as Budshah (the Great King). He ruled from 1420 to 1470 and is credited for promoting art, literature, and religious tolerance in Kashmir. During his reign, the Kashmiri language and culture flourished, and the region became known as a center of learning and scholarship.The Shahmiri Dynasty came to an end in the mid-16th century when the last Shahmiri ruler, Ibrahim Shah, was overthrown by a rebellion led by the Chak Dynasty.

[17] Red Imperalism is a term sometimes used to describe the expansionist policies and influence of communist countries, particularly the Soviet Union and China, during the Cold War. The term suggests that these countries were engaging in a form of imperialism, similar to that of traditional empires, but under the guise of promoting communist ideology and revolutionary movements around the world.

[18] White Imperialism is a term sometimes used to describe the historical era of colonialism, in which European powers established empires through the colonization and exploitation of non-European territories and peoples. The term suggests that this was a form of imperialism driven by the white European desire for power, resources, and control over other cultures and peoples.

the sludge of slavery; instead, people have to carve a way out, relying on their culture as well as imagination.

The third and final volume comprises of 94 chapters, including two prefaces, the first one being by the publisher, out which I have included only 17 chapters, including the author's preface. The third volume brings to light the major issues that torment Kashmir in contemporary times. He deliberates at length about the importance of immediately resolving the Kashmir issue, the religious dimension of the Kashmir issue, the way by which the Indian state uses factionalism within the resistance movement, the importance of making use of all those who are ready for a dialogue with the Kashmiris from within India, the resolution of Kashmiri Pundits' problems by reserving separate colonies for them, etc. The third volume also contains 41 colour and black-white photographs, providing glimpses into Geelani's life, with descriptive captions, of various activities, like playing badminton, in conversation, at meetings and rallies, of troop withdrawal, etc. For example, a photograph dated 8th November 2013 states: "Abhi to main jawanhoon" or "I am still young!"

Two aspects of his autobiography can be cited here. One is his approach to Islam. He views Islam as the legitimizing factor of the Kashmiri resistance movement. He envisions the Kashmir freedom struggle within the framework of Islam which provides him with a broad religious and cosmic framework. Through the pages of *Wular Kinare*, Islam emerges as the critique of a secular modern democratic Indian state, constituted in line with the European Enlightenment principles that co-constituted religion and state. Even as this irks the secular nationalist ethos, Geelani's views have to be re-read in the renewed understanding of secular as always already theological, which is expounded by many scholars.

Islamic scholars and thinkers have expressed diverse opinions on the compatibility between Islam and secularism. Somes cholars such as Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, Akeel Bilgrami, and Jocelyne Cesari,Tariq Ramadan, Fethullah Gülen, and Khaled Abou El Fadl, among many others, argue that Islam is inherently secular, as it upholds principles such as justice, equality and individual rights, which are consistent with the principles of secularism. They argue that the Quranic teachings emphasize the importance of free will and personal responsibility, and do not advocate for the imposition of religious beliefs on others. They also point out that the concept of "*ijtihad*," or independent reasoning, in Islam allows for flexibility and adaptation to changing circumstances, which is compatible with secularism's emphasis on reason and rationality. For instance, Islamic scholar Fazlur Rahman argues that Islam is fully compatible with secularism, as it recognizes the distinction between the religious and temporal spheres and allows for the exercise of free will and independent reasoning within the framework of Islamic principles (Rahman, 1982). Similarly, scholar Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im argues for the compatibility of Islam and secularism, as he believes that secularism provides a framework for protecting religious freedom and human rights, which are central to Islamic teachings (An-Na'im, 2008). On the other hand, some secular scholars and critics argue that Islam is inherently incompatible with secularism, as it integrates religion and state, and does not provide for a clear separation between the two spheres. They argue that Islamic law, known as *Sharia*, governs all aspects of life, including social, political, and legal matters, and is not compatible with the idea of a neutral state that treats all religions and beliefs equally. They also highlight instances where religious authorities in Muslim-majority countries have imposed strict interpretations of *Sharia*, leading to restrictions on individual freedoms and human rights. For instance, Esposito and DeLong Bas argue that *Sharia*, as interpreted and applied in many Muslim-majority countries, is fundamentally incompatible with secularism, as it does not recognize the distinction between religion and state, and does not provide for the protection of

individual freedoms (Esposito et al, 2018). Similarly, Sam Harris argues that Islam, as practiced in many parts of the world, is incompatible with secularism, as it promotes a system of governance based on religious dogma and does not allow for the exercise of free will and individual rights (Harris, 2012). In conclusion, the compatibility of Islam and secularism is a complex and nuanced topic that has been debated by scholars and communities with varying perspectives. While some argue that Islam and secularism are compatible based on Quranic principles such as free will, *shura*, and the idea of a neutral state, others hold a contrary view.

Another aspect of *Wular Kinare* is Geelani's constant attempt to propose an alternate history to the mainstream nationalist history. In his autobiography and in most of his speeches and writings, Geelani uses one word, which becomes a key word to understanding his vision. That is "betrayal." He uses this as a strategy to remind the past injustices done to the Kashmiris, especially the betrayal committed against the Kashmiri people. The history of Kashmir in its singular relation to India is also a history of betrayal, according to Geelani. His writing therefore is a reminder of how Kashmir remains a remainder in the Indian imagination.

While discussing *Wular Kinare*, its language and the sources it refers to should also be mentioned. The vernacular-cosmopolitanism of Urdu is a recurrent motif in Geelani, in poetics as well as politics, which was manifested when he walked out of an Assembly session in protest for not allowing him to speak in Urdu, which is the official language of the state. Geelani uses very refined Urdu language in his autobiography, along with occasional drifting into Persian, Arabic, Kashmiri and Punjabi languages as well. He extensively uses Quranic verses, and its interpretation is largely taken from the *Tahfeemmul Quran*. The text also abundantly contains around five hundred couplets in various languages including Urdu, Persian, Arabic and Kashmiri, contributing to its multiligual textual universe. This multilingual textuality makes

the process of translation equally exciting and challenging, as often they appear without any references to the sources, almost as if they are part and parcel of the everyday life and the repertoire of common knowledge.

Well, I already talked about the indeterminacy of whether *Wular Kinare* is an autobiography or more or less. The fragmentary nature of his writing, abruptness and diversions pose a critique to the chronological and linear constitution of autobiography in general. Similar indeterminacy also extends to the translation endeavour. Hence, I have not tried to overcome the untranslatability by adapting to the target language, rather propose untranslatability as symptomatic of the Kashmir question itself. Publishing the first volume of his autobiography when 83, Geelani may not have been all that cued into the autobiography marketing at the national and international levels. Or, probably, he was more cued in than most of us and was deeply aware of the various political as well as personal dimensions and was still insisting that Kashmiris in and from Kashmir also "write" autobiographies.

At a time when Comparative Literature is still flexing and being refurbished by ever newer positionalities and strategies, when translation itself is still being touted as the new Messiah, when untranlatability almost became a virtue, I also realized that SA Geelani lived his life among various imponderables and any attempt to translate his multi-volume "auto-bio-graphy" will also have to be necessarily open, as Kashmir.

Chapter One

Selected Translations from Volume One

Second Preface [October 2011 edition]

The book *Wular Kinare* Vol-I released at Grand Mumtaz Hotel [Srinagar] on 7th July, 2011. Copies of the books had arrived from New Delhi and were sold during the release function. As one commentator observed, "the books sold like hot cakes." Another set of copies reached the venue and once again people flocked around the sellers to purchase their copies. Witnessing such excitement, the bookseller shared with an English daily, *The Rising Kashmir* that, "I have never seen such a demand for any book, as much as I saw for *On the Shores of Wular* in my entire life.'' After seeing such a demand for this book, my gratitude to Allah is not enough. I am also thankful to the learned, victimised community. I am hopeful that the treasure of the future [the younger generation of Kashmir], which [Kashmir] has been enslaved for centuries, will get up from the quagmire of disappointments, sadness and show determination. On one hand, they [the young generation] will continue to resist imperial forces, and on the other hand, they will serve collective humanity in general and the interests of the Muslim nation, in particular. They will be guided by the writings and thoughts of those who work for the interest of the community. And whatever they receive will be passed on to their well-wishers.

Don't be disheartened, O Iqbal! From your barren land,
Oh cup bearer, if a little moist, this soil can still bear fruit! (Allama Iqbal)

While I was writing this new preface for a second edition, all 2000 copies which were published earlier have been sold and the book is out of stock. They have reached the readers. Hence, I have felt the need to republish this edition, as the demand for the book has increased.

The Book "*Imprints of Iqbal* نقوشِ اقبال" is written by Moulana Syed Abu Al Hassan Nadvi; the preface of which was written by Allama Iqbal's son. It has a sentence "Those who are alien can be made known / on certain occasion those who are known become alien" which suits this book as well.

> We make those acquaintances who are not familiar,
> Sometimes even familiar people become unfamiliar / strangers. (Allama Iqbal)

Many reviews have been written of my book. I am thankful to each and everybody. I am a firm believer that not only praise, but criticisms too should be accepted gracefully. It is like a mirror pointing out our shortcomings. It is always best to address these shortcomings rather than break the mirror.

Dr. Shaikh Showkat does not need any introduction; he is a professor in the Department of Law in Kashmir University. He is a well-known columnist, critic and commentator. On 30th of July 2011, in the English daily *Greater Kashmir* he wrote a review of the book and he did not find this book up to his expectations. He read the draft and final copy of the manuscript. He suggested not to give too many details of personal experience and incidents, but rather focus on the political history of the era. As a response to his suggestions and comments that I have mentioned in the First Preface I would like to say that I am not writing history but my autobiography. In any author's life, there are different phases of life such as childhood, youth and old age. If different phases are not mentioned in an autobiography, how will the readers understand the objective, the axis and the different phases of the writer. Otherwise, the readers will never know the author's past. As far as our history is concerned, a lot has been written. Even today, when a historian sits and writes history, he has to glean through whatever has been written so far. He cannot begin writing or disclose anything new until then. Our history is the

tale of slavery that is like the darkest night, for the freedom of which our nation has given abundant and matchless sacrifices. Despite that, the first light of freedoms' dawn is yet to be seen; the fundamental reason being deception and rogue traits of our own people. They have ambiguous aims and objectives. They were opportunistic: "they go where the wind blows them." This region of Jammu and Kashmir became a Muslim dominated region after the arrival of Syed Mir Ali Hamdani and his continuous hard work and his sincere efforts.

> From 1310-1552, [Kashmir was] ruled by indigenous Muslim rulers. From 1510-1715, there was Mughal rule, then until 1819 they were ruled by the Governors of Afghanistan. And in 1819, when throughout the Indian sub-subcontinent, the decline of Muslim rule began and Muslim empire was falling apart, losing their control and independence, Sikhs attacked Kashmir, took over and ruled until 1846. The Sikh rulers were very oppressive and they brutalized Muslim majority community. This added another disgraceful chapter, and similar examples cannot be located in Indian History. Meanwhile the British took over India and established a stronger grip on its kingdom; they later defeated the Sikh ruler and Jammu and Kashmir was sold to a landlord of Jammu, Gulab Singh for seventy five thousands Nanak Shai Takas, which today amounts to almost 50,00,000 Lakhs or one million dollars. Which means every Kashmiri was technically worth Rs.7 only; this tragic incident took place on March, 12th 1846, and is also known as the Treaty of Amritsar. This is the day when Dogra rule started over Kashmir, the successor of which is the Indian Nation State and its agents. (Maudoodi, 1998)

> They sold the peasants, fields, and streets, and sold them cheaply,
> They even sold the entire community and sold them cheaply. (Allama Iqbal)

Post-Dogra oppression, from 1947 to 2011, is the history of occupation, suppression and brutality of the security forces of the Indian State. At the receiving end of this brutality has been the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It [Kashmir as the Paradise on Earth] is known for its its meadows, waterfalls, gardens, mountains, lakes, doors, walls, moon, sun, the old and young, women and men, forests, walls of jails, 500 graveyards of martyrs, and thousands of injured, handicapped, and incarcerated people who were punished with a life sentence in jail or capital punishment.

> In Demos-dress let tyranny's old demon-dance be seen.
>
> Your fancy calls up liberty's blue-mantled fairy queen. (Allama Iqbal)

If Dr. Showkat has pointed out the lacunae related to the historicity of this book, he must be aware that this history is ubiquitous and everyone knows it. I have spent days and nights under the shadows of oppression. Even today I am contributing to breaking the bond established by this unjust leadership.

> For what you have upon yourself. Allah is surely not unjust to his creatures, (they are unjust to themselves. (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 8:51)[1]

On August 5th, 2011, in the English daily Rising Kashmir, Zaffer Chowdary, while commenting on this book wrote, "only six pages have been written about the arrest of SM Abdullah. While looking at the book, I presumed that a comprehensive analysis of the history of Kashmir would be in it, but, after I read it, I found the book contains personal incidents only." To him, my response is that, on the cover page it has been written that it is an autobiography. However, if

[1] All footnotes are by the translator and all translations, except of the Quran and Allama Iqbal, are by the translator. Translations from the Quran are from Zafar Ishaq's translation *Towards Understanding the Quran* of Maudoodi's *Tafhim-ul Quran*. For Iqbal's verses, I have relied on http://iqbalurdu.blogspot.com/, often using my own judgement and modifications.

you read the personal information, you will realise that this should not be the reason to reject the authenticity of this work. About the late SM Abdullah, more details will come in volume II: it will include the meeting at Kotla lane three; an exemplary welcome after his release from incarceration in 1964; discussion with leaders of Indian state, especially with senior journalists; Peoples Convention of 1970 and meeting with the late Jay Prakash Narayan and Accord of 1975; interaction with SM Abdullah in the Assembly when he became Chief Minister; his death in 1982; and, my participation in his funeral prayers. If Allah wills it, all these incidents will come in chronological order. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah [SM Abdullah] was arrested on 9th August followed by his release in 1958 for a short period. During this period, his associate and lieutenant Mirza Muhammad Afzal Baig, formed the Plebiscite Front (PF) of which SM Abdullah never became a member. But, as a patron, he had been monitoring its affairs. It was under his leadership that the slogans of plebiscite became very popular among the majority of Jammu and Kashmir. He was rearrested and incarcerated which lasted until April 1964. That is how the prominent leader spent 11 years of incarceration because of his 'best friend' [Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru]. Even in jails delicious food is served, and comfortable bedding is provided; yet, incarceration is incarceration and is against human nature and desire for freedom; it is the worst form of imperialism. One should not remain silent and should condemn it. I am dejected and sad for him [SM Abdullah] because even though he recited the Holy *Quran* in a melodious voice, he neither abided by its teachings nor accepted its guidance. The Allah in Holy Quran says:

> Let not the believers make the disbelievers their friends and take them into their confidence in preference to the believers. Whoever will do this shall have no relation left with Allah; however your show of friendship towards them will be pardonable, if you do so to guard against their tyranny, anyhow Allah warns you to fear him because to him you shall return. (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 3: 28)

Interpretation: That is, if a believer falls into the bands of the enemies of Islam and is afraid of maltreatment and high-handedness, he may conceal his Faith, and live among them as if he were one of them or, if they come to know of his Faith, he may make a show of his friendship towards them to save his life. In case of extreme fear, he is permitted even to disown his Faith, if he feels that he is not strong enough to endure their oppression.

This is the admonition:

> Let not the fear of the people dominate over you so much as to drive out the fear of Allah from your hearts. The greatest harm the people can do to you is to confine you to the worldly life only, but Allah has the power to inflict an everlasting torment on you. Therefore, if you are forced in a case of extremity to hide your Faith due to any danger to your life, you may save your own life and property, provided that you do not in any way harm the interests of the Islamic mission and the Islamic community or the life or property of any Muslim. At the same time, you must remain on your guard against becoming the instrument in the hands of disbelievers so as to strengthen the evil forces against Islam and render any service to the disbelievers that might enable them to overpower the Muslims. Remember that, if to save your life, you do any kind of harm to the religion of Allah or to the community of the faithful or even to the person of a single believer, or if you render any real service to the rebels against Allah, you will never be able to save yourselves on the Day of Reckoning, when you shall have at last to return to Allah. (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, Volume-I, 1972)

> O believers, do not hold unbelievers as friends in preference to the faithful. Do you want to proffer a clear proof of your own guilt before Allah? (Towards Understanding the Quran, 4:144)

You will find that the most hostile of all people in their enmity to the Believers are the Jews and the *mushriqs*. (*Towards Understanding the Quran,* 5: 82)

Today, every word of the Holy Quran's prophecy has proved to be true. We can see with our own eyes that all the Muslim nations are subjected to oppression and brutality in every corner of the world, mostly either by Jews or by Polytheists. We cannot deny the fact that individually and collectively Muslims do not abide by Islamic teachings. Fifty-seven countries are ruled by Muslims; if they would have implemented a justice and equality system guided by the Holy Holy Quran and Sunnah, not only for the 'dead Muslim nation' but for the entire humanity, it would have provided an effective aid and assistance so that the oppressed would have been set free from the clutches of the oppressors. But, alas today's Muslims are more 'ethnic' rather than being 'real or pious.' The same painful situation has been picturized by Allama Iqbal in his couplet:

From Christians you have learnt your style, your culture from Hindus;

How can a race as Muslims pass who shame even the Jews? (Allama Iqbal)

The reason for the decline of Muslims and their slavery is entrenched in not obeying the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah and distancing from the fountainhead of guidance and following individually and collectively falsehoods and man-made misguided ideologies. Those leaders who diverted the 'Muslim Nation' from centrality of *Ummah* [2] and were trapped into the vicious net of communism, socialism, nationalism, patriotism are responsible for the Muslim Nation's devastation. The Muslim countries have not implemented a complete Islamic justice system. In some countries, 'Islamic Law' is partially implemented, as a result the rate

[2] The "Ummah" refers to the global community of Muslims, united by their faith. It is not a physical entity that can be created or built like a foot. Instead, the concept of Ummah represents the collective identity, shared values, and solidarity among Muslims worldwide. It encompasses diverse cultures, languages, and nationalities, while fostering a sense of unity and mutual support.

of crime is relatively less, but these countries are seen as a major concern by the imperialist countries which have been spending huge amounts of energy to enforce secularism so that in these countries moral decadence can be implemented.

On 6th of August 2011, in the Urdu daily *Buland Kashmir,* Abul Rafeh Rasool said that Geelani is accused of "sabotaging 2010 agitation." If such an abominable accusation, directly and indirectly, had come from somewhere else, I would not have been disappointed, but when Rafeh Rasool repeated and referred to the same accusation levelled against me by others, that was painful. I dedicated my entire life to the freedom struggle and did whatever I was capable of and was possible. This is my firm belief that on the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir, the forceful occupation of Indian security forces is illegal, immoral, inhumane and undemocratic. That is why I consider the struggle against this occupation as worship of Allah. I do not have an iota of doubt that our struggle is not within the ambit of worship, and that only sincere intentions are required. If we rise above personal, factional fights, materialistic benefits and continue this struggle with firm belief and determination, then victory is our destiny.

In 2010, when the slogan 'Go India Go Back' was raised, most of the resistance leaders were put in the Central Jail and Cheshma Shahi Sub Jail. On 11th June, 2010, Tufail Mattoo's martyrdom led to the continuation of brutality and highhandedness of the police and Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), resulting in an increase in the number of martyrs. People protested and agitated by observing complete shutdown against these innocent killings and bloodshed. Masarat Alam Bhat, who was then the General Secretary of Jammu and Kashmir All Party Hurriyat Conference (J&KAPHC) released a protest calendar against this brutality and suppression. Mohammad Ashraf Sahrai, Ghulam Nabi Sumjhe and other senior leaders of *Thareek-e- Hurriyat* and *Hurriyat Conference* were incarcerated. In the Sub Jail, Cheshma

Shahi, when I was indirectly asked this question as to whether I was consulted as a chairman of Jammu and Kashmir All Party Hurriyat Conference (J&KAPHC) to release a protest calendar, I without mincing words, said that I was not consulted. This is the fact. Although in 2009 we had raised the slogan of complete withdrawal of security forces. For that we led an awareness campaign in districts. I was part of the 2009 agitation and had endorsed the slogan 'Go India Go Back' then. Although, in these protest programs of 2009, when district wise protest programs were released, we kept in mind the concerns and inconvenience of the common man. But in today's continuous protests and demonstration programs, the state, police and CRPF use enormous power. Along with that, the severest curfew was implemented, which made the lives of common people miserable. This situation has created enormous problems for us. In this situation, there is no opinion maker from any forum or organisation available. With lots of difficulties, sometimes three or four colleagues are available; as per the need they are consulted. The delegation too have been visiting me, such as The Economics Alliance, Hotel Owners Association, people from the businessmen community and transporters have updated me about the situation and given their valuable suggestions. I had selected a few thinkers / intellectuals who were called often to discuss the protest calendar and the appalling situation of the people in curfew and in restriction. In spite of enormous difficulties and restrictions, we continued the struggle. The Urdu daily, *Aftab*, published news that till 23rd August, 2010, sixty two people were martyred and three thousand were injured. The whole oppressed nation was in grief and in mourning. On 16th of August, under the custody of Superintendent of Police (SP) Hazratbal, I was taken from Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Science (SKIMS)[3] to my residence Hyderapora and prior to my arrival the police team were already stationed at my residence and this is how my house arrest began. In fact, the release was a hoax and my home

[3] SKIMS, the Sher-i-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences (SKIMS) is a renowned medical institution. There have been rumors suggesting a possible name change following the abrogation of Article 370. According to these rumors, the institution might be renamed as the Shri Krishna Medical Institute of Sciences.

was transformed into a prison. Muhammad Akbar Sofi Alias Bisati from Sopore, whose contribution to the movement is unforgettable, was brought back from Delhi hospital to his home, but passed away on his way back home. I wanted to attend his funeral prayer and as I stepped outside, I was arrested and taken to the JIC Humhammah Police Station, where I spent the whole night with chest pain. Even a doctor was called during the night but there was no relief from the pain. On the second day again, I was sent to SKIMS.

In SKIMS, while being treated, I held a press conference and disclosed whatever had transpired between me and the different delegates, whoever had visited me in Cheshma Shahi Sub Jail. The Indian state, its agencies such as the army, security forces and so-called civil government, tried to cover up their enormous cruelty as they highlighted the acts of a few individuals. The print-electronic media and propaganda machinery are completely in their control which is why our peaceful struggle is interpreted as terrorism and has been given a disrepute. We have never denied that whenever our brave young men peacefully protest, the security forces, in order to stop them at gunpoint, use teargas shells, and physical assaults. And when at night the Rapid Action Force (RAF) pelted stones at their homes, to stop them and in reaction, they [the young men] were forced to resort to stone pelting. But there are some aberrations too, which result in random shooting at young people. The unlawful use of power of the occupying forces and police have compelled the young warriors to adopt this path. But occasionally, it has been either excessively used or misused; because of this, our young men need to be careful. Once I was being taken in a police vehicle from Cheshma Shahi Sub Jail to SKIM for medical check-up. When we reached near Nowshera, a group of boys pelted stones at our vehicle. The driver of J&K police jumped out of the vehicle and took shelter in a tiny street, and I was left in the vehicle at the mercy of the stone-pelters. When stone pelting did not stop, I took a risk and got out of the police vehicle. With a loud voice I told the stone pelters who I was and that I was

being taken to the hospital. I asked them to stop pelting stones. When they realized it was me, they were apologetic and came crying to me. The driver had run away. The youngsters brought their own car and took me to SKIMS. On another occasion, in Hyderpora after morning prayers, I had chest pain and I was unconscious. Naseem Zaffer was called, and we left for SKIMS in our own car. When we reached Zonimer, a 13 year old boy with a one kg stone was aiming at our car. My son rolled down the window panes and yelled at the boy that he was taking Geelani to the hospital. He asked the child, "On whom you want to throw this stone?" That is how we were saved from the 'love' of this innocent boy.

This is also a fact that I have advised young folks that whenever police and security forces stop them, they must sit on the road and continue their peaceful protest, and they followed my instruction. But in Pulwama district, a procession was heading from Newh village towards town and at that time police and security forces stopped them. They sat down on the road. The security forces still randomly shot at the peaceful protesters. One young man was martyred and dozens were injured. This is the worst form of state terrorism, which our persecuted nation is facing. I continue to help this nation and by the grace of Allah and his guidance on every front. I have remained firm and persistent. It was a one hundred seventeen days protest and hundred day's strictest curfew. From December, 2010 to January, 2011, I stayed in Srinagar. On 27th January, 2011 after 141 days of house arrest, I left for New Delhi for medical check-up. In 2010, all together 121 Kashmiris were martyred and three thousand were injured; while some were made completely physically handicapped, some lost eyesight, many were hit so badly that their legs, arms and head were broken. As Hafeez Merathi said:

God! These wounds of un-fateful events on a man's heart,

Wonder! How many stones were broken on the flower?

Keeping these circumstances in mind, you [the reader] can decide how and where I sabotaged the struggle. One hundred seventeen days of protest, hundred day's harshest curfew, the colossal numbers of martyrs and injured: how can this situation be continued? The Indian State has been adopting a policy for the past sixty-four years, which has choked and suffocated us [Kashmiris] so that we cannot breathe. This blood shed of the oppressed has led the Indian State to feel satisfied and overjoyed. However, the Indian State pretends to be concerned. In view of this, they send Parliamentary Delegations, interlocutors and sometimes give statements in the Parliament along the lines of saying that "Kashmir dispute is a broken promise," but nothing practical is done to address this broken promise. On the other side, our weakness is also showing some results. Along with this, the over ambitious SM Abdullah on that *Chanakya*[4] politicians of Indian nation state get opportunities to misguide their own people and to project a distorted picture of Kashmir to the world. After the struggle of 2008, the participation in assembly elections of 2009 was indeed a detestable act for the freedom struggle of Jammu and Kashmir.

Harder than death is what thou call'st slavery,

That slaves understand their master's artifice." (Allama Iqbal)

A few Kashmiri Pandit families were relocated in a camp in Vaishu village of Kulgam and were residing in safe zones. To keep Pundits in safe zones is not an acceptable act for us, they can live in their own respective places. Sanjay Saraf, an acquaintance, told me that the Pundits who were living in safe zones desired to meet me. They wanted to express their unity and concern, they strongly desired to meet me. He suggested that I can visit their camp and hear their problems and express my solidarity and sympathy and also support them. Therefore, we

[4] Chanakya was a counselor and adviser to Chandragupta (reigned c. 321–c. 297), founder of the Mauryan Empire of northern India. He was instrumental in helping Chandragupta overthrow the powerful Nanda dynasty at Pataliputra, in the Magadha region.

went as a delegation to speak to them and requested them to return to the Valley, to be assured of Muslim's brotherhood. It is also shared that the centuries' old tradition of brotherhood and the spirit of being a good neighbour has been practised and will continue. They need not fear their neighbour. Our struggle is against the Indian State, it is not a communal fight against any individual or community; it is not a Hindu-Muslim fight. We have not taken this step to appease a particular community, our step is to honour and respect the values of humanity and morality. Islam extensively teaches about respect, as said in Bani-Israel: Human has been bestowed respect upon.

And as Allama Iqbal said:

Humanity is respect for human beings, be aware of the status of being human.

Our struggle is peaceful but the State is compelling us to divert the peaceful struggle. At gunpoint, dissenting voices are forced shut. Through draconian laws, incarcerations, arrests and crackdowns are forced on us. The youth are arrested from colleges and universities and incarcerated in jails of Jammu. At gunpoint, women are dishonoured and raped. The young people are accused of stone pelting and they were arrested under Public Safety Act (PSA) and some are sent 350 miles outside the Kashmir valley and are made helpless. Within the Kashmir valley the state wants to create a graveyard like silence. But we have to stand united, show determination and continue our struggle. This is the only assurance of our victory.

In the Urdu daily, *Kashmir Uzma,* on 9th August 2011, S.M. Peerzada referred to the debate of 1956, in which I participated as a teacher and critiqued Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence (*ahimsa*). In this world, without authority and power, oppression and infidelity cannot be dealt with. The objection of SM. Peerzada was that "today's Geelani is talking about 'peaceful struggle' and declares stone pelting harmful." This is a contradiction between the past and

contemporary Geelani. *Janaab* Peerzada must understand that Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence was rejected during his lifetime, when a young Hindu man killed him and put him to eternal sleep. The same 'nation state' which called him 'father of the nation' (*Bapu*) has put unarmed and peaceful people of the valley into the clutches of ten lakh armed personnel who are crushing the philosophy of non-violence under their heavy boots. This has failed Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence too. As far as our movement is concerned, it is against the forceful occupation of the Indian State and our struggle is based on truth (صداقت). The plebiscite which has been promised by the Indian State and for the same, 18 resolutions of the United Nations Organization have been passed. The sacrifice of six lakh people, since 1947, justifies our claim based on truth. We will continue our struggle, if Allah wills, who is all Powerful and Willing. Through His guidance, 'victory will be our destiny.'

The phrase 'peaceful struggle' is completely misunderstood by people and when previous editions of this book were published, some people expressed their concerns in this regard. Therefore, the misunderstanding of the concept of peace and war in Islam needs some clarification. In Islam, peace is a permanent entity whereas war is temporary and accidental. It is supposed to be held at the time of crisis. To overcome the crisis, the use of force is not only allowed, but also necessary. However, certain caveats have to be applied as it is meant for a limited period of time with certain conditions. For faithful Muslims, peace and war is the fight between truth (*Haq*) and falsehood (*Batil*). Muslims have to partake in it to prove that they are 'faithful' and make 'truth' victorious. The other name of 'Islamic Jihad' is 'Martyrdom for Truth', which means witnessing 'truth through physical act' and to stand by it, even by endangering life. Respect and wealth have to be offered as sacrifice for the collective good and for the sake of humanity. This *Jihad* means 'perfect struggle.' The pious man of Allah (a *momin*) has to follow the order of Allah strongly in every aspect and every moment of life.

In their passion, in their zeal, in their love; Thee o Lord, they aim at martyrdom,

Neither the riches from the conquests, nor the rule of the earth. (Allama Iqbal)

Sayyid Abdul A'ls Maudoodi elaborates how to establish Islamic law in a state thus:

> Every struggle that establishes Allah's religion is Jihad. Likewise, whoever exalts the oneness of God and Prophet-hood and sacrifices his life to establish Islami Islamic Law on earth, no doubt he is a martyr. Allah will reward him for his intentions and martyrdom. This is the promise of Allah. (Maudoodi, 1930)

On the importance of peace in Islam, Shaheed Qutub, a commentator of The Holy Quran, says:

> Islam, with its guiding principles, seeks to establish profound peace, security, and tranquility by upholding Allah's Law. However, it does not initiate this process by focusing solely on international peace. Rather, bringing peace between nations is the culmination rather than the starting point of the endeavour. It represents the final step in a series of preceding measures required to achieve peace at the global level.
>
> At first, Islam induces peace in the conscience of the person, then family, within the nation, then among the different communities and nations. In the beginning he establishes peace between individuals and Allah. Then within himself, then within groups, then between groups, then establishes a peaceful relationship with government, then after all these steps peaceful relationship is built among the kingdoms.
>
> To reach its destination, a long way has to be covered. On this path he travels from the well-being of the conscious to the wellbeing of the family, society, and at last for the well-being of the whole world, he takes a long journey. (Maudoodi, 1930)

As far as the 'Dispute of Jammu and Kashmir' is concerned, it is historically proven and accepted that it is a 'disputed region.' The Indian nation-state put roughly eight lakhs armed

forces in Jammu and Kashmir to crush Kashmiri Muslims. The huge deployment of armed forces, on such a tiny piece of land, is seen as a constant threat to the peaceful situation of the region. On 13th of July, 1931, when all of a sudden 22 innocent Kashmiris were martyred by the Dogra regime: who is the perpetrator of the violence? In August 1947, the future of the people of the Indian subcontinent was decided, by which the Indian nation-state hatched a conspiracy to cheat the people of Jammu and Kashmir and occupied their region. Even then, did the people of Jammu and Kashmir create anarchy? Until 1988, the people of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) had used all the peaceful and democratic means to claim their fundamental right of plebiscite. But the rigging of the election in 1988, followed by mass arrest of active members of Muslim United Front (MUF), led to unrest among the youth towards the election process. This compelled them to take up arms against the occupation of the Indian State as their trust on the ballot system was shattered. They were left with no other option; hence, they chose bullet over ballot. In 1994, a sizable number of combatants got trapped in the net of deception laid by the Indian State. They were brainwashed which resulted in huge losses to the freedom struggle. I have mentioned it in most of my writings through print and electronic media and also in public speeches. I warned the common man about this chronic disease. But, it is also a known truth that there were a few groups of armed men who lived only for Islam and died for it.

It is their struggles, contribution and martyrdoms, that 'Kashmir Issue' is brought out of the cold storage and has gotten international attention. They nurtured the land of Kashmir with their hot blood and achieved martyrdom. I have previously discussed this topic in my earlier books, including "Seen and Heard" (دید و شنید), "The Voice of Freedom" (نوا ے حُیرت), and "Return from Death" (مقتل سے واپشی). I encourage interested readers to refer to these books for a more in-depth understanding, as there is no need to delve into it further here.

In 2008, after the ‘Amaranth Land’ dispute, the public movement started in which 78 young men were martyred. Who had misused power? In 2009, after the Shopian episode, 22 innocent people were martyred! Who did it and why? In 2010-11, from Inayatullah Khan to Nazem Rasheed, 123 young men were martyred. What explosives did they possess? Did they carry ammunition or weapons? Was that the reason for their killing? In the rarest of the rare cases, people die during stone pelting, however killing of the innocent people by the security forces is the norm in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

After so many killings and massive arrests, where children were not spared, how can the youth be silent? Their reaction is natural and is the sign of a living nation. But I have repeatedly told the youngsters not to initiate the use of power, but to have patience and be courageous and continue their struggle as per Islamic principles. The majority of youngsters do not enjoy holding stones in their hands. Rather, it is a reaction towards the misuse of power by Indian occupied forces and the state police. But there are some miscreants who become the reason to bring a bad repute to the holy struggle. The mainstream political parties for their petty gains use the same miscreants but the leaders of freedom struggle are held responsible instead. We have condemned such acts in the past, present and will do so in the future as well. If Allah wills. The real culprit for the violence is the occupational armed forces. Once this occupation is over, ‘peace’ will prevail. Hence, the Indian nation state should take immediate steps to address the long standing political disputes of Jammu and Kashmir. It may happen that enthusiastic young men would take up arms instead of stones and this may lead to the situation of 1990. Today, on what grounds the leaders of the ‘freedom movement’, activists and ordinary people are incarcerated? They protested peacefully. Neither did they throw stones nor did they take up arms, but they are still incarcerated! Now, the reaction is natural and response at this

juncture is important. We raise slogans of peace, and the issue can be resolved through peaceful means only, but the Indian nation state and their puppets delay this serious issue and are responsible for the spread of anarchy. But they accuse us instead.

Prof. Mansoor Ahmad Mansoor has reviewed "*Wular Kinare"* in the real context and has commented truthfully about the book. From the bottom of my heart I extend my gratitude to him, not because he has given a positive review, but because he projected the real spirit of the book. If I am not accused of self-praise and exaggeration, the following couplet of Allama Iqbal justifies this book.

What, shall I tell you then, is a Muslim's life?

Ecstasy's summit joined with profoundest thought!" (Allama Iqbal)

Prof. Muzaffer Khadim has pointed out technical errors such as wrong spellings etc., and many thanks to him. He indicated an incident which is not mentioned in the book. The incident is when SM Abdullah held a rally after his release at Gol Bagh [where secretariat and High building is located today], in which he dissolved the action committee, which was found after the theft of the holy relic. This suspension gave birth to an unending hatred between followers of SM. Abdullah known as lions[5] and followers of Mirwaiz Farooq known as Goat[6]. This will be addressed in the preface of Volume II.

Some readers have raised the issue of the font size being too big, too much of indents, paper being left empty and being expensive too, all this will be rectified in Volume II. I own all these shortcomings and the in-charge of Millat Publication does not bear the responsibility of the

[5] The followers of SM Abdullah and members of their political party National Conference were known as lions.
[6] The followers of the Head Molvi of Central Mosque and members of their political party, "Awami Action Committee," were known as goats.

same. However, these concerns will be addressed in the second volume. But keep this saying of Allah in mind: ‘Allah is beautiful and loves beauty.

Well Wisher,
Syed Ali Geelani
18th August, 2011
Hyderpora Srinagar.

27th October, the Darkest Night

Chapter 19

The readers of *Wular Kinare* should know that I am writing an autobiography, and not a historical account. The autobiographical account covers eighty years of my life, from birth, childhood, and youth, and whatever I have gone through, seen, tolerated, borne, and whatever I have gained or lost. This account records the benevolence, hindrance and suffering caused by the people, intentionally or unintentionally, in my personal and political life. I have attempted to write all the incidents that my unfortunate and oppressed nation has been handed over to the darkest night. My dear daughters and sons [youth of Kashmir] must read these pages and get encouraged, to toil and work hard and come out of a quagmire of disappointment, to trust in God and to believe in themselves, to be confident and to do everything to build their future. Work hard! Strive hard! Distinguish between true friends and foes, and leaders who failed to practice what they preached, betrayed the nation, and subjected it to the tyranny of imperialists and colonizers. Also, the shadow of secularism has disconnected the nation from its roots, leading them to a cultural and traditional swamp of polytheism. Beware of their deception and safeguard your religion, faith, and honour. Above all, focus on saving yourself from the destruction of the eternal life hereafter rather than being driven by materialistic gains. Keep this in mind!

> Hard work, focus, and sincere intentions are such things, which God neither has ever wasted nor will. Trust God, and continue to work hard. God willing, the sources will be provided, where your thoughts can not reach. (Maudoodi, 1998)

For the success of the true revolution, which is based on truth, rationality is the only way and method, and it has been tested in the past.

I was talking about Maharaja Hari Singh Dogra's excuse that because of Pakistan's invasion, he had requested military help from the Indian nation state, and Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, who was released from jail in September 1947, endorsed it. That was how on 27th October, 1947, the Indian army landed in this paradise on earth and started their forced occupation. Prior to this event, the British and the Indian National Congress during the partition conspired under the 'Radcliffe Award' by dividing Punjab, the Muslim-dominated district of Gurdaspur, and *tehsils* were given to India. That was how India was given a road to access Kashmir and snatch it. After some time, we got an opportunity to read these facts, the history of this unfortunate region, and the forced occupation by the Indian State.

The Indian army responded with their military might, killed hundreds of tribal peoples, and pushed them back at Shaltaing. How could they sustain the attack of the Indian army? They had no military support, no reinforcement, no supply line, and no plan. They were not like a regular army force. Pakistan had just come into being on the world map and its army was still under the control of General Gracey. The health of the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was deteriorating, as he was suffering from tuberculosis and was becoming weaker and weaker. Then the sympathisers of Pakistan had suggested to the leaders of Pakistan that in absence of a regular army, an army of retired soldiers could be formed to stop the Indian military attack from Jammu. But the leaders of the transitioning period were not courageous

and they did not implement the sincere suggestion given to them. We have read in historical chronicles, that when Mohammad Ali Jinnah on his deathbed, heard that Kashmir is lost and fallen under Indian rule, he became sad and was in pain. He asked General Gracey to send his army but the latter refused, as the British were also part of this conspiracy. The Pakistani tribal peoples sacrificed their lives under the onslaught of the Indian Army, but they could not achieve their objectives. This responsibility lies with those traitors of the nation who deceived the Pakistani raiders and diverted their routes for the sake of their own selfish and personal benefits. These deceivers kept the tribal peoples busy with loot and plunder; hence, they could not focus on their objectives.

I take refuge from the traitors of these times.

9th August, 1953

Chapter 33

SM Abdullah was on vacation in Gulmarg when he was arrested and suspended from the post of Prime Minister of Kashmir on the midnight of August 9, 1953. The arrest order was signed by Dr. Karan Singh, Sadr-e-Riyasat,[7] as advised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (PJL). The Nehru and Abdullah families had been close friends since 1938. Hence, no one could imagine that the friendship between these two had turned into enmity which would lead to them not trusting each other. But Nehru disconnected the relationship and it resulted in the incarceration of S. M. Abdullah.

From the speech of SM Abdullah, Nehru construed that SM Abdullah had regrets about his previous decision that supported the 1947 temporary accession of Hari Singh with the nation-

[7] The Jammu and Kashmir, at the time of accession was given Article 370, which gave special status to state, through the spirit of article the head of the state was called Sadr-e-Riyasat

state of India. Thereby, he wished to correct that massive blunder. PJL Nehru preferred 'national interest' over friendship and told SM Abdullah that he had wrongly constructed a palace in the air. It has no value and has to be broken. The 'national interest' of Nehru installed Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, SM Abdullah's closest lieutenant. He often said that people must have faith in the five articles of Islam; in addition to that people should have faith in SM Abdullah's leadership, which is the sixth article of Islam for Kashmiri people.

In Sopore, our organisation started a school. Ghulam Rasool Bacha, along with a handful of students, protested against the arrest of SM Abdullah. But, most of the people in the town remained unconcerned about this event, as they heaved a sigh of relief after the three years of oppressive rule from him. Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad initiated public concern policies just after he acceded to power. The ration shops, depots were opened everywhere, and government transportation was established for the first time in the valley. The people were told to lead a life with no apprehension of food. They did not have to eat potatoes only as SM Abdullah said once, "be ready to eat potatoes." This statement made people presume that he may rebel against the nation-state of India, and they prepared and supported him wholeheartedly. However, a few years of his rule were more oppressive than Dogra's rule. Hari Singh was the last oppressor of the Dogra rulers. But during the autocracy of SM Abdullah, all the unit presidents of the National Conference (NC) had become like presidents Hari Singh. The Islamists and the sympathisers of Pakistan were subjected to coercion. The doors of jails were open to all those who resisted or reacted against the autocracy. Prem Nath Bazaz was imprisoned for three years for resisting the view that neither constitutionally nor morally, can a Muslim majority state be held under the military occupation of the Indian nation-state. Bazaz believed that over 10,000 people were arrested during the rule of SM Abdullah as the police with infinite powers were free to act. People on mere suspicion were given third-degree torture. Notorious police officers

like Qadir Ganderbali were symbols of viciousness and were encouraged by the government during the era.

No one was allowed to listen to 'Radio Pakistan' or 'Azad Kashmir.' If anyone was caught for this by NC activists, he was arrested, put behind bars, and treated with third-degree violence. Nobody could dare to put on green headgear. I remember the words of a village head, *numberdar*,[8] who went to meet a local National Conference leader wearing green headgear to resolve some problems. The local leader became angry upon seeing him and sarcastically commented, "You are carrying Pakistan on your head." That was the gravity of hatred against Pakistan. To hate those who spoke about Islam was an integral part of the policy of the National Conference. I am a witness to these incidents, and I firmly believe that the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference that came into power under the leadership of SM Abdullah is responsible for the suffering, oppression, and brutalization of the Muslims of Kashmir. The aims and objectives of the NC leaders and the party workers were to develop hatred against Pakistan and trouble Muslims for following the principles of Islam. The leaders and party workers had been strenuously safeguarding the power they had secured. They were hated by parallel leaders with whom they had to share power. They avoided such instances rally Moreover, the land reforms of SM Abdullah, confiscating the land from landlords and distributing it among the tillers (known as land to the tiller), was a myth in reality. Those who praised SM Abdullah for the reforms were wearing the goggles of hero worship. The leadership handed over the people of Jammu and Kashmir from SM Abdullah landlords to the bigger landlords and colonisers, who not only controlled our land but our dignity, honesty, chastity, pride, respect, and property rights. Their actions confirm the impending darkness every day.

[8] Numberdar, representative of village or many villages, and often member of of the Panchayat of local village council, in rural areas of Kashmir.

The consequences of my deeds have overtaken me, just as Abdullah warned.

Readers should not misunderstand me when I write positively about the actions of Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, for I do not endorse his action. He deceived his leader. If he would not come forward to take up the charge, there were many others, such as Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, who would have come forward earlier than 1964, and Mir Qasim, who would have come forward in 1970 or 1971. Pandit Sham Lal Saraf, or even, DP Dhar, a blue-eyed boy from New Delhi, were also ready to take up the charge. The main point of concern is this: who is responsible for shifting the power to New Delhi? Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad got the signal from New Delhi; hence he grabbed the opportunity. Had it been thought that our relationship with New Delhi was not workable? This situation would not have come across, would it have? The emotional surrender was an error on the part of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. SM Abdullah started the public meetings by reciting from the Holy Quran in a soothing voice, and the people fell for the trap. It was only a political agenda to garner public support. He never followed the guidance of the Holy Quran. What situation could have been more delicate than this? He should have contemplated and pondered over the Holy Quran deeply and tried to get guidance from the Holy Quran. The Holy Quran in the fallowing verses 2: 120, 3: 38, 4: 44-45, and 5: 82, and in other verses have advised the power centres neither to leave nor to ignore Muslims and have forbidden them to be friendly with polytheists. This does not mean to dislike, fight with them, or not treat polytheists well. Even Islam has not permitted this: it was the question of the whole nation. India and Pakistan came into being based on the 'two-nation theory.' The region where Muslims were in the majority decided to safeguard their religion and national identity. Therefore, they supported the Muslim-majority region, which later became Pakistan.

Discussions could have been held with the leadership of Pakistan regarding defence, currency, and external affairs, which could have been given to Pakistan; Jammu and Kashmir would have had autonomy in all other issues. The accession of Kashmir would not have merged the two rival nations. But, I am sure that the relationship between India and Pakistan would not have turned bitter due to the Kashmir dispute; rather, it would have been friendly. Moreover, the wars in 1948, 1965, and 1971 would not have happened. India would not have sent its troops to Bangladesh in 1971 and played a pivotal role in carving Bangladesh out of Pakistan. India and Pakistan would not be trapped in an armed race to dominate each other. There was no need to make an atomic bomb if the Kashmir dispute was not there. There was no need for India to become a Russian associate and Pakistan, an American ally. Above all, the sufferings of Kashmiri Muslims, the bloodshed of half a century, and the division of the region could have been avoided. This period marks the darkest history of this region.

The incident of 9th August, 1953 must be envisaged in this context. The people who were trusted were not trustworthy, and this will be deliberated at an appropriate time, God willing.[9]

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad provided subsidies to make people inactive, and they fell into a deep slumber. They were diverted from the real issue. The hidden agenda worked. The leader of the enslaved nation implemented a plan to urge people to think about their bellies and not to use their brains. The plan succeeded. But it was SM Abdullah who was responsible for pushing the Kashmiri nation into a quagmire of slavery. Had he refused to endorse the treaty signed by Hari Singh, the accession would have been considered against the will of the people, and its authenticity could have been challenged right from the beginning.

[9] SM Abdullah was arrested on 9th August, 1953 and incarcerated. Prior and post his release, there was a change in his politics. In 1975, he signed the Kashmir Accord and his rivals like JI branded him a stooge of New Delhi, and the one who betrayed the Kashmir Cause. But his political party National Conference holds contrary view.

The leaders of the nation-state of India kept on giving one excuse or the other to procrastinate the assurances and articles of this treaty signed during the accession. The international community continued to be silent. Pakistan also fought a few wars but could not liberate Kashmir from the imperial force. SM Abdullah's family realised the wrath of the younger Kashmiri generation. That is the reason SM Abdullah's marble grave is guarded round the clock, unlike the grave of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad or Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq. The Guarding of the grave is not enough to heal the wounds of the Kashmiri people. This is an example of how a mistake of a nation-builder can become a reason for oppression, imperialism, and brutality. We have earned this by our own hands. God declares: "For what you have brought upon yourselves. God is surely not unjust to His creatures, (they are unjust to themselves)" (Towards Understanding the Quran, l 8:51).

The Tragedy of the Holy Relic

Chapter 64

Three months passed after my release from jail. On December 27, 1963, I was on a visit to Bandipora. The public rally in chowk had just dispersed, and I was heading to the nearby mosque for the evening prayer. Suddenly, the late Ghulam Nabi Chagall, one of the most sincere and earliest members of the Islamic movement, got out of a taxi. The simplicity, dedication, and sacrificial attitude of Chagall are the best model. He runs a tiny fruit shop at Khushal Mattoo Mohallah, where I often pay a visit. I asked whether everything was all right. "Why did you come here?" I asked. He replied: "The holy relic of the Prophet has been stolen from the shrine Hazratbal at Srinagar. People are protesting in Sopore, and there is chaos among the public. Hence, the JIJ&K local council[10] '(نظم) has called you immediately back to Sopore,"

[10] Nazum or Local body of JI or a Council of members of JI headed by a member of JI.

he replied. We offered evening prayers in an adjacent mosque and rushed to Sopore. People had come from nearby villages and flooded the town at Baba Yusuf Shah Mosque. The biggest concern was to maintain communal harmony and protect our non-Muslim brethren from feeling insecure. I addressed the gathering and said that the loss of the holy relic is the biggest tragedy for Muslims. We must express our pain too, but it is our religious duty to protect the honour, business, and homes of Hindus and Sikh brethren. Our love for the holy relic of the Prophet must be expressed according to his teachings only, and we must treat our neighbours with love and affection. They should not feel insecure, unsafe, fear-stricken, or threatened in any situation. We must protect goodwill, peace, and harmony in the valley. Most of the people in Sopore, Muslims or non-Muslims, know me and my mission very well. They trust my words. For six years, I taught in an intermediate college and then at various schools, they had heard my sermons since 1953. We had a cordial relationship with the non-Muslims. They were sure we would not give the incident a communal colour. However, when masses gather at a place with hurt souls, everyone may not think alike. There was a concern that no untoward incident should happen. There was a wave of peace in the town after my public address. The protests and rallies restarted the next day. The theft of the holy relic had shaken the whole society. Protests were held everywhere and everyone participated, irrespective of their age. The shops and transport services remained suspended, and the whole valley called for a *bandh*. But friendship, brotherhood, and empathy were secure among the public. The miracle of the teachings of the Prophet was seen in their love and care. Markets were closed, but there were no constraints on the public amenities. Usually, black marketing happens in such situations, but nothing as such disturbed the people here. The business community was loyal and normalised goods prices without exploiting the sensitive moment. The ‘Islamic Movement’ members maintained strict discipline, but more than that, common people maintained it by themselves. It was winter with snow falls and rainfalls. The sky was mostly cloudy. People put

their winter clothes like *Pheren*[11] and within that held *Kangri*. People with sadness and tears participated in rallies and protests. Wherever they got a place, they sat down. There was no stampede to get a place in the front row. The members of the Plebiscite Front, the Islamic movement, sympathisers, and speakers came forward, addressed the audience, represented their hurt sentiments, and demanded the restoration of the Holy Relic and the culprit to be punished. In addition, the echoes of slogans of Islam and freedom were raised. Pro-Indian groups, especially supporters of the National Conference of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, became victims of people's anger. That is why they kept a low profile, but protesters too kept their cool. In and around Sopore, there was no untoward incident, but in Srinagar, supporters of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad were thrashed, and Kangri[12] were hurled at them, and they were not allowed to speak. This was the reaction to eleven years of high-handedness of the Bakshi led government, which is a natural reaction. The members of the Islamic movement and other speakers spoke differently; the members of the movement emphasised adherence to the teachings of the Prophet and brought forward this primary requirement to express affection and honour - one must individually and collectively follow the teachings of the Prophet and be obedient. He has brought the perfect way of life and system from Allah. We must have faith which demands that we nurture his mission. God has revealed the last book to the Prophet, and he has come as a guide and messenger to the whole universe.

This demand of faith cannot be fulfilled by just shedding a few tears and raising slogans until and unless we individually or collectively adhere to His [Allah] teachings, nurture his [Allah] religion, work for its expansion, struggle and attempt this religion to be applied around us

[11] *Phern* is a Kashmiri word, it is a loose outfit put on during winter by Kashmiris to keep their body warm.
[12] *Kangri* in Urdu or *Kanger* in Kashmiri language: It is an earthen pot woven around with wicker filled with hot embers used by Kashmiris beneath their traditional clothing Phern, blanket or in quilt to keep the chill at bay, which is also regarded as a work of art. It is normally kept inside the Phern, the Kashmiri cloak, or inside a blanket.

wherever we live. On the contrary to this the audience understood, speeches of opponent's speakers, that the opponent did not have a comprehensive understanding of Islam.

The Action Committee

Chapter 65

In Srinagar, the Holy Relic Committee was formed; Qari Saifuddin was representing the Jama'at-i-Islami Jammu and Kashmir. He writes, "The Holy Relic Committee was formed. I, too, was its core member. After that, I addressed a few gatherings; I was arrested along with a few other colleagues and sent to Kathua Jail. These were the days when Mirwaiz Farooq, at a young age, had become Chairman and had started leading people.

> It was winter, and it was snowing. For three days, I was kept in the central police station. On the 4th day, I was taken towards Kathua jail, and we reached the tunnel around 10:00 PM or 11:00 PM and remained stuck there till 2:00 AM the next day in severe cold and without food. Before this, in the police station we were not given food. I knew the driver. We ate a handful of raw rice to reduce our hunger, but those who guarded us ate well and hence were least concerned about us. But what could they have done? In this helplessness and coercion, we were taken to jail. The next day, we reached Kathua Jail at 11:00 PM, where the food provided to us was so bad that we could not eat despite being very hungry, and we preferred to sleep, as we were very tired. These are the gifts of democracy. Democracy emerged with the intention of being pro-people, leading to the removal of monarchy and kingship. That is why Allama Iqbal said that Satan had proudly proclaimed.
>
> When man has become a little self-conscious and self-observant:
>
> We have clothed imperialism in the garb of democracy. (Saifuddin, 1999)

Mirwaiz Farooq was made chairperson of the action committee, but in a real sense, Maulana Masoodi led it. All protests and agitations were organised by his direction. He was the main speaker who spoke in detail, announced new plans, and gave new instructions as well. After the arrest of Qari Saifuddin, I am not aware if there was any permanent representative of Jamaat-i-Islami (JI). I do not know, as we were working in Baramulla, Sopore, and Kupwara, where protests and rallies were being organised and addressed. Mohammad Ashraf Sehrai had come to Sopore in 1959. He, too, was very active in this movement, and we hardly visited our central office in Srinagar. Transport was suspended, and a relief camp was established. People brought relief from different villages and were stocked in Muslim Peer, School (Darasgah). The team that took responsibility were Khawaja Habeebullah, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Bucha, Khawaja Vali Mohammad Adil, and Ghulam Ahmad Dar of Muslim peer. Late Ghulam Rasool, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Dar, etc., were responsible for this camp. Relief in cash and kind was delivered to victims or the needy. Once, Hakeem Ghulam Nabi and another person from Nowa Bazar were sent by the central office to attend the Action Committee Meeting. Before this meeting, the Action Committee had pointed out the high-handedness of the J&K Police and demanded that the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) be sent to Srinagar, but when Saddudin, head [*ameer*] of the JIJ&K heard that, he got annoyed and gave us instruction in writing and after that only allowed us to attend. In that written instruction, he wrote that the "Action Committee must demand that the J&K Police, CRPF, and so-called Government of J&K only safeguard the interest of New Delhi. Jammu and Kashmir is disputed, and the Action Committee must demand that only the UNO must send its force so that, on the one hand, they can save Kashmiris from the atrocities of J&K Police and inform international leadership about our demand for a plebiscite: and identify the culprits who stole the Holy Relic in public, and get them punished from International Court of Justice." We put these demands in front of the Action Committee, but they ignored it.

The Identification of the Holy Relic

Chapter 66

To know the details of the background and the context, you can read a book by Shabnum Qayoom titled *The Political Revolution of Kashmir* (Volume 4, Pages 118-19). I do not have to repeat that here, but I will quote those sentences which have been written about how the Holy Relic was identified.

> In the next two days, whatever was happening covertly, came to the forefront on 3rd February 1964, all of a sudden dramatically and covertly. Moulana Farooq, Moulana Syed Masoodi, Syed Mirakh Shah Kashani of Shalimar, and a few other members of the Action Committee were taken to Dargah Hazratbal, where Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shamsuddin, Prime Minister of J&K, Inspector General of Police and other high officials were present and respectfully seated in the mosque outside the Sanctorum. The Nooruddin Bandy, the caretaker of Dargah, came out from the Sanctorum holding a box in his hand to the room where all were seated. Moulana Masoodi looked at him and said, "Noor Sahib, you and we all are sitting in the house of God, and The Holy Quran is open in front of you, and whatever you say will be true and on oath." On this, he said, "On oath, I say the truth. As far as I know, this is the holy relic of the Prophet." All Muslims present there in loud voices hailed and recited the *durood* (درود[13]) and offered greetings (سلام). Syed Mirekh Shah Kashani immediately recited this couplet,
>
> The glory of Ahmad (referring to the Prophet Muhammad) manifested in the garden?
>
> The light of Muhammad is in every flower and every tree."

[13] Darud-o- Salaam: Darud-o-Salaam is a term used in Islamic tradition to describe the act of supplicating and sending salutations to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Prophet Abraham (SAWS). It is a way for Muslims to seek Allah's blessings and express reverence towards these esteemed prophets. The term "Darud" signifies the act of Holy Salutation, while "Salaam" denotes the salutation specifically addressed to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

In this short but special meeting, which lasted for forty minutes, the confirmation was announced that the Holy relic was found and will be publicly displayed on the 5th and 6th of February. The masses heard this announcement with a lot of doubt, confusion, and hesitation and in coercion, and their hearts did not confirm it. But despite this, the public remained peaceful. On the same day, New Delhi announced that PJL Nehru had allotted a portfolio to Lal Bahadur Shastri, who had become External Affairs Minister" (Qayoom, 2007).

Abdullah Bin Abbas remembered that on the last Friday *khudbah* [sermon] that the Prophet gave, he said, "*I am leaving a thing for you, if you hold it tightly you won't go astray; that is the Holy Quran and the Prophet's way"* (Siddiqui, 1980).

The Incarcerations on 7th, May 1965

Chapter 83

This was my second incarceration. To understand in detail, read Shabnum Qayoom's book "*The Political Revolution of Kashmir*, Volume 4", Pages, 192-198). SM Abdullah and his associates in the Plebiscite Front had boycotted members and sympathisers of the Indian National Congress (INC). After that, SM Abdullah was allowed to go for the Holy pilgrimage 'Haj'; from there, SM Abdullah visited many countries, including Algeria, where S. M. Abdullah met Chu Yen Li, then the Prime Minister of China. The Indian political leadership detested it, as the wounds of the 1962 war were still fresh. The Indian leadership did not appreciate his meetings with the enemies of India. Hence, SM Abdullah and his colleagues were advised by the Indian Nation State to cut short foreign visits and return to India. On his arrival on May 7 at the Delhi airport, he was arrested and sent to Tamil Nadu, where he was put under house arrest in a bungalow at a health resort. On the same day in the Valley, a series of arrests began. The Plebiscite Front, J&K Jamaat-e-Islami, and those who challenged the

accession and had demanded the Plebiscite, their leaders, workers, and individuals were arrested and incarcerated. The list of those who were brought to the central jail in Srinagar is very long. My apologies to those whose names I have forgotten; if they have died, may their soul rest in peace. But here are a few names I can recollect from my memory:

1. Qari Saifuddin, Head of J&K the JIJ&K 2. Moulana Ghulam Ahmad Ahrar 3. Ghulam Nabi Sadiqi, editor '*Azan*' 4. Muhammad Ashraf Khan, Sahrai, was the youngest among those who were arrested; 5. Late Ghulam Hassan Khanyari (First urgency was born, then Hasan was born[14]); 6. Peer Mohammad Maqbool, Dayalgami 7. Late SM Abdullah, Mohammad Suleiman, Zalura 8. Late Shaikh Mohammad Maqbool, Handwara, was physically handicapped 9. Late Moulana Akbar Wani 10. One Maulvi of Ahl-i-Hadith 11. Abdul Majeed Kareemi, Baramulla 12. Professor Late Shaikh Ghulam Mohammad 13. Abdul Rasheed Kabuli 14. Abdul Rasheed Baramulla 15. Shah Vali Mohammad, Seelo Sopore 16. Advocate Late Ghulam Rasool Malik, of Handwara 17. Moulana Mohammad Yaseen Hamdani, Pampore 18. Magray Sahib from Chahdoora, who was so affectionate towards SM Abdullah that he stopped eating food after SM Abdullah's arrest; 19. Moulana Attaullah Soharwardi, Doda; 20. Abdul Gani Mast Fareedi 21. Late Abdul Qayoom Zargar of Doda. Others who were brought here after a few months their names are 22. Moulana Saaduddin, Head (Ameer) JIJ&K 23. Moulana Mohammad Syed Masoodi; 24. Khawaja Ghulam Mohiudin Karra 25. Ghulam Mohiudin Sofi of Ganderbal 26. Khawaja Mubarak Shah, Advocate Baramulla 27. Hafeezullah Mukhdomi; 28. Habeebullah, Imam of Baitul Mukarram of New Market Baramulla 29. Master Abdul Khaliq Sofi 30. Master Abdul Ahad Sofi of Ganderbal.

[14] In the cultural context, this phrase is used for somebody who is always in hurry. S/he wants to eat first, leave first, in this context the respondent says, I was born right after the urgency.

Among these people, some were released earlier, especially Mohammad Maqbool of Handwara. For his release, Abdul Summed ran from pillar to post. Maqbool was mostly sick, and he had hypertension. After some time, Moulana Akbar of Handwara was released. And after four months and a few days, another Maulvi of Ahl-i-Hadith from Islamabad, too, was released. He had a good sense of humour. Despite hailing from different schools of thought, he would mingle with everyone. While leaving, he said, '*Iddat*'[15] is over. The jail Superintendent was Mohammad Hussain Qureshi. He was proud of his lineage of being a Qureshi, and on many occasions, he said that he belonged to the tribe of Quraish, which forced the Prophet to migrate from Mecca to Medina. By this, he meant that the jail inmates should not expect any compassion or leniency from him. Moulana Masoodi and Ghulam Hassan Karra would visit us. Before our incarceration, Advocate Ghulam Mohammad Malik was there. He was a communist. He accepted it without any hesitation. We had a cordial relationship. We would often visit each other and interact and debate on ideologies too. He was an upright man and openly supported his ideology of atheism (Al-Haad[16]). He did not practise dualism. We defended Islam as the perfect way of life and a superior path that was based on truth and segregated between truth and falsehood. He defended his ideology of falsehood and advocated for it.

The incarcerated were put in the Barracks of the Central Jail. We were put in special barracks toward the western part of the jail. Adjacent to this special barrack was an enormous open field, where we moved around and went for walks. Now that land has been taken over by CRPF and all political and non-political prisoners are confined to their barracks only. There is hardly any difference between political prisoners and criminals. In Hajan, there was a huge protest, and

[15] *Iddat* is the waiting period of a widow or divorced woman after which she can remarry.
[16] Al-Haad: Atheism is not a disbelief in gods or a denial of gods; it is a lack of belief in gods.

police used violence against protesters; more than a dozen were arrested and brought to the central jail. They could not reach us, although Abdul Ahad Paray secretly came to visit us. Abdul Gaffar, whom I have discussed during his 1962 arrest, also visited us now and then. Despite strict restrictions, he would visit us secretly. For such a long incarceration, this is how we kept ourselves busy. Every day, we organised gatherings, discussed the teachings of the Holy Quran (Dars-e-Quran), the teachings of Sunnah (Dars-e-Hadith) and this was followed by discussions on contemporary issues and politics. The members of the Plebiscite Front did not attend these gatherings. The people From Doda attended the gatherings enthusiastically and regularly. The teachings of the Holy Quran (Dars-e-Quran) were usually led by Moulana Ahrar, Qari Saifuddin, or Shaikh Mohammad Suleiman, or sometimes the lot fell on me. After teaching sessions and group learning, members of the JIJ&K got busy with their reading and learning and abstained from playing cards, as that was seen as a waste of time; they rather opted to use the time in a better way. After continuous insistence, Moulana Ahrar agreed to compile his autobiography. He did it on one condition, that somebody will take dictation from him. Mohammad Ashraf Khan was the youngest, and the lot fell on him. He agreed to do this, took pen and paper, and wrote whatever was dictated to him. Alas, after release, this draft fell into those hands that could not protect it, and such a heritage was lost. For young people, Allama Iqbal reminds them of their responsibility to safeguard their heritage:

> You cannot claim relation to your ancestors,
>
> Merely by words or wealth, you have to prove yourself.
>
> We have lost the heritage we received from our ancestors,
>
> The Sky threw us down from the bright constellation. (Allama Iqbal)

Whatever provision came from the jail store, we all sat down in a circle, cleaned the ration, and handed it over to cooks in the kitchen. During incarceration, as long as Shah Wali Mohammad

of Seeloo was with us, he was the cook and performed his duty very well. His 'crime' was that he was a sympathiser of the JIJ&K. Leaders and members of the JIJ&K were victimised then and are victimised now as well. Their crime is that they accept Islam as a perfect way of life, demand the end of the Indian occupation, and demand a plebiscite, regardless of religion, colour, or race, so that Kashmiris can decide their future. Both these demands are based on a principle. The JIJ&K does not impose Islam on non-Muslim or compel them to accept Islam. In addition, the instruction of the Holy are explicit with regard to this: 'there is no force in religion' [*deen*]. However, they feel this obligation to say Muslims must read, understand and attempt to practise it in all spheres of life. Being a Muslim, this is an integral part of life. This claim of anyone being a pious Muslim will not stand in front of God under any circumstances. There are two reasons why leaders and members of the JIJ&K are victimised. It hardly makes any difference if a Hindu or a Muslim represents the state, rather Muslim rulers are more cruel as they know very well the psyche of the common man: that, if you victimised Islam and members of the JIJ&K, you would be honoured even after death with titles such as 'Mercy of God be upon him'[17] will be added to your name. Allama Iqbal has echoed it in his couplet:

> Against the guardians of the shrine, the shrine brings an accusation of such villainy decked out as loyal zeal.
>
> That let me once proclaim it in the very idol-house, the senseless monsters would cry out, Oh Vishnu, Vishnu! (Allama Iqbal)

The incarceration and arrest of whatever we see around us have been the tactics of leaders who are fed up with God and have forgotten eternity. The quote given below, written by Prof. Mohammad Ayaz Khan, will open our eyes. This is an interpretation of Surah Yusuf of the Holy Quran when Prophet Yusuf was incarcerated without any reason:

[17] Muslims as a mark of respect add 'Rahmatullah Alay' with the names of Sufi or Godly and saints. Like Hazrat Nizamuddin (Rahmatullah Alaih).

> Through this, we came to know that faithless people keep conditions of justice aside and prove innocent a criminal and incarcerate him, and this has been their old strategy. In these tactics, the Satan of today is not bad as compared to the four thousand years old Satan. If there is any difference, that is, they did not use democracy, and in today's context, they did it for their evil practices. Without considering the law, they indulged in unlawful activities. For their illegal acts, they will make laws. For their benefit, they will misbehave with people. Whomever they arrest, they make others believe that the alleged victim is not dangerous for them but dangerous for the nation and country. To sum up, they were cruel, but today, they are more cruel, liars, and immoral.

These rulers, who are liars and immoral, can be seen everywhere. After his arrest in 1965, SM Abdullah went on Holy Pilgrimage and visited different countries. You have read abstracts of his speeches and to what extent he qualified his claims. We are unfortunate that we have become part of history, which is chasing a shadow. During twenty-two months of incarceration, we had the opportunity to know and understand people from different walks of life, and during this time, we got an opportunity to spend more time reading. I read all the novels of Naseem Hejazi. Mohammad Ashraf Sahrai and I did a lot of tasks together as long as he was with me. He was released before me. We exchanged books in jail. Whatever he read, he gave to me and vice versa. I read the autobiography of Moulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, and these writings encouraged us in jail. Before partition, he was a sincere and honest leader of Muslims. I also read the works of Allama Ibn Taymiyyah, "*Nufqa-fih-Deen* نفقہ فی الدین" which included the stories of patience, determination, thoughts of theologians, and supremacy of Islam in that era. Authors and leaders of that era were also incarcerated and they faced this with courage and fortitude. This became a lesson for us. In Urdu literature, the novels of Premchand, too, have a unique place. I read one of his novels that successfully draws an image of Indian society during

British imperialism in India. Alas, after India got freedom from the British, if only the Congress and Muslim League had remembered the bitter experience of colonisation and during their own rule, they both would have promoted equality and justice and would not have forcefully colonised their people. Keeping in mind the situation of the three countries [India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh], one can say that by a mere superficial change of hands and faces in power corridors, the situation does not really change. Until a system that executes justice is installed, there will be oppression. It is only when a justice system is installed that is fair, things will change. As Allama Iqbal said:

> You pin your faith on idols in vain and turn your back on Mighty God:
> If this is not disbelief and sin, what else is disbelief and fraud?

Indo-Pak War

Chapter 85

During May 1965, the jail inmates, because of their confinement, did not have access to the news of the outside world. They were almost unaware of the outside world, and were dependent only on imagination and rumour from someone but nothing from any authentic and reliable sources.

The Plebiscite Front was playing a leading role in this situation. Their president Munshi Mohammad Ishaq (late), had resigned. He was with us during the incarceration of 1962. He was the only person on the Plebiscite Front who wholeheartedly supported the idea of 'Freedom for Islam', "Azadi Barai Islam", and May God grant him paradise. Khawaja Sanaullah Bhat, the editor of the Urdu daily *Aftab*, wrote about his meeting with Munshi Ishaq Sahib in his book, *Kashmir from 1947 to 1977*:

> To know about the situation, I immediately contacted Munshi Muhammad Ishaq, the President of the Plebiscite Front. But I could not meet him till the 18th of August. Munshi Muhammad Ishaq was a very important person in the freedom struggle, he had a strong will and was trustworthy, and he trusted me too. On the 18th of August, I met him at his residence at Nawpora, Srinagar. We briefly discussed the latest situation in Kashmir, and then I asked him why he wanted to step down from his position as President. At my question, he became so angry that his face turned red, and secretly he said, "We lost a great opportunity for freedom. Nobody paid heed to my instructions, everybody wanted to protect themselves, and the whole plan collapsed.

In a very humble way, I enquired about that plan, and he said, "It was decided that we will not remain unmindful this time. We had discussed it with Pakistan, and I agreed with their plan. They planned that they would suddenly attack and take control of the Airport, Radio Station, Police Station, Mahraj Gunj, Khanyar, and Sadar Police Station. We were advised to build consensus for it and get the support of the people so that no option is left for India except the respectable resolution of Kashmir. And this 'Voice of Kashmir', which broadcasts armed rebellion, will take real shape and can happen in reality. But, we did not get support because of our confusion, doubt, and cowardice. I asked him if it was possible. Then he said, "They had made all the arrangements for it, to capture the airport, the men and ammunition had reached Budgam and in other places; the sufficient number of men and ammunition had reached the city to take control. At this point, Munshi Mohammad Ishaq had tears in his eyes, and there was pin-drop silence in the room. Then I got up from the room, and before I said goodbye, I enquired, "Have you decided to resign as president"? Then he said, "If I realise that people will be hurt because of my resignation, I will not hesitate to take my resignation back" (Bhat, 1980).

“Pakistan had advanced from the Chumb sector and was marching towards Akhnoor. The Indian State had increased its political activities. Mr Nanda, the Home Minister, Y.B. Chauhan, the Defense Minister, Indira Gandhi, the Information Minister, Radha Krishnan, the President of India too, had come to Kashmir. During this period, the Chief of the Army Staff was present in Kashmir. On 1st September, all of a sudden, he left for New Delhi. On 2nd September 1965, a government representative spoke on television that one Brigade of the regular Pakistani Army, which is equipped with tanks and bulletproof vehicles, was advancing towards Chhamb. After one hour, Congress’s Indian Defense Minister in the parliamentary committee announced that “Pakistan has massively attacked from Chumb and they have already taken 5 miles. We have ordered the air force to bombard attackers.” On 3rd September, when the Pakistani Army was advancing in the Akhnoor sector, in the Chumb sector, air forces fought a fierce battle in which Pakistan used super and F16 jet fighters. On the other side, Pakistan attacked from Uri and Tithwal as well. Until the 3rd and 4th, it remained confined to only Jammu and Kashmir, but on the 5th of September, the Indian Army entered the Lahore sector. On 6th September, Gen. Ayoob, in a television address, said to his people, “We are at war with India, and the Indian Army has attacked from Lahore, and the Indian air force has bombarded the army installation and civil installation.” On the next day, the Indian force entered Pakistan from Barseer in Rajasthan.

There were mixed reactions to the Indo-Pak war in the United Nations and worldwide. On 9th September, the Indian Army entered Pakistan through Sialkot. In Jammu, the Pakistan Army had taken 18 miles despite heavy bombardment. Pakistan had taken the whole of the Chhamb area, and they were moving rapidly towards Akhnoor. The Indian forces’ attack on Pakistan was condemned by Arab countries, and other Muslim countries reacted seriously to it. In Indonesia, a massive protest in solidarity with Pakistan was organised, and protestors attacked

the Indian Embassy. The Iranian Prime Minister suddenly went to Turkey and discussed this war. The Foreign Minister of Iran said Iran would support Pakistan in this war. And will help in every way" (Bhat, 1990).

When the news of the Indo-Pak War reached the Central Jail of Srinagar, there was chaos. Inmates were worried, and all sympathies were with Pakistan. All arrested prayed five times regularly and started reciting special prayers (*Al-Qaunoot,* دُعا ے قنوت). Moulana Ahrar led the prayers. He was a very humble and tender-hearted person. He would cry while offering prayers, everyone cried while praying and hiccupped, and we prayed for the victory and protection of Pakistan. The peace within the four walls of the jail vanished; everyone was only thinking about war. The statement made by Gen. Ayoob Khan shook the hearts of jail inmates, when in his broadcast, he said, "India has challenged the nation which is the custodian of the first pillar of Islam (*Shahadah*), and in its every drop of blood, is love for Islam." This was believed to be a recognition of the fact of acceptance of the objective and existence of Pakistan and for the people of Pakistan; this was a call to protect the ideological foundations of Pakistan. The Nation of Pakistan, at this crucial juncture, displayed great dignity of faith and spirit of sacrifice, which encouraged the whole nation that the real treasure of Pakistan is the velour of faith and the JIJ&K had a desire for martyrdom.

When such sentiments are nurtured in a nation, and they are trained, then no force can defeat them. On the Lahore front, the Pakistani army and common people displayed such extraordinary courage that SM Abdullah shed the pride of Indian power into pieces. Repeated announcements were made that they will have breakfast at Amritsar and lunch at Lahore and celebrate it. The enemies of Pakistan and supporters of the Indian Army's dreams was SM Abdullah shed into pieces when at Lahore Front, the Indian Air Force and the Indian Army

faced stiff resistance, their advancement was resisted successfully and stopped, and the plans of the Indian Air Force and Indian Army turned into ashes.

The Tashkent Agreement

Chapter 87

In 1965, after 17 days of the war, Qudratullah Shahab's thoughts were enough for the guidance of our future generation and also us. They were:

> After the ceasefire, this news started spreading that Russia is attempting to mediate between India and Pakistan on the 'Kashmir Dispute', and the post-war situation was under their supervision. Eventually, we learned that Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, has been suggested as the venue for Indo-Pak dialogue. After a lot of thinking, I wrote a long secret telegram to Gen. Ayoob Khan, the President of Pakistan, and suggested that if there is any such offer he is considering, he must reject it. On the Kashmir dispute, Russia has repeatedly used the veto in favour of India and against us. If talks are held under the supervision of the USSR and on her soil, this will only favour India, and if we try to argue and resist, then the USSR will become our bigger enemy. At this juncture, we cannot afford more hostility.
>
> In this telegram, the second point I penned was that the Kashmir dispute is in the Court of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). All discussions are held there in UNSC, and all resolutions passed there are in our favour. This is in our interest to keep this case in the court of the UNSC only. If the Kashmir dispute is transferred and discussed outside the United Nations Security Council, such as in Tashkent, then its distinctiveness will change, and eventually, it will become unimportant, essentially be over, and buried. For the future, this will be the only reference, which would not be part of the discussion held in Tashkent. This will make our stand on Kashmir weak.

> The third point in this telegram was that if Russia wants to act like a well-wisher for both countries, and then let these discussions be held in the United Nations Security Council, where Russia can be invited as a special envoy and be allowed to speak and express its goodwill. Gen. Ayoob Khan, the President of Pakistan, never replied to this telegram. After some time, a note was sent from the External Affairs Ministry to me, which said that after Ayoob Khan had read my telegram, he wrote: "There is a lot of sense in his words." I was a bit happy that, in some way, my telegram had an impact on him, and that maybe he will think seriously about it. But after a few weeks, on 3rd January 1966, Gen. Ayoob Khan led a delegation and reached Tashkent, and the Indian delegation was led by Lal Bahadur Shastri. (Shahab, 1987)

Maudoodi desired and was concerned about the resolution of Kashmir. He was sincerely concerned for Pakistan's 'ideological sustenance' and 'protection' of its borders too. He wrote a 78 pages booklet on Kashmir titled 'Resolution of Kashmir Dispute.'[18] This booklet is like a certificate on the Kashmir Dispute. It deals with its context and its future. On different occasions, he also gave his sincere suggestions to the leaders of Pakistan, for the resolution of the 'Kashmir Dispute', but no one even thought his suggestion was worthy of consideration. Had his suggestions been heard and acted upon then and there, in 1947, the 'Kashmir Dispute' would have been resolved. The Indian nation-state could not have kept strengthening its presence and army in the region. But it was our bad luck.

> For the mistake of moments, centuries have to be punished.

While analysing the Tashkent agreement later, Moulana Maudoodi wrote:

[18] مسلہ کشمیر اور اُس کا حل, *Resolution of Kashmir Dispute* is a booklet written by Moulana Maudoodi in Urdu language. Which offers a unique resolution for this Dispute of Jammu and Kashmir. This is also considered as the earliest document offering some form of resolution.

Before I say anything about the Tashkent agreement, I want to say what has hurt me. A few have supported the government's stand and have tried to compare the 'Tashkent agreement' to whatever the Prophet did before 'Sulah Hudabiyah[19] or during 'Sulah Hudabiyah,' all the steps he [Prophet] took were guided by God. For the current dispensation, was there any such revelation before the 'Tashkent Agreement" They [Pakistani Government] have made a norm that whenever they sign any agreement under pressure, they call it 'Sulah Hudabiyah.' Through 'Sulah Hudaibiya,' God resolved three big obstacles of Islam. Qurash agreed that the Prophet can visit Mecca next year for 'Umrah'[20] which they had earlier opposed. With this, they accepted Islam as a religion and allowed Muslims to be part of the Arab world. As a result of this agreement, the Prophet broke the big strongholds that otherwise would have been an obstacle for Islam.

Walls of hatred were broken, which resulted in many people accepting Islam in groups. Within one year, the Quraish tribe broke this agreement. At the time of 'Sulah Hudaibiya', only 2000 Muslim soldiers were present, but after one year, it was the might of 10,000 soldiers ready to fight under the leadership of the Prophet. If you analyse the 'Tashkent Agreement', one feels that the root of the Kashmir Dispute is cut in this agreement. Until then, India accused Pakistan of sending mercenaries and its forces into the Indian-administered Kashmir after 5th August 1965. But, Pakistan had repeatedly denied this accusation in the United Nations resolution; but after the Tashkent Agreement, they accepted that Pakistan would pull back its troops, including

[19] Pact of Al-Ḥudaybiyah, (628), compromise that was reached between Prophet Muḥammad PBUH and non-Muslim Meccan leaders, in which Mecca gave political and religious recognition to the growing community of Muslims in Medina.

[20] Umrah is a pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia that can be performed at any time of the year, unlike Hajj which can only be performed during the Islamic month of Dhu al-Hijjah. While it is not obligatory like Hajj, it is still considered a highly recommended act of worship in Islam and can be performed by Muslims of any age or gender.

> armed mercenaries, to the position of 5th August 1965, and this is how the entire Pakistani nation was proved untruthful in front of the world.
>
> Until the 10th of January, the Pakistani stand was that until Kashmir is resolved, a no-war agreement with India would not be signed, but on the 10th of January 1966, all of a sudden, it was announced that to resolve the disputes between the two nations, war or power won't be used. Thus far it was said that until some internal mechanism is evolved, till then forces will be kept at a standstill position. But, in the Tashkent agreement, by 25th February 1966, the date for the withdrawal was announced without having any internal mechanism in place to resolve the 'Kashmir Dispute.' What will be the international reputation of such a state which changes its stands so often? (Maudoodi, 1998)

Almost one and a half months before the 'Tashkent Agreement,' Sayyid Abdul A'la Maudoodi had written a book on 'Russian Imperialism' and warned about Russia. Russia has repeatedly vetoed the Kashmir dispute and has damaged the 'Kashmir Cause' in the United Nations, and now their invitation to visit Tashkent will be as Maulana said:

> To accept the invitation out of courtesy is all right; if food is poisoned, then to accept the invitation is not an obligation; one must re-think." (Maudoodi, 1998)

I felt the need to put these extracts here for the reader, so that the reader will come to know about the Pakistani rulers. In order to resolve the issue, they have not shown courage, strategy, and capability or any belief in the power of faith. They have also not acted upon the suggestions of concerned people of the country and nation, so that the collective cause is saved from any harm.

You see, what were the causes of the 17 days of the war in 1965? What was the real target and objective of the war at Gibraltar? But in the Tashkent Agreement, this real dispute was completely ignored. The Indian and Russian rulers dominated Pakistani leadership in the discussion in such a way that they were pressured and forced to toe the line, making them feel helpless, as if the Pakistani leadership did not have any reason or argument. If they could not convince the Indian leadership, why did they feel compelled to sign the agreement when the real 'dispute' was completely left out? In the war, the Army and civilians put everything at stake; the plans of imperialistic forces were resisted, and their attack was broken into pieces. The martyrs gave their lives to save the borders, but when Pakistani leadership sat for negotiation, you [Pakistan] negotiated with a defeated mind-set. Let us see how the discussions took place in the Tashkent Agreement:

> Both the Indian and Pakistani leaders accepted the guidelines of the United Nations that both the countries will try their best to develop a relationship of good neighbours. Both will fulfil all clauses in the agreement and fulfil all responsibilities. They will not use force to resolve issues but will resolve all disputes bilaterally through negotiation. They realise that not war, but peace in the subcontinent, is in the interest of the people of both countries. The hostility between India and Pakistan is not in the interest of the people. In this context, both countries discussed the Kashmir dispute and presented their viewpoint." (Bahar, 2003)

If India and Pakistan are at war, it will be because of the real reason: the Indian occupation of Kashmir. Through the rationale of partition, the Indian occupation of Kashmir is illogical. This is a fact too that India took the same issue to the United Nations, where the UNO has accepted that the people of Jammu and Kashmir must be given a right to decide for their future through a plebiscite. India is a signatory to those resolutions. For the resolution of the Kashmir Dispute, why is India not forced to implement them?

All the inmates of the Central Jail in Srinagar were discouraged and disappointed after the Tashkent Agreement. Almost everyone realised that in this agreement, the upper hand that Pakistan had held during the war was not protected. And the real issue of Kashmir was put in cold storage. The agreement was signed on 10th January, and the next day on 11th January 1966, Lal Bahadur Shastri had a heart attack and died. Everyone presumed he died because of being over-jubilant about the success of this agreement. This means that he had compelled Pakistan to toe the Indian line, and the Kashmir issue was discussed insignificantly, and no further discussion was held. This was considered a bigger victory and above their expectations. Apart from being very depressed, sometimes being overjoyed can be fatal as well; he died from being overjoyed. The failure of the Tashkent Agreement created such a gulf in Pakistan that after Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the External Affairs Minister returned from Tashkent, he decided to look for a different path. The details can be read in 'Shahab Nama'. It is difficult to get into these details right now.

Peoples' Convention

Chapter 99

The people of Kashmir were relying on the members of the 'Plebiscite Front' to resolve the 'Kashmir Dispute' and gain independence from Indian occupation. However, under the leadership of SM Abdullah, the leaders of the Plebiscite Front failed to follow through on their promises. Despite this, the people either remained ignorant or wilfully continued to worship SM Abdullah, to the extent of surrendering their lives to him. The masses even chanted the slogan, "Whatever pleases father (bub) [SM Abdullah], he can do to us, whether it be cutting

us like brinjal or pumpkin.[21] In 1975, the leadership of the 'Plebiscite Front' grew weary and eventually signed an accord. They were as fickle as a chameleon, deceiving the people with tricks like a toy that distract[22]'. One of these deceptions was the 'Peoples' Convention.'

In this convention, well-known Indian leader Jay Prakash Narayan was invited, who had supported the demand for Plebiscite in the past. People were hopeful that he would speak in their favour and that we would successfully pressurise the government of India through its people. Hence, from the 8th to the 13th of June, 1970 convention was organised in Mujahid Manzil. Late Qari Saifuddin was invited from the JIJ&K. He was then the Gen. Secretary 'Qaiyam' and had a constitutional right to be the representative of the JIJ&K.

When Jay Prakash Narayan landed at the airport, he was given a grand welcome, and in a procession, he was brought to Mujahid Manzil, where the convention was to be held. The victims, people of Jammu and Kashmir who were struggling, had expectations of Jay Prakash Narayan. They hoped that he would support their reasonable and genuine demand and that he would aid in healing these bleeding and fresh wounds. But in his inaugural speech, all expectations and mirrors of dreams were broken like glass, when he said:

> I have been favouring the Plebiscite. I appreciate their sacrifices, which they have given under the leadership of SM Abdullah, but after the 1965 war, the situation has changed, and the resolution of Kashmir lies only within the constitution of the Indian Union." (Qayoom, 1989)

[21] During SM Abdullah's hey days, the Kashmiri slogan which said whatever please to SM Abdullah he can do, he chops us like brinjal or pumpkin.
[22] *Khilono se behlana*: the Metaphor is used to say that toys are given to children to distract them.

After his speech, people were disappointed, as he was invited with the expectation that he will support the birth right[23] of the masses. But he too had been influenced by the 'National Interest' and was endorsing the Kashmir occupation by Indian forces. The Plebiscite Front should have had a rebuttal for Jay Prakash Narayan's speech, particularly from SM Abdullah. He should have made his stance clear and put forth views in front of Jay Prakash Narayan that the 'birth right' of the people had not been thrown in the river in post-war 1965. And also, that even after the Tashkent agreement, the Kashmir Dispute was yet to be resolved; this must be understood. The reality was that Jay Prakash Narayan's speech was the reflection and representation of the changed mind-set and stance of SM Abdullah. He understood his people, hence changing his statement and stance frequently, but whenever he noticed that people were unhappy, he spoke about what pleased them. In the second session of the convention, whatever Jay Prakash Narayan spoke was an extension of his first speech. He said,

> This opportunity for respected participants is not to take old issues, criticise, accuse or to answer accusations or to dispute them. Whatever has happened in the past has happened. Neither are we angry, nor do we have a grudge about it. In this convention, if we introspect the past, which we must do and until we do, we will not be able to see the right picture of the future; so, for us, introspection means finding a solution for this deadlock. We have gathered here to think about the real issue and how to address the problems of the people. How can this complex problem be resolved such that the people can get freedom from poverty, illiteracy, suffering and its impact. (Bhat,1980)

Whatever Qari Saifuddin saw, observed, and felt, he wrote about it and it is reproduced below:

> The leadership of the Plebiscite Front was disappointed about people, and now they are looking towards New Delhi; they are prepared to withdraw the slogan of 'Plebiscite"

[23] Geelani is of the opinion that it is the birth right of Kashmiri people to decide their political future and that of the entire region of Jammu and Kashmir.

> and are on their way to be faithful, and for that, the 'Peoples' Convention' was the first step, which was organised by its leadership and inaugurated by Jay Prakash Narayan. I, too, was invited to be a part of it. As a first step, awareness was brought about our 'principles,' and after papers and speeches were delivered, the time had come to decide on what practically ought to be done.

Among the principles, one principle was emphasised that the future of Kashmir must be resolved in such a way that secular democratic forces should be strengthened; to this, I objected and said that, on the one hand, the Kashmir dispute is still unresolved, which has been said, and on the other hand, an announcement is made to strengthen secular and democratic forces. This is explicit that the future of Jammu and Kashmir is envisaged within the Indian Nation State as secularism is the slogan of the Indian Nation State.

I further added, as the convention has been called, it is clear that our state isn't part of any country, and now we have to think whether to accede to India or Pakistan or make temporary accession permanent or hold a discussion with India and Pakistan and remain independent. Keeping this fact in mind, I do not want to use any phrase in principle or clause which gives an impression as to which direction the leadership is moving.

My statement was explicit enough; hence, people debated and discussed it at greater length. The speakers called India the epicentre of communal riots and shattered so-called India's secularism! Prem Nath Bazaz called secularism a big deception. Anyway, the discussion had been long enough, and finally, it was decided that the steering committee will edit this clause and replace it with a suitable phrase" (Saifuddin, 1999).

Only superficial changes were made, says Qari Saifuddin, instead of *walidah* (والدہ), mother (ماں) was used. In a real sense, there was no change. Qari Saifuddin in protest walked out, and told press reporters that he had walked out because of his political stance on Kashmir Dispute. He was arrested after three days and was sent to Central Jail for two years. This was the era of Ghulam Mohammad Sadiq, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, who was known to be a liberal and a soft-hearted ruler. His spirit must be asked this question. Is it a communist and socialist ideology that if someone peacefully and respectfully disagrees with your ideology, you break all laws and every legal process to show the worst examples of communalist behaviour and engage in lawlessness? Moulana Abbas Ansari, too, disagreed on the same issue. He was also arrested and incarcerated.

Shame on you, O wanderer of alleys.

Chapter Two

Selected Translations from Volume Two

Preface [November, 2012 edition]

Ask the reality of life from the heart of the mountain-digger;

Life is the milky stream, the axe and the hard stone.

In servitude, life diminishes like droplets of water.

And in freedom, life is an endless ocean.

In the foreword of *Wular Kinare* vol. II, the aim is to capture the hearts and minds of the readers and draw their attention towards the text. The book delves into the complexities of life and showcases how it reveals itself in various forms. Life's challenges are comparable to the task of creating a milk stream, as Farhad did by cutting through the mountain, which involves facing enormous obstacles and navigating the complexities of life.

Enforcing slavery upon a person or a nation transforms their brightest days into the darkest. The oppressor tramples upon the 'self' (خُدی)[1] and 'self-respect' (خُداری) of the oppressed, crushing their plans and objectives and transforming their humanity into cruelty. The oppressed witness their loved ones being killed before their very eyes. The young, who were meant to carry the coffins of their elders, are now carried for burial by their elders, with hunched backs.

[1] Khudi: Khudi is a philosophical concept in Urdu and Persian meaning "selfhood" or "self-awareness". It was introduced by poet and philosopher Allama Iqbal, who believed that it involves discovering and realizing one's true identity, as well as developing the power to control one's destiny. Khudi involves self-reflection, self-analysis, and self-actualization and is essential to Iqbal's philosophy of self-realization and his vision for the revival of the Muslim. Allama Iqbal has dealt this in his book, *The Secrets of Self*, published in 1915.

Women of the oppressed are subjected to physical violation, and there is no one to raise their voice against the brutality. Villages, towns, and cities are set on fire, reducing them to ashes, with no one to extinguish the flames. Teenagers and innocent children, as tender and fragile as flower branches, are incarcerated, tortured, and crushed. Their bodies are mutilated, bones shattered, rendering them handicapped. They are mercilessly beaten with rods and sticks, causing insanity. Their private parts are crushed, making them inoperative, all as part of a systematic plan of ethnic cleansing. The oppression is so severe that the only ones who can truly comprehend the pain and suffering are those who have experienced crucifixion. It is not a burden that can be borne by the strong or the weak alike. The families of the arrested youth are subjected to harassment, and regular attendance at the police station becomes the norm. During search operations, women are violated, resulting in a climate of fear and oppression. As a result, Allama Iqbal was correct in his assertion:

> Harder than death is what thou call'st slavery;
> Alas, would slaves understand the master's tricks!
> O you, whose soul is obscured in Slavery,
> Search for the abode of selfhood in a heart without passion. (Allama Iqbal)

Death comes once, and all the problems and comforts vanish. But in slavery, death comes in every moment. As long as any human being is chained in slavery, every movement of his is under the shadow of death. The victims of slavery become incapable of comprehending the deception of the oppressors, their frauds, their cruel and unkind behavior, which makes the souls of the enslaved people and communities weak and fragile. They lose their capacity to protect their own 'self' '(خُدی). They become incapable of prioritizing a life where morality and humanity can be held supreme. They begin to worship their petty materialistic needs instead. The oppressor pretends to be a friend, raises slogans about happiness, prosperity, and the

promise of a bright future and this is used as bait. The people of this enslaved community are lured with subsidies and concessions. Through deceits, they are continuously cheated and every single thing is snatched from them. The oppressor of the enslaved nation placates, as if they are giving every facility such as flyovers, roads, water, hospitals, electricity, gas, schools, colleges, universities, radio, TV, mobile and Internet; they have a long list. But people of enslaved nations do not realize what has been snatched away from them. The evil design of the oppressor mesmerizes slaves in such a way that they feel benefited; however, on the contrary, they are losing everything. From under their very feet, their land is being snatched away but they are distracted by the railway tracks they got. While their forests are being cut down, they think they have got high rise-buildings; alongside this, the water resources are mortgaged while the occupational forces build hydel projects and control electricity. The enslaved community, instead of wondering where this is coming from, just assumes that electricity is arranged for them. To get employment, the youth stand in rows alongside those who have murdered, their brothers, sisters and friends. The blood is still dripping from their hands. And yet, these same enslaved people join those who physically violated their daughters, sisters and mothers and finally murdered them mercilessly. They quench the thirst in their belly for employment, and they become stooges in strengthening the occupation of their nation. These symbols and symptoms of an enslaved nation are visible everywhere. Apart from looting materials and resources of the enslaved nations, the most precious treasure which is looted by the oppressor is the treasure of religion, tradition, culture, language and ethics. This also includes disposition, conduct, character, chastity, human rights, respect for each other, virtue, traditions of families, brotherhood, morality and mutual respect, conception of unity of mankind, respect for elders, affection for younger, integrity, loyalty, sincerity, and love. With the help of military might and hegemony, they occupy, exploit and expand cultural imperialism on an enslaved nation. This, then, becomes their fate. This kind of cultural imperialism appears to be unique and

attractive; and, the most effective way through which it is disseminated is the educational system, about which Allama Iqbal has said:

> Secrets of the heart are best unrevealed
>
> It is better if regal point remains in heart:
>
> Oppressed cannot be more dominated more by sword
>
> Pour the self in the strong acid of education;
>
> When it becomes soft, mold it as you long.
>
> On this elixir's efficacy you can count: A heap of dust can change a mighty mount!

The new generation of the enslaved nation is brought down with this acid. From primary school to University, the un-Islamic culture and the ideology of 'atheism' is nurtured. The singing, dancing and musical programs are organized and promoted in the name of 'culture' and 'civilization.' The system of co-education is a successful and effective attempt to attack modesty and corrode the moral values of the society. If you look around, the death of morality and modesty is celebrated with pomp and splendor.

In the name of 'Good Will' (*Sadbhavna'* سدبھاونا) operation,[2] the Indian army has introduced educational institutions and it also looks after its arrangement. In these schools, children are brainwashed, and diverted from the Islamic culture. During activities like singing, dancing and sporting events, such steps are introduced intentionally which are in conflict with the notion of Islamic virtues and morality. This traps the children from the oppressed community and poor families who fall prey to these wicked plans.

[2] Sadbhavana or Good Will Operations involves a range of activities, including the construction of infrastructure such as roads, bridges, schools, and hospitals, as well as the provision of healthcare, education, and vocational training services to the local population. The program also includes cultural exchanges and sports events aimed at fostering a sense of camaraderie between the Indian Army and the local population. But local Kashmiris perceived this as an attempt to brain wash local youth.

Under the same operation medicines are distributed. Even a fast breaking ritual is organized during the holy month of Ramadan. The respected elders, leaders, educated and village representatives such as *numberdar*, *Chowkidar* and heads of different villages, *sarpanch*, are compelled to attend such programs organized under the '*Sadbhavna'* (سدبھاونا) operation. They are afraid that they will have to punish by making them appear before the army campus or the police station every day.

We have crossed all the limits of shamelessness, towards our religious and moral values and responsibilities to the community. Our girls of 9th and 10th class live in hostels which are run by non-Muslims of other states. These hostels are often visited by the army men from nearby camps. Parties are organized in which dance and music is played regularly. People from adjacent localities tolerate it as a mere spectacle. They don't even utter a word, neither do they protest, or take charge of these hostels. The even bigger tyranny is that these girls are sent along with strangers[3] 'to different states and cities like Maharashtra and Jammu city. How are they being treated there? They may be sold to brothels and compelled into romantic relationships, which is morally shocking. They are repeatedly physically violated. We witness all this and still claim to be Muslim. We pray, we fast, we conduct holy pilgrimage to Mecca (*Haj*), we are busy in chanting, meditation and praying, and yet our young girls, with their male classmates of their universities and colleges, go for tours around India. These tours are often organized by the heads and other authorities of these institutions. They have to do all this to please their masters. Since they are employees, they too feel compelled to do so.

[3] Strangers, غیر مَحرم : In Islamic terminology, a "مُحرم" (Mahram) refers to a close relative, such as a parent, sibling, or child, with whom marriage is permanently prohibited. On the other hand, a "غیر مُحرم" (Ghair-Mahram) is someone who is not a close relative and falls outside the permissible boundaries for marriage and intimate interactions.

The programs of the Indian Army are attended by our *Hajis* delightfully. They have forgotten that they have performed holy pilgrimage, visited the royal court of Almighty, performed rites on holy places such as '*Mina and Arafat*' during Haj[4] and finally declare prior to return : "Here I am, I submit. He is the only one; I submit, I submit. Here I am, here I am. He is the only one; here I am, here I am.**"** How far does it suit us to attend a fast breaking ritual (*Iftaar)* organized by the Indian Army? They do it in the interest of their nation; they misguide and brainwash our youth to Indian nationalists. So that we forget that India is an occupier state of Jammu and Kashmir. That this has been an imperialistic tactic, where, at gunpoint, they snatched everything from us. Now, after all this, they have been attempting to veil it by organizing different socializing programs.

Even after performing the holy pilgrimage, *Haj*, and returning from the holy city of Mecca, we are not courageous enough to decline invitation of the Indian Army and tell them straight that we cannot and will not attend their events of socialization. Because we are an oppressed community and you have violated the principles of humanity, morality and democracy, you have become our rulers and are ruling us. We are fighting against your oppression. It does not suit us to attend parties hosted by you. Since 1947, we have offered sacrifices of six lakh lives and we have 600 grave yards of martyrs. You have physically violated thousands of our mothers, sisters, and daughters. You brutally torture our young men in interrogation centers. After all this, the participation in your tea parties will be counted as a desecration of the blood

[4] Haj is an obligation for Muslim, if they can afford, during this holy pilgrimage rites are performed at 'Mina' and *Arafrat',* oath is taken at the royal court of Prophet at Medina that they we will only worship Allah and follow the footsteps of prophet and finally declare prior to returning home: Here I am, I submit. He is the only one; I submit, I submit (لبیک لبیک لا شریک لکَ لبیک).

of our martyrs. We cannot do this. But Whey Ayaz looks at these chains of slavery for him they are Gold.[5] And he presumes it as a music of love.

From Mahmud's magical effect on the eyes of Ayaz

Ayaz Could see, the chain around his neck as music of love!

Degradation of Society: A Cure

This was a glimpse of the natural impact of slavery that was brought to your notice. The other main reason for the degradation of society is based on our bad deeds. By and large, we have become a materialistic society. In aggressive materialism, people are not debarred from basic needs, such as food, clothing and home which are the primary requirements for any human being. But in our society, the principles of moderation and contentment required to balance the primary needs have disappeared. Simple foods are enough to satiate hunger and yet we consume lavish foods. The clothing too is amongst the primary needs and yet we utilize more and desire even more. When it comes to designing and constructing homes, we have crossed all boundaries. Even in our weddings, wastage and unnecessary expenditure has crossed all limits. This materialism has set us free from the notion and even considerations of the boundaries of right (halal) and wrong (haram) as per Islam. We have begun to consume more mutton. On the eve of our [Muslim] festivals, bakery items and dry fruits are imposed as essential items.

Smoking and now even drinking has become the reason for the collapse of our society. In our homes TV, mobiles and the internet are misused. These things are useful too, but only if they

[5] Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni or Mahmood Ghaznawi, was the most prominent Persian king. His slave named Ayaz is known for his servitude, obedience to wards his king Mahmud Ghaznawi.

are used properly. On television, there are educational programs and science shows, but we prefer to watch vulgar programs instead. The whole family watches vulgar programs, enjoying it together and are lost in it. Not only our young sons but our young daughters too watch vulgar programs on television. We do not keep a record of how much precious time is wasted on watching cricket matches. The most precious thing God has blessed us with is time and life; yet, we disregard and waste it. Our morality and virtues are quickly degrading. We now face a new phenomenon: suicide. The young boys stalk girls. Sometimes vulgarity is displayed in a detestable way. The introduction of co-education in schools, colleges and universities has further added to our moral decay. And on top of that, a new epidemic in the form of coaching are enforced upon us and there too we witness complicated circumstances. It is like, when you put dry grass and fire together, how do you not expect fire to be there?

Our clothes, which should be modest, are becoming vulgar. Elders have no control over their homes. Respect for elders and affection for the young has become a thing of the past. Emotions, affection and concern is over. On the one hand, money is squandered and food is wasted at home, and on the other hand, people starve and are forced to seek help. This economic inequality has created jealousy among the people which has resulted in theft, loot and plunder. It is becoming the norm. We have the Holy Quran for guidance which has been revealed by the Almighty. But we put it in a fine silk cover and placed it on a shelf. In front of us, the life of the Prophet, peace be upon him (PBUH), is the living Quran. We respect and enthusiastically praise him and send our salutations, but we do not follow his teachings (*sunnah*) and disregard it. Allah sent his messengers to spread his Word, so that people will be obedient to Allah:

> Tell them that the apostle we sent is for the sake of obedience to God. (Quran, 4:46)

The Prophet's disciples and saints are like the pillars of light, but we choose to worship their graves instead of getting enlightened from their teachings. Alas! In our daily transactions, in measurements and our weighing systems, we have become dishonest. We do not hold onto integrity in our daily businesses. During calamities instead of giving them a discount, we exploit members of our community instead. We exploit the vulnerability of our brethren. The truthfulness and permissible food is extinct. In our society, it is a usual practice to lie, backbite, create disappointments and create illusion on mere doubts. They distrust has become the poison of our collective society. Backbiting and mistrust has entered our blood like cancer. We trust our known enemies even though they speak illogically and irrationally, but get disheartened from our own brothers. As a result, we break our unity and are confused.

My aim is to draw attention to an image of our society, both individually and collectively, in order to highlight the impact of immorality and wickedness. These negative forces have not only led to the destruction of our world, but also our afterlife. Another significant loss is the erosion of our moral authority. In our struggle for freedom, we have sacrificed much, but in doing so, we have also relinquished the tool of moral superiority through our own actions. We must recognize that our opponents possess greater material power, and in this context, our best weapon is our moral superiority. As compared to the oppressor, we must display our suppression on all fronts. God helps those who have higher virtues and domination of morality. Our stance in this ongoing struggle is based on truth. To achieve it we should become truthful. When our cause is also based on truth, we will achieve it. Respect human rights and morality completely. We have to be strong like iron, not become weak and useless like the commodity which can be sold. We should not barter our great struggle and precious sacrifices for the sake of material benefits.

On the battle-field of life, adopt the nature of steel;

In the bed-chamber of love, become as soft as silk and painted brocade.

Pass like a river in full spate through the mountains and the deserts;

If the garden should come your way, then become a melodiously singing stream.

(Unknown)

If we are successful in possessing such qualities within us, then believe!

Almighty, who has everything in control, His help will come from unexpected ways.

(Unknown)

This is not impossible for God.

Remedy … Cure

In the Foreword of *On the Shores of Wular Volume II* (*Wular Kinare* Volume-II), I have merely pointed towards what we have been through while being trapped in the brutal paws of imperialist powers: The remedy is to get freedom. Freedom is our fundamental right. Islam, our religion, is the way of life, from its inception, it has advocated Freedom of all mankind.

Explanation: *The Prophet wrote to people of Najran (they were Christians), he wrote in a letter part of that is: "I invite you to worship God instead of being in bondage and adoring humans. And come out from the patronage and guardianship of humans to God's guardianship and kingdom"* (Commentary by Ibn Kathir Volume-I).

The Only Assurance for Peace is Islam

Explanation: *Adi, son of Hatem, says: Prophet told (Adi) "I swear by God who holds my life. God will establish his religion and such peace will prevail. Even a lone woman will walk from Syria to Mecca but no one will trouble her."*

Interpretation: *For sure this religion [Islam] will get political power. The rule will be so peaceful that a lone woman will travel hundreds of kilometers by herself, but nobody*

> *will trouble her. But, if the question of Islam is not enforced in every aspect of life, then Adi's (son of Hatem), forceful announcement becomes meaningless. Does this mean that in spite of the fact that somebody else holds political power, as a result of witnessing Islam [calling people to convert in Islam], the peaceful governance will be established, by itself? This philosophy of "By itself" is misleading."* (Siddiqui, 1980)

After we get independence, the same system [way of governance] will establish a peaceful system of governance. This is the moral obligation of believers who are shareholders of the blessing of freedom. If they fail to fulfil this obligation, they will become victims of anarchy, oppression and brutality. They will be deprived of peace, tranquility, coexistence and justice. They will be ruled by wicked and anti-Islamic forces and their individual and collective lives will become miserable in every aspect.

The anti-Islamic forces have deprived humans in general and Muslims in particular from the Islamic system of justice and peaceful coexistence. This is the largest tragedy of history. Today 57 countries are ruled by Muslims. But, none of these Muslim countries are governed by this perfect Islamic system in a comprehensive way. Almost all these countries have secular governments which have become dictatorships.

The second big tragedy is the groups or organisations who want to establish Islamic rule and are working for that. But, they are not adhering to Islamic teaching in their struggle; rather, they exploit power which has spoiled the image of Islam.

Thirdly, I have spoken about a remedy or cure for degradation of our society. The entire Muslims *'Ummah'* in general and our oppressed community in particular must turn to the

Quranic teaching. Read the Quran, understand it, follow it, spread its message, fulfil its mission and establish the Quranic system and make the Quranic mission the sole objective in life. The rise and fall of nations depends on how much they have adhered to the teachings of the Quran. The *Hadith sunnah* of Sahi al-Bukhari is:

> *The book will elevate those who fulfill their obligations to Allah, while those who rebel and fail to fulfill their obligations will be debased and pushed down. (Qutub: 1965)*

Today, Muslim '*Ummah*' is caught in a quagmire of humiliation, suffering and slavery from all four directions. The basic reason for this is the deviation from and rebellion against the teaching of the Holy Quran. The Holy Quran emphasis to Muslims to hold the Holy Quranic teachings strongly and firmly:

> *Hold fast together to Allah's cord and let nothing divide you. Remember the favour of Allah upon you, when you were enemies to one another, then He united your hearts, and by His grace, you became like brothers, and you were on the brink of the abyss of Fire and He rescued you from it. Thus does Allah make His signs clear to you so that you may find the right path to true success by these.* (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 3:103)
>
> Explanation*: Allah's cord" is the way of life prescribed by Him. It is a "cord" because it keeps intact the relations of all Believers with Allah and also binds and unites them into a community. "Hold fast together to Allah's cord" implies that Muslims should give the greatest importance to Allah's Way; they should make it the centre of all their interests and exert their utmost to establish it and co-operate with one another for its service. When and if they let loose this cord and deviate from its basic principles, they would inevitably suffer from disunity and would be divided into sections and subsections, like dead communities of the former Prophets. As a consequence of this,*

they would meet with disgrace both in this world and in the Next.

This refers to that horrible state of the Arabs from which they were rescued by Islam. Before Islam, their clans were divided into hostile camps, who went to war for frivolous reasons. Human life had lost its sanctity and people were killed without any pangs of conscience. The fee of enmity would have burnt to ashes all the Arabs, if blessed Islam had not rescued them from it. This blessing had appeared in a tangible form at Al-Madinah at the time of the revelation of these verses. The two clans—Axis and khazraj— who had been enemies for years and had been involved in bitter feuds and bloody battles, only became part of one brethren after they embraced Islam. Not only this: they also showed that spirit of sacrifice for the rehabilitation of the refugees from Mecca that has no parallel in history. (Towards Understanding the Quran, Vol-I, 1970)

If Muslims would have united on the foundation of the Quranic teachings, then they would have been the leaders and rulers of this world. Therefore, Muslims would not have been trapped in the quagmire of un-Islamic ideologies, perceptions, political and economic slavery. The Holy Quran would have been guiding our lives. But Muslims have stopped adhering to Quranic teachings and have accepted the un-Islamic way of life. Therefore, they have lost their dignified and honourable position in the world.

The readers have read the translation and interpretation of verses of Surah Al-Imran. If Muslim had adhered to the commands of the Quran, united under this religion and fulfilled its obligations, then Muslims, individually and collectively, would have remained safe from the world's brutal force and colonial powers. I finish this foreword with the lines from a well-known Egyptian Islamic scholar, Sayyid Qutub:

> *The pressing task of the present time is to instill courage and self-confidence among Muslims, as well as to revive the confidence of the past and nurture hope and courage for the future. Muslims must reinvigorate their faith in Islam, the religion whose name they invoke but whose true nature they may not fully comprehend. Due to their birth into this religion, many have a merely ethnic or hereditary connection with it, without putting in the effort to truly understand it.* (Qutub, 1949)

About the book

Although some readers may consider the initial pages irrelevant, I deemed it necessary to include them in the preface. The circumstances surrounding the readership of this book require an introduction and a familiarity with the context that cannot be ignored. Within this volume, the participation of Jamaat-i-Islami (JIJ&K) in the Panchayat and midterm elections of 1972, and the victory of five JIJ&K nominees in the assembly elections, are detailed. Unfortunately, the published report of the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly fails to adequately address the issue of election rigging and the performance of Members of the Legislative Assembly, as it only includes a few questions and answers, which do not fully capture the gravity of the situation. The 1975 Accord is also discussed in detail, highlighting the signatories' hollow promises and their subsequent failure to fulfill them. Despite this, leaders who surrendered to the Indian State and undermined the 22-year freedom struggle managed to win the 1977 elections due to the voters' collective forgetfulness of history. This raises concerns about the political maturity of our oppressed community and their repeated exploitation by the same oppressors. Our blind allegiance and hero worship towards leaders, without due consideration of their actions and decisions, has led to our misery and misfortune. The lack of standards and criteria is a significant issue that the Prophet has addressed by providing suitable measures.

While not obeying God; it is not permissible to follow creature of God. (Hadeeth)

Even if parents ask children to disobey Allah and the Prophet (*PBHH*), they should not obey at any cost. Although to obey and respect parents is compulsory, yet in spite of that if they order to disobey God then their obedience is not permissible. How then we should obey and follow a leader who explicitly advised us to not follow God or the Prophet. In the Holy Quran, God has said:

> *We have conjoined man to do good to his parents, but if they force you to associate Me with another (deity) whom you do not know (as such), you should not obey them. You all have to return to me: then I shall tell you what you have been doing.* (Towards Understanding the Quran, 18:8)

I was the only member of Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) elected for Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly in 1977. You will read details in this book as well. You will come to know the performance of a lone member. During the year 1979, after the hanging of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the entire region of Jammu and Kashmir, from 4th to 9th April, underwent a pogrom unleashed against the members of Jamaat-i-Islami under the supervision of the government. You will see the glimpses of damage and acts of terrorism as well. You will understand how our community, without any comprehension, became victims of conspiracies and indulged in violence against their own brothers. From these incidents, readers must learn that the primary necessity today is the building of character among the members of the 'community' or 'nation.'

Along with materialistic benefits and material needs, until the character-building of the community on ideological basis is not built, they will not be able to discern the reality of the

situation. If not guided properly, character-building cannot be done and the community will be destroyed.

Allama Iqbal has captured the image of this scene.

The wisdom of the East and West Has taught me something
That will prove elixir to slaves:
Whether it is religion or philosophy, poverty or kingship –
All take firm beliefs as their base.
The words that a nation speaks are dead and its actions are futile
If its heart is bereft of firm beliefs. (Allama Iqbal)

Our community and collective character-building has not taken place on the foundations of strong beliefs. Therefore, we salute the rising sun, and get destroyed by any wind. The tragedy of 1979 is the result of this.

In 1981, I was blessed to perform the holy pilgrimage [Hajj]. This happened because of the invitation of the Department of Religious Affairs and Endowment of Saudi Arabia and also with the help of Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai and late Dr. Mohammad Ayoob Thakur. The details of the pilgrimage are in this book. In September 1982, Shaikh Mohammad passed away and the details of his funeral procession are also recorded in this book. The suffering of the oppressed community is the result of the shortsighted and immature politics of the leader. I do not know how long the community has to suffer,

One moment I became inattentive and got lost from my way for centuries.

In Jammu and Kashmir, people have faced severe punishments for mere moments of mistakes. The Jammu and Kashmir Legislative election of 1983 saw no Jamaat-i-Islami (J&K JI) candidates emerge victorious. It was also during this time that the double Farooq accord was established. Despite being imprisoned for 30 months in 1984, I continued to engage in comprehensive activities, and this book provides a detailed account of my experiences during that era. Prior to the 1987 elections, the formation of the Muslim United Front (MUF) took place, and only four (4) nominated candidates were able to secure seats in the Jammu and Kashmir legislative elections under its banner. However, during this period, the members of the Muslim United Front were surprisingly defeated. I encourage the readers of this book to identify these individuals and remember their conspiracies, as they are still actively working.

I met leaders, during night, in a desert,

Everyone holding in hand an extinguished lamp!

These extinguished lamps chase us. If Muslim United Front (MUF) would not have fragmented on its own, the formation of Jammu and Kashmir All Party Hurriyat Conference (J&K APHC), would not have been required. The oppressed community had a lot of expectations from MUF. But our own protectors became enemies of our Guardians and attacked them.

I, instead attacking those who destroy, target the Guardians of my home.

The guardian are responsible for the destruction of my home. (Hafeez Jalandhri)

At the end of 1988, the armed struggle started. On 30th of August, 1989 three members of MUF resigned from J&K legislative Assembly and gave priority to be part of the people's resistance movement instead. You can read details of the same in the book. To crush the resistance movement, the Indian Government appointed Jag Mohan as Governor, follower of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) ideology. He was known for his brutality and

highhandedness of the tragedy at Turkman Gate. He initiated the use of enormous power and started to shed the precious blood of Muslims of Kashmir, especially of the youth. Some incidents of this era are incorporated in the *On the Shores of Wular Vol-II.* In Delhi, V.P. Singh was then the Prime Minister. He appointed Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, a Kashmiri congress leader, as Home Minister of India. On his advice blood was shed in Kashmir.

Do not accuse them of murder; they merely glimpsed
The reflection of a dagger's blade for a moment.

While reading the massacres of this period the reader will get goosebumps. Through these incidents it is explicit that with military might the Indian State wants to control the disputed region Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian State is not concerned about the majority of people of Jammu and Kashmir. They are not worried whether the Muslim people of Jammu and Kashmir live or die. They only desire to forcefully occupy the land of Jammu and Kashmir and its entire resources. Prior to my arrest, I wrote an open letter to V. P. Singh, the ex-Prime Minister of India, which has been published and was mailed to him, (that too is incorporated in this book reader can read as well), In this the Indian state was informed that the youth of Kashmir have taken the path of freedom struggle, because Indian State has broken all promises and desires to continue their wicked and unconstitutional occupation. To the Prime Minister it was written that a political resolution of the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir must be found so that bloodshed can be avoided, but this appeal fell on deaf ears.

The reader can also read about the circumstances and what transpired with me after the arrest of 10th April 1990, until 4th April 1992. The incidents and facts from 1992 to 1993 too are incorporated for the reader. The reader will come to know the story of incarceration from 1993

to Tihar Jail, Trikuta Nagar Jammu Jail, until October 1994. The second volume of *On The Shores of Wular, Vol-II* concludes with the second pilgrimage of Mecca (Haj).

Gratitude

The draft of this book was sent to Prof. Khursheed Ahmad, but because of his ailments and busy schedule, he could not write the preface then. Finally, I requested him through Siffe *Sahib,* who met him personally and conveyed my message, that the only thing manuscript is lacking is preface, rest is ready for publication. He agreed that he will write and send the preface on 25th July. Thank God, he kept his promise and sent the preface on time and the same is part of the book. It is my obligation to thank him from the bottom of my heart. In spite of not keeping well, he kept his promise. I am short of words to thank him. I pray, may God grant him enough time and chance to guide and teach the eighteen crore Muslims according to the '*Quran'* and '*Sunnah.'*

In the preparation of *Wular Kinare* vol. II, I am indebted to three people: Shabeer Ahmad who simultaneously worked on the book without any delay, while taking care of his ailing father. Whatever time he got he was sincerely devoted towards composing the book. May God heal his father and for this hard work may God reward Shabeer Ahmad, in this world and hereafter. I am thankful to him from the bottom of my heart.

Mohammad Afzal Lone, in charge, Millat Publication, helped to proofread the manuscript. May God give him a great reward as well. Nayeem-al-Zafar, My son, apart from proofreading, he edited book, as he desired. Wherever the text needed to be corrected, he did so. May God give him good health and true guidance and I am thankful to him from the bottom of my heart.

The readers of the *Wular Kinare* vol. II, are requested to point out any lacunae or any mistake they come across, so that in another edition those mistakes can be corrected. In *Wular Kinare* vol. I, I have mentioned many personalities, but. I have not exaggerated, rather I have mentioned whatever has happened, whatever I heard, and came across, I have attempted to write that as it was. While writing this book, I have kept in mind civility, politeness and decorum. I have not, at any point, let it go away. If a reader of *Wular Kinare, Vols. I & II* understands the pain of my heart, I think my hard work has paid off. That pain of heart is pointed out by Allama Iqbal.

> Today that land of Kashmir, under the heels of the enemy, has become weak, helpless and poor
> Once known among the wise as Little Iran.
> A cry of burning lament issues forth from the heavens,
> When the man of truth is overawed by the power and pomp of the king and landlord.
> The old farmer's cottage, on the mountainside, where pain and grief ever rule—
> Tells its sad story of Fate's hard lot.
> So skillful of hands, so rich in mind, these people, alas, or pure breed,
> O God, your justice, so long delayed, must come at last as a retribution. *(*Allama Iqbal)

In the end, I say all praises to the Almighty who is God of all the Universes.

Dated: July 28, 2012
Your Well-wisher,
Syed Ali Gilani

The Assembly Elections of 1972

Chapter 5

The midterm parliamentary elections were held in 1971. Readers now know how members of Congress party rigged elections and how they publically looted ballot boxes. In March 1972, state assembly elections were announced. GM Sadiq had passed away. Late Mir. Qasim had taken over, and these elections were held under his administration. The Supreme Council of JIJ&K, unanimously decided to participate in these elections. Late Qari Saifuddin () and Nazeer Ahmad Kashani registered their dissent. Qari Saifuddin was still incarcerated in the Central Jail in Srinagar because he had opposed 'secularism'. JIJ&K gave him a mandate from Khanyar, Srinagar. I was given two mandates from Baramulla. Heryal Constituency was selected as it had given us the maximum votes in the parliamentary election. Sopore was a priority, and I contested from both these two constituencies. The Congress had reorganised constituencies of Heryal, Sopore, and Rafiabad in such a way that Zaingair got divided into three parts: From Watlab to Zalora was part of Heryal, Adipora was added to Sopore, and made part of Sungrama Constituency of the present day. So our campaign was focused on both constituencies. Hisamuddin Bandy was the Chief Election agent of both constituencies. He was performing his duties sincerely, politely, and strategically. He was blessed enormously with administrative capabilities. He worked day and night and made all members active and effective. Back then, Lolaab was part of the Kupwara constituency, and Mohammad Ashraf Sahrai's nomination was rejected on the basis that he was a member of the 'Plebiscite Front' (PF) in the past. The members of PF were forbidden to participate in elections as it was banned. As we participated in elections, the members of PF had some misunderstandings about it. But we explained our participation in the light of the aims and objectives that got addressed. That is why the top leaders of PF and workers supported candidates of JIJ&K during the Assembly election and played a pivotal role in the Sopore Assembly Constituency. The campaign in Sopore was at its peak. Those workers who got trained in parliament elections were more interested and campaigned enthusiastically. In Doabgah, the services of Ameeruddin Marazi,

the Sumjhi brothers, the Guru Brothers and their work cannot be forgotten. Wagub, Zerun, Sherakwarh, Chund, and Kaowchak were part of the Sopore Constituency. A tiny village of the Sikh community, too, was part of our constituency. On that day, the weather was cold and ruthless. Shaheed Hisamuddin Bandy, Bashir Ahmad Lone of Wagub, Mohammad Ashraf Lone, Ghulam Mohammad Lone, along with Ghulam Hassan Lone were returning from these villages. The vehicle got stuck in the mud on the slope. On this occasion, the immense effort put by these people to take the vehicle out of the mud was often mentioned by Shaheed Hisamuddin Bandyas, who was a symbol of dedication and warrior-like nature. Usually, it rained, but sometimes snowfall was seen in March. In every locality, programmes were arranged, and we did not even worry about food. I remember we had a rally in Shirakwarah, and I was addressing the gathering but was hungry. Young people secretly told to an elderly man that Geelani sahib was hungry. He happily agreed to host me, took me to his house, served rice and pickle, and was compassionate and generous while the rally continued. This food was so delicious; whenever I remember it, my heart and mind fill with joy. I do not remember the name of that generous man, and perhaps I did not ask him. We experienced sincerity, generosity, and hospitality all the time. The activities in both constituencies were exhausting. One day, we went 25 miles on foot along with a group of young people to the Heryal Constituency. The enthusiasm, jubilation, welcome, and fellowship of people were worth watching. Our speeches had an ideological and philosophical touch and were filled with awareness. Our campaign was attractive and understood by the common man, compared to the campaigns of the other two political parties, which were boring and dry. In our campaign, we met people personally, and in rallies, our ideas injected life into our public gatherings. In the Sopore Constituency, my opponent was Ghulam Nabi Mircha. He was the brother-in-law of Ghulam Rasool Car. He was not a public speaker. Ghulam Rasool Car campaigned and sought support on his behalf. In Heryal, my opponent was Abdul Gani Mir. He belonged to the Mir

dynasty. He won elections in 1967 and became Deputy Minister. He belonged to the landlord community. He was rich and hence inherited influence in the constituency. His elder brother Abdul Kabir Mir went around and sought support from people. For that, he took an oath from people on 'Panj Surahs'[6] of the Holy Quranthat they would vote for Abdul Gani Mir. Those were the champions of secular politics who did not believe in the perfection and collectiveness of religion. But to achieve political goals, they use religion and garner the support of people in every era. But later, when they attain power, they are among the first who sow the seed of such ideology, which crushes religion and moral values. They declare religion as a personal affair and announce the rejection of guidance of religion in all aspects of life but exploit religion for the sake of power. This aspect was kept in mind by the JIJ&K while participating in the election, i.e. people must be made aware of the exploitation of religion, and they must be told in explicit words and style that the champions of secularism are openly exploiting their religious sentiments. People should be informed against the exploitation of politicians of their innocence, deception, and victimisation. So that they can reach the Parliament and Assembly, where they would approve the business of lending money on interest or usury as a constitutional right. Approve the sale of liquor and argue that the state gets tax. People needed to know that these politicians were destroying society, promoting evil, and assisting wickedness in every household. They are responsible for existence of liquor shops everywhere and licences being issued. When anyone raised their voice loud and clear against it, in reply, they said that the state does not force people to drink. They permit liquor shops to stabilize the economy. One should go to a mosque to bring awareness, educate people, and tell them that drinking alcohol is injurious to health. This means that we should use all the resources of the state to promote

[6] Punj Souras : A collection of sixteen Surahs from the Quran.

all forms of immorality, and we remain confined within the four walls of the mosque to give sermons against immorality. This has been the style of functioning of secular politics (لادین)[7].

Mohammad Shafi Pundit, who then was the Divisional Magistrate in Sopore, was known to me. He was an upright, honest officer and a great administrator. We were confident that the tactics of Congress would not work in Sopore. He would not allow returning office to rig the election at any cost, which would have an impact on the results. Despite this, in Adipor, one ballet box was filled with bogus votes in one polling booth. Abdul Ahad Kahro was the presiding officer. He might have encouraged Mohammad Ramzan Para. Abdul Ahad Kahro was under the influence of Ghulam Rasool Car. It is on his directions that Mohammad Ramzan got courage and confidence to rig the election. The youth of Sopore came to know that rigging had taken place in this booth. Without delay, the young men rushed to Adipor and caught Abdul Ahad Kahro red-handed and Mohammad Ramzan casting fake votes. Both were beaten to a pulp. The Police reached the spot, and both were arrested and put in a lock-up at the police station so that they can be protected from the wrath of the young. As the young voters were furious, they could have broken their ribs and bones, but the police protected them. The Sub-District Magistrate (SDM) appreciated the young men and openly acknowledged this action. Adipor was Hisamuddin Bandy's native place and he knew Mohammad Ramzan Para's affection for Congress. Despite that, he advised for their protection and forgiveness. May God forgive his sins and bless him in paradise! He always attempted to be friends with everyone, and despite differences, he visited everyone and helped them. He believed that we must visit

[7] La-deen: Is an Urdu term that describes a political ideology based on secularism and the separation of religion and state. It is loosely translated as secularism.

everyone despite differences with them: they might not become our supporters, but at least they would not oppose, and that, too, is our victory.

On the counting day, Mohammad Shafi was personally supervising counting. In his presence, no one could think of cheating. Rigging was the norm for Congress during those days. The same had been done during the midterm parliamentary elections in 1971. Hisamuddin Bandy, as a Chief Election Agent, went to every counting table and watched the actions of counting agents. Among our agents were Mir Ameeruddin Marazi and Ghulam Rasool Mir (late), and they were so intelligent and efficient that the congress agents could not cheat in their presence. After counting JIJ&K candidate won by four thousand votes. I remember Mohammad Shafi Sahib announced my victory as a presiding officer, and his face was blushing like a red rose. Deep down in his heart, he had desired my victory. During the election, he came to know the way I operated and addressed gatherings. He knew that I spoke of principles. I sought the support of people based on ideology, which was the principle we adopted in campaigns and not on false promises. This is the criteria to test an honest upright officer. In Sopore, the real contest was againt Ghulam Rasool Car not his brother-in-law, Ghulam Nabi Mircha who lost the election. After the announcement of my victory the first person who called me up was Ghulam Rasool Kar. Among others who were victorious were Qari Saifuddin from Srinagar, Ghulam Nabi Nowshari from Tankipora, Abdul Razak Bitchro from Kulgam, and Ali Mohammad Dar from Nanandi. That is how five members of JIJ&K were declared victorious. The Chief (Ameer) of JIJ&K held a meeting with all five victorious candidates. Then, the office of JIJ&K was in Maisuma. While delivering a lecture about the Quran, “Dars-e-Quran”, he reminded all five elected members of their responsibilities. There were none among the participants who did not have tears in their eyes. The people had elected candidates of JIJ&K with hopes and expectations. It was now the responsibility of all elected members to address

the expectations. The members did not ignore their basic needs. The main objective of participating in the election was to present Islam on the floor of the Assembly as the holy, just system of equality in the governance, and this was not to be only verbally communicated but in actions and raise the Kashmir dispute in the Assembly. For participation in elections, all the restrictions and compulsions imposed by the government of India must be only considered as unavoidable circumstances. By 'Defective', we are occupied by the Indian Nation State, but not by de jure. By 'defective', we are forced to go through certain constraints. By 'Dejure', we do not accept accession into India because it is against reality. As far as this was possible, these foundational objectives had to be given topmost priority. The members of JIJ&K, too, had the same expectation from the elected members: that the elected members, at any cost, would not dent its image and its statutes would not be dishonoured. With humbleness and eyes full of tears, prayers were submitted to God to give courage, ability and guide them to accomplish the responsibility entrusted to the elected members of JIJ&K. Qari Saifuddin was nominated as group leader by the then chief 'Ameer' of JIJ&K and other elected members were advised to be obedient and coordinate on different issues and decide the policy.

This was a new experience. All members were worried that in the Assembly, we should not exhibit any weakness in front of the Congress, the ruling party, who would try to lure us with benefits. Mohammad Shafi (late) was appointed as our legal advisor. He had retired from government service. He was a LLB and a man with great capabilities. Gentle, simple, friendly, well-mannered, and a beautiful smile were the salient features of his persona. The sense of humour of Qari Sahib and late Syed's seriousness was a beautiful combination. Shaheed Abdul Razak also had a good sense of humour; because of that, the floor of the Assembly was usually a pleasant place.

The Assembly session was to be held in Jammu. The elected members went to Jammu accompanied by a few other members who wanted to see the performance of the newly elected members in the Assembly. Among them were Shaheed Ali Mohammad Bhat alias Sofi Tarigami, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Lone, and Khandwani. The members of JIJ&K were allotted rooms in a tourist center. The kitchen was common for all of us, and the aforementioned were delegated the responsibility of cooking as well, which they performed enthusiastically. Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Lone was a neighbour and relative of Shaheed Abdul Razak. The dal he prepared was so tasty that other dishes paled in comparison. Shaheed Ali Mohammad, too cooked food well. May God accept his martyrdom. He was a very active and effective member of the Islamic Movement. He was martyred by renegades[8] in Tarigam. A golf club was established and named after him after his martyrdom in Tarigam. The story of the brutality of renegades is long; that, too, will be discussed at an appropriate time. God willing!

L K. Jah, then the Governor of J&K, was to address the joint session of the J&K Assembly, and he started his address in English. We got up to declare that the language of Jammu and Kashmir is Urdu; the Governor must speak in Urdu. This was the first time in the joint session of the Assembly that such a demand was raised. The Congress and Junsung members objected and made noise and insisted that there should not be any disturbance during the address of the Governor, for that was an insult to the position and statutes of the Governor. But we raised our demand again forcefully. When no heed was paid, we walked out in protest, which was our right. Hence from day one, we projected our identity as the opposition members.

[8] Renegades: Renegades a Pro-India Kashmiri Militia which worked along with security forces to crush the armed struggle.

For the details of our role in the Assembly, one cannot only rely on memory because it has been a very long time. In 1972, along with five members, I was in the Assembly, from 1977 to 1983 I was the only member during 1987-1989. I won and became the leader of the MUF group. In my role during this time span, I made many attempts to get a record from the J & K Assembly. After much hard work, plenty of unorganised papers were obtained, but alas they were not very useful.

Challenges of Modern Era and Muslim Youth

Chapter 9

On this topic, Altaf Ahmad Shah and Abdul Majeed Khan organised a special interaction with the youth in Hotel Lala Rukh, Srinagar. Many young people had gathered there. They were enthusiastic and listened to my address with full attention. After praises and thanks, I recited this verse from the Quran:

> Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves. (Quran, 13:11)
>
> God has never changed the circumstances of a nation
>
> Who did not change their circumstances. (Zaffer Ali Khan)

This is a law of nature that if a nation is prosperous and happy, God will not unnecessarily create any problems for them unless they do such evil things that will turn their prosperity and peace into war and vehemence. If any nation is sinking into a quagmire of slavery, God will

not send his angels to rescue, carry them in their laps, and grant them freedom and a peaceful environment. The Muslim youth must introspect and see what challenges are there in front of them in today's world, what they should do to fight these challenges, and what methods they must adopt. Today is the era of science and technology, and Muslim youth, without any doubt, must be aware that Islam does not forbid incorporating science into religion. God has created this whole universe for the benefit of humankind. The Sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, lakes, and everything was created to address human needs and make the lives of humankind easy. To bring these elements under control for the greater benefit of humankind is the basic demand of Islam. But in today's world, such a situation prevails that science and technology do not regard morality and virtue as important. Science continues to invent things that are more harmful to society than useful. The death toll of World War-I and II is so high that it gives you goosebumps. The most powerful countries vie for supremacy of power, and to enforce their ideology, they use enormous power. To enforce Communism, so many followers of other religions were massacred. Places of worship were destroyed. Human thoughts, concerns, values, and faiths were crushed for the sake of mere materialistic benefits. This has become part of history. Likewise, 'White Imperialism,' in comparison with 'Red Imperialism,' has used arms and armies to enforce feudalism. In 1945, America dropped the atomic bomb on two cities in Japan, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and killed lakhs of people; the land became barren, and even today, after sixty-seven (67) long years, many new babies are born with deformities. The educational and economic systems are prepared in such a way that unkindness toward fellow humans is promoted. To face this challenge, the Muslim youth must study Islam carefully to see what path of life Islam offers. Once they understand the module of Islam, Muslim youth will be blessed, encouraged, gain enthusiasm, and become active in facing the challenges of this world. After Muslims have understood the status of Islam, they will become torches of light for humanity and will not remain followers of this materialistic world.

There is the shortsightedness of some people who believe in the philosophy that Muslims must blend in any given circumstances and give examples like ‘when in Rome, be like the Roman.’ No! If the world does not accept the Islamic way, enforces un-Islamic system, which is perpetuating violence on mankind and enforced on Muslim, in such a situation, Islam demands that [Muslims] must fight it out and reject that un-Islamic system and struggle to establish the Islamic system.

A fair and just system cannot be installed until the unjust and brutal system is removed. This struggle and fight cannot be ignored at any cost. This is such a demand of struggle which cannot be ignored. Nowadays, Muslim youth are forced to be inert, and excuses of obedience are hunted to enforce evil views upon them. Iqbal says,

> They manipulate slaves into accepting servitude,
>
> While making excuses for the problems.

On the internal front, this is the biggest challenge for mature Muslims. This must be faced and addressed as a top priority. This reality must be understood, so we can move ahead with that fight, as struggle lies at the core of Islam.

> Struggle has continued from eternity till the present day
>
> Between the lamp of Mustafa and the spark of Abu Lahab. (Allama Iqbal)

The biggest challenge faced by the Muslim youth of Jammu and Kashmir in general and the Muslim youth of Kashmir, in particular, is ‘slavery.’ The ill fate of this paradise on earth is that the people of this region have been enslaved for centuries.

In 1846, after the slavery of Sikhs, the British Imperialists sold Jammu and Kashmir for seventy-five thousand Nanuk Shahi Takas to Dogra of Jammu. On this, Allama Iqbal has shed tears of blood:

> The Farmer, the cultivation and roads are sold
>
> The community sold, cheap or expensive.

For seven takas, each human was sold. What could be a bigger humiliation of humanity than this, which was orchestrated by British imperialism. The brutal and humiliating era of Dogra remained for a century until 1947.

When the 1947 partition took place, there was a possibility of independence for this oppressed nation, but the power-mongering leadership, which became leaders to resist the Dogra regime, became a hindrance. On the 13th of July, 1931, 22 Muslims were martyred, as Qadeer Khan alleged that the Dogra Army had humiliated Islam and desecrated the Holy Quran in Jammu. This blood of martyrs nurtured the freedom struggle among the oppressed and suppressed nation. In 1932, the Muslim Conference came into being to protect the rights of enslaved, victimised, and brutalised Muslims. But selfish people and short-sighted leaders divided Muslim Conference. Prior to partition the Indian National Congress and Muslim League were two organisations that led the freedom struggle against Britain. This ill-fated region and its two

organisations, too, got divided. The Muslim League impacted the Muslim Conference, and the National Conference was impacted by the Indian National Congress. Since that day, slavery has begun and the youth of the brutalised nation must remember this context.

The British divided the Indian subcontinent based on the 'Two Nation Theory.' The Princely States and other independent states were not directly governed by the British. To them, Lord Mountain Benton, the then Governor General, wrote a letter and directed them to either be part of India or Pakistan or to be independent. But three principles must be kept in mind, (1) which country do you share a border with, India or Pakistan, (2) Who is the majority in your state, Hindu or Muslim, (3) With which state are your religious and cultural practices common? If we keep these three principles in mind, India's occupation of Kashmir cannot be justified. A border of seven hundred and fifty miles is shared with Pakistan. In 1947, the population of Muslims was eighty-five per cent (85%) in Kashmir. Religiously and culturally, Kashmir is more compatible with the region which had become Pakistan than with India. But, as a result of the new deep and unholy conspiracy, the ill-fated people of this region once again were chained under the newly rising imperialistic dark forces. In this conspiracy, the four basic elements are involved. Our youth must be aware of these bitter truths. The British Imperialists, while dividing Punjab, included Gurdaspur Tehsil in the Indian Map. The same Tehsil was shown in June 1947 as part of Pakistan. The Red Cliff Award[9] is the first step for our Slavery. In 1947, the Tribals came from Pakistan and if guided properly, they would not have indulged in violence and taken control of Srinagar Airport. This would have stopped the entry of the Indian Army into Kashmir, and Kashmir would have been saved from the occupation. This was the second step. The cadres of the National Conference misguided Tribals and diverted them

[9] The Red Cliff Award is recognized as the demarcation line that partitioned British India into two separate countries.

from the original mission. The Tribals forgot their purpose, and the National Conference workers instigated them to chase and kill Sikhs and Hindus. This became the second step. Hari Singh, then the last symbol of the Dogra Monarchy, pleaded with the Indian Nation State to save him from the Tribals, but the Indian Nation-State put a prior condition of accession. Hari Singh's plea was endorsed by SM Abdullah. This became the third step. Then, the rulers of Pakistan who rose under the shadows of the Muslim League were neither Islamic nor religiously trained. They were only dominated by the spirit of Muslim Nationalism and were associated with the Indian Muslim League of Pakistan. Despite the leaders' efforts to mobilize people by raising the slogan "Pakistan ka matlab kya: La ilaha illallah" (What does Pakistan mean: There is no God but Allah), their failure to fully understand its meaning led to a lack of necessary measures being taken to save Kashmir. Moulana Maudoodi, the great sympathiser of the Muslim Nation in general and the Muslims of Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir in particular, left Darussalam Camp in Pathankot and reached Pakistan on 29th August 1947. The first thing he did was to meet Nawab Mohammad Wat, Chief Minister of Punjab, and told him, "You are losing Kashmir. If you want to save it, then you must organise an army and send it to Jammu to stop the Indian Army at Jammu so that they cannot enter Kashmir". Late Mohammad Wat said, "Maulvi Sahib, mind your own business and allow us to do ours". The lack of wisdom and capacity to take practical steps became the fourth step for our slavery.

Kashmir Accord … The Change in Strategy

Chapter 29

In the autobiography of SM Abdullah, "*The Flames of Chinar"* (Aatish-e-Chinar, 597), he says that the title was the result of that plan which was planned when he got released from jail in 1964. The Plebiscite Front organised 'Peoples' Convention' in 1964 in Mujahid Manzil,

presided by JP Narayan was part of that design. This is mentioned by Qari Saifuddin, who then represented JIJ&K in this convention. He wrote:

> The principles which will guide, it was mentioned that, the resolution of Kashmir must be done in such a way that it must strengthen the 'secular' and 'democratic' forces. To this clause, I objected that, on the one hand, we are saying that Kashmir is disputed; on the other, we are saying that secular and democratic forces be strengthened. This is explicit that the future of Kashmir is being aligned with India, as secularism was the slogan of India. I further said because our state, as it is evident by this convention, that our state is not part of any country, Now we have to decide whether accede to Pakistan or further strengthen the temporary accession and make it permanent with India or sign agreements with both the states and remain independent. To keep this reality in mind, we should not make any changes in guiding principles or use any abbreviation or word which gives interpretation to which direction the 'intention' and 'objectives' of the leadership are marching. (Saifuddin: 99)

> The intentions and directions of the leadership were explicit, but they wanted to 'confuse' the entire Nation, which was an integral part of their politics. See the contradiction of thoughts and deeds: on the one hand, there was the 'Plebiscite Front' whose aims, objectives and slogans were the accession of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Nation state which was not permanent but rather temporary and conditioned with Plebiscite.' The organisation was established so that the plebiscite would be held per the resolutions of the United Nations so that the nation, without any difference or discrimination, would choose its future. But on the other hand, Indian friends were told.

> I have told Indian Friends that I do not disagree about the accession, but I have disagreements with them about the 'Boundaries of accession'. In 1947, we bilaterally

> decided boundaries of accession in the form of Article 370. But Indian leaders forcefully, unconstitutionally, and unilaterally distorted Article 370. This became the reason we parted ways. If those boundaries are reestablished, then our disagreements can be resolved. In this regard, if Mrs. Indira Gandhi wants to discuss this with me, I am willing to do so. Hence, the Prime Minister [Mrs. Indira Gandhi] took the initiative and sent PN Thakur, her secretary, to the Medical Institute where I was under treatment then." (Abdullah, 1985)

If there was no objection to accession, how can the incarceration, suppression, and torture for twenty-two years of an entire nation be justified? SM Abdullah himself was incarcerated for eleven years. And in the same way, from 1953 -1975, those who walked on this hope and demanded a "plebiscite be held immediately" spent their resources and sacrificed their lives. The twenty years struggle finally was called wondering 'Awargardee.' This leadership, with the help of the inconsistency and immaturity of this nation, got protected from any accountability in this world, but maintaining continuous guards on graves is an example of deterrence. The hereafter is known only to God. He likes his mercy. For us, we have guidance in these verses of the Quran:

> *At that moment, those who have been followed will disown their followers, and they will see the chastisement, and their resources will be cut asunder. And the followers will then say; "Oh, if only we might return, would we disown them as they have disowned us?" Thus, Allah will show them their works in a manner causing them bitter regrets. Never will they come out of the Fire*. (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 2: 166-167)
>
> Interpretation: "Here, the particular reference is made to the dismal end of those so-called religious leaders who mislead people and of their gullible followers, who fall easy prey to their deception. This has been done to warn Muslims to be aware of the errors of the

misled former nations and to impress upon them the need to develop the capacity to distinguish between true and spurious leaders to avoid being led by the latter. (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 1970)

The accord of 1975 cannot be given any other name than simple surrender. In this paragraph of my book titled "*The Cry of Pain: Volume I* (صدا ے درد جلد اول)", states:

Our aim is to secure our nation's birthright, a position we are willing to fight for relentlessly. No leader or entity can deceive this cause, and if anyone attempts to do so, we will persist with our struggle regardless of the cost. While some may choose to alter their approach, such as contesting elections, seeking internal autonomy, or compromising within the Indian Constitution's framework, such actions will not diminish the urgency and authenticity of our struggle.SM Abdullah, a towering figure in Jammu and Kashmir, signed an agreement in 1975, yet the struggle persisted, and his lack of foresight damaged his reputation severely.

In order for a struggle to endure and remain steadfast, it requires both a psychological and practical connection, as well as a resolute belief in its legitimacy and authenticity. This conviction and confidence serve as a gateway to generate determination, patience, and assurance for those who align themselves with the cause. Moreover, it provides motivation to make sacrifices in pursuit of the struggle's objectives.

With unwavering commitment, these sacrifices are safeguarded, and the determination to fulfill their duty intensifies. The values of faith, belief, and reverence towards these sacrifices are instilled, fostering an unyielding spirit that refuses to falter or surrender in the face of imperialistic forces. I firmly believe that our oppressed nation, particularly the younger generation who have displayed unwavering commitment in this collective

struggle, will not deviate from their path at any cost. They will rely on God's guidance and support for strength and motivation to continue their journey until they break free from the shackles of imperialism and achieve their ultimate goal.

If there is only one believer among thousands,

He will set fire to both his boat and his path. (Allama Iqbal)

Objectives

Chapter 30

It was when Baig–Parthasarthy initiated the discussion that Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah (SM Abdullah) pointed out the objective of the discussion was to discuss a change in 'strategy' rather than how to acquire power. '. There was no precedent to this before. This leadership, through their speeches and statements, had a knack for using linguistic skills and equivalent words to confuse the masses and their thought processes (فکرو عمل). While doing so, these leaders were confident and knew that the masses and nation did not have the moral courage to resist. Although the leaders had demanded a plebiscite for twenty-two (22), they were against occupation and were asking the Indian state to fulfil the demand they had made with the Kashmiri Nation. And because of this, you [SM Abdullah] were thrown out of power in 1953,[10] but the nation supported your objectives, for which the entire community was subjected to brutality, torture, violence and victimization. Now, if you accept that accord as the ultimate resolution, you [SM Abdullah] are preparing to acquire power, but what is your objective for

[10] In 1953 SM Abdullah was Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. He was arrested in 1953 because he had started advocating for the complete independence of Jammu and Kashmir from both India and Pakistan. This stance was seen as a threat to the Indian government, which had a strong interest in maintaining control over the region. Additionally, Abdullah had been critical of the Indian government's policies towards Jammu and Kashmir, particularly regarding the distribution of power and resources. These factors led to his arrest and detention, which lasted for over a decade.

doing so? Can you explain and justify? But you misinterpret the word 'objective.' And the nation that worships you as a hero and blindly follows you is punished. Your words are:

> *We have brought the fight from the streets to the negotiating tables. This is not a change in objective but in strategy. These discussions may test our patience. For years it was not easy to untie the knots of the lying planets, but both representatives worked hard, and in the meantime, I have often met the Prime Minister of India and other leaders. And we began to understand each other's viewpoints in a better way. My only problem was that the Prime Minister was hesitant to dissolve the Assembly in order to strengthen democracy in the state. She was of the opinion that holding elections at such a juncture will provide an opportunity for some people to speak about the past and spoil the trustworthy atmosphere. Finally, in February 1975, both representatives concluded their discussions and submitted their reports to their leaders. For this, Mrs Indira Gandhi and I met in New Delhi and announced the accord which later came to be known as Kashmir: Reconciliation Accord (Kashmir Mahfamat Accord). This was the beginning of the new era in Kashmir*. (Abdullah, 1992)

During his seven-year reign, the practical interpretation of the 'objectives' and 'New Era' became obsolete, and we will also unveil this fact.

The Assault on Democracy

Chapter 35

Second Episode:

Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah (SM Abdullah) and Afzal Baig had to contest the election as per the requirement of the constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir and its legislative Assembly. Hence, the Congress advised Mohammad Maqbool Bhat in Ganderbal and Ghulam Hassan

Rather of Davsar Kulgam to resign and vacate their constituencies for SM. Abdullah and Afzal Baig, respectively. To make a strategy, the head and (Amir) of JIJ&K called its supreme council '*Majlis-e-Shoura*' to discuss modes of Operandi of election. The Hisamudin Bandy was a special invitee. After a lot of discussion we all agreed that in principle, both the leaders have deflected from their own stance when after twenty-two years of struggle, they signed the accord with New Delhi. If a candidate does not stand against them in the elections soon, both people within the state and outside would be under the impression that the whole nation has confirmed their accord. But no one had the courage to come forward to contest against them. I remember Qari Saifuddin vehemently supported participation in the election. Although previously, from the 1971 election, he disagreed with the decision of JIJ&K to participate in the election. But on this occasion, he argued that JIJ&K must fulfil its obligation and put their candidate against both of them so that the message will be sent that the entire nation is against this surrender and the accord of these two leaders is explicitly deceitful and a departure from twenty-two years of stance, struggle and sacrifice. It was also apparent that part of our nation indulges in hero worship; hence, victory should not be the only goal. Regardless of our victory and defeat, we had to express our resistance against the accord so that it would be recorded in history that JIJ&K, as much as it was capable, opposed the accord. Also, if the principle of democracy is respected, by participation in elections we get an opportunity to communicate our message to the masses leaving the decision to them. Hence from Ganderbal, Mohammad Ashraf Khan alias Sahrai and from Davsar, Hakeem Ghulam Nabi were nominated by JIJ&K as their candidate. It was not expected from those leaders, who fought for freedom and plebiscite that they would stoop so low as to indulge in the worst form of fascism and autocracy to ensure they win the election. The antisocial elements of the National Conference (NC) were given a free hand, and they used all means to trouble the members of the opposition. They [the NC cadres] used all sorts of tactics to ensure the members of the opposition remained unsettled. To prevent

opposition of any opportunities, and to reach out to the common people, they [NC cadres] obstructed their ways and used all sorts of weapons like iron rods, spades, sticks, grub-axes and shovels to inject fear and exhibit their valour.

All our good intentioned presumptions about the leaders of the National Conference vanished. They victimised, terrorised, and brutalised our leaders and cadres of JIJ&K who campaigned for election. From Ghat Doda, Sadullah Mohammad Haneef, Ghulam Nabi Fareedabadi, *Shaheed* Abdul Rasheed Islahi and from Valley of Kashmir, the leaders and members of JIJ&K were called for election. Almost every cadre was injured, and Sadullah lost his eye during a fight with *gundas* of the National Conference. He lost his eyesight forever. Mohammad Haneef and Ghulam Freedabadi fractured their arms, and other cadres were mercilessly beaten to a pulp. I personally campaigned in many villages. I was not physically assaulted but was abused by the SM Abdullah's followers, who displayed their anger by saying. "They [JI candidates] stood up against us" These people are contesting against our 'father.' 'How dare they?' contest against 'Father.' This was the situation in Ganderbal. The same circumstances were in the Davsar constituency. Once when Ghulam Nabi Hakeem and I were travelling in a truck near Kaylim locality, a vagabond of the National Conference, Ummeh Lone, got on the engine of the truck and, with an iron rod, smashed the windshield. By the grace of God, we were safe, but these vagabonds intended to hurt and injure us. Their [NC] leaders had advised them to put so much pressure and fear in leaders and cadres of JIJ&K that not a single vote was cast against them. They had no fear of defeat in elections because the wave was in their favour, and their twenty-two years of resistance was also not forgotten. The masses were told that the 'accord' and 'power' were their 'strategy' and part of their 'objective.' Therefore, they must be trusted. They also emphasised that they would not forgo the freedom struggle and demand of plebiscite (which NC leadership obviously had forgotten). But their fascist mindset had become

incurable, which had to be exhibited. And the result was that the so-called protectors of democracy assaulted their own democracy. This was the second instalment of 'Strategy' and 'Objective,' which was paid to win the interim elections. Shaik Ghulam Rasool, Deputy Commissioner of the Srinagar district, was the Returning officer. He, too, did not take notice of these undemocratic practices. Right from the beginning, the role of administration has been questionable and objectionable and has become an integral part of our history. If it is the Congress Government, they are always at the front with a begging bowl. When the National Conference is in power, these people [the administration] auction their convictions and morals and attempt to keep their rulers happy. In their own personal capacity, they perform and exhibit piety and prayers. But to help anti-Islamic forces, they are willing to sacrifice everything, even at the cost of faith, religiosity and piety. Anyway, even after such an assault on democracy from Ganderbal Constituency, Ashraf Sahrai got two thousand (2000) votes. I do not know how many votes Hakeem Ghulam Nabi got from the Davsar constituency. SM Abdullah and Late Afzal were both declared victorious. Such is the style in every country where secular democracy is worshipped and people are power-hungry.

The Parliament Election of 1977

Chapter 38

After two years, the Congress, as usual and as was expected, withdrew support from SM Abdullah and appealed to the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and conduct fresh elections. In New Delhi, Janta Party was in power, Morarji Desai was Prime Minister. Our organisation (JIJ&K) was banned, but it was decided that we will participate in the elections. The first parliamentary elections were held. I was advised to contest as an independent candidate from Baramulla Constituency. I was incarcerated in Central Jail Srinagar. Shaheed Hisamuddin Bandy was selected as an election agent. He and other colleagues, Ghulam Ahmad Bacha,

Sahrai *Sahib* and *Shaheed* Ghulam Qadir Wani, came as a delegation to Central Jail, where I filled the application form. The National Conference had nominated Abdul Ahad Advocate. The "Sun" was my election symbol. Abdul Razaq Mir was nominated from Islamabad (Anantnag). Our election campaign was in full swing, and I had a fairly bright chance to win as we had the support of the people. Khawajah Sanaullah, Editor of the Urdu daily *Aftab*, publicised our election manifesto. In his newspaper, our campaign was constantly in the headlines.

May God grant him salvation! In this whole election constituency, pro-Islam and freedom-loving people came forward to play an effective and active role. My incarceration got us additional sympathy from the people, and thousands participated in election rallies. There was no dearth of speakers. Sahrai Saab, *Shaheed* Ghulam Qadir Wani, Shaheed Hisamuddin, and district Heads of JIJ&K all were exceptionally good orators and speakers. Hence the objectives of participation in the election were communicated to the masses successfully and wonderfully. The financially sound families helped enormously to make the campaign lively. The State Administration was with the National Conference. SM. Abdullah was himself active in getting Abdul Ahad Vakeel victorious and personally advised the electorate to participate in the election campaign. Although the voters were attracted toward the election symbol 'Sun,' the National Conference could not justify my incarceration, and the electorate peacefully abhorred this dictatorial attitude of the state. People were under the impression that in the wrestling match both the wrestlers were fighting fairly but in reality one was handcuffed and incarcerated, while the other was given all freedom. Then, the announcement came that we won the fight. To avoid this awkward situation, SM Abdullah advised jail authorities to release me on parole. I was called by the jail Superintendent and informed that I was being released on parole. But I told him I would not go out on parole. If the government wanted to avoid an

awkward situation, they must release me unconditionally; but the government was unwilling to do that. During those days, Nisar Ahmad *Sahib*, a gentleman from Bhaderwah, was DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] in Sopore. We had a cordial relationship. We were peacefully busy in our political and religious activities as directed by our constitution.

Hence no officer had any law and order issues with our programs. He, too, was not creating unnecessary obstacles in our functioning unless he was advised by higher authorities. SM Abdullah personally sent him many times to the central jail to convince me to come out on parole, He also conveyed to me that SM. Abdullah desires that I [SA Geelani] leave jail on parole and continue my election campaign. On every occasion, I responded by saying I must be released unconditionally and am not willing to leave on parole. Hence he [DSP] too, became helpless. Despite the busy schedule of our campaign team, they came to central jail and updated me about the ground reality of the constituency. Until the last moment of the campaign, the campaign team had confidence that the election wave was encouraging and in favour of the election symbol 'Sun,' and there was no reason for me to not win the election. But in Jammu and Kashmir in general and in Kashmir valley in particular, fairness, justice, honesty and transparency are buried prior to the announcement of the election. Prior to the election, the entire administration, police, and occupational forces are given instructions to make sure that the opposition candidate should not win the election, which we have observed in the parliamentary elections of 1971, which is why we suspected that results would not be in our favour this time as well. I heard the election result in Srinagar Central Jail. In Baramulla and Islamabad, both the candidates Abdul Razaq (Shaheed) and I were defeated, and the National Conference candidates were victorious. The next day after the election result, I was released from jail. Shameem Ahmad Shameem, while reflecting on the election results, writes: "*Shaik Mohammad Abdullah, only after declaring his own candidate Abdul Ahad Vakeel victorious,*

released SAS.Geelani from Jail." This was the biggest criticism of S M Abdullah's modus operandi. This was another sample of how 'strategy of accord' and 'objective' was protected..

These simple thralls of Yours, O Lord, from every house and door are barred:

For kings, no less the acolytes, Are fraudulent and hypocrites. (Allama Iqbal)

The Assembly Elections of 1977

Chapter 39

In the same year, in the month of June, the Assembly Election was held. The Janata Party was in power in New Delhi, and Morarji Desai was the Prime Minister of India. Prior to the emergency, he was the only person in the entire Congress Party who had a unique personality and was not in favour of rigging elections. In parliament, he was the leader of the Janata Party, which was constituted by Jayprakash Narayan. Janata Party was formed in Jammu and Kashmir as well. Moulana Masoodi, Late Khawajah Ghulam Mohiudin Karra, Abdul Gani Lone, Shameem Ahmad Shameem and Moulana Molvi Farooq, an influential clerk of Srinagar had joined the party. Mirwaiz invited Morarji Desai to Mirwaiz Manzil and women sang the Kashmir song '*Ruf*'[11] for him.

JIJ&K was still a banned organisation, but it was decided that members of JIJ & K would contest elections independently. The deputation comprising *Shaheed* Hisamudin Bandy and Late Qari *Sahib* went to negotiate an alliance with Mirza Afzal Baig, which did not materialise.

[11] Ruf is a traditional Kashmiri folk song sung by women during weddings or to welcome any special guest. It is a form of cultural expression that has been passed down through generations and remains an integral part of Kashmiri culture. Ruf is typically sung by a group of women, who form a circle and clap their hands rhythmically to accompany the song. The lyrics of Ruf are usually composed in the Kashmiri language and often have themes of love, marriage, and celebration. The melody of Ruf is typically simple and catchy, making it easy for people to sing along and join in the celebration. In Kashmiri weddings, Ruf is typically sung during the 'Henna' or 'Mehndi' ceremony, where the bride's hands and feet are adorned with henna designs. It is also sung during the 'Walima' or wedding reception, where the bride and groom are formally introduced to each other's families and friends. The lively and festive nature of Ruf makes it a perfect addition to these joyous occasions. Apart from weddings, Ruf is also sung to welcome any special guest, such as a dignitary or a loved one returning from a long journey. It is seen as a way of showing hospitality and respect to the guest and is a way of expressing joy at their arrival.

We were right in our perception that the presence of a representative of the Janata Party in a Muslim-majority state would be considered as the direct presence of the Indian state. Hence, local political parties must take advantage of it. The National Conference used this as an election stunt and cleared all obstacles in their way. SM Abdullah had fallen sick too. Hence, the sympathy of the masses increased enormously. During the Congress' rule, the state machinery was blatantly used to rig the elections. In addition, in this election, the National Conference fully exhibited party aggression and intimidation. Therefore the opposition voters either were stopped or votes of the opposition voters were cast in their own favour as a 'strategy' to win the election. Late SM. Abdullah launched the election campaign from Mujahid Manzil and declared: "if we do not get a place of honour and respect in India, then we can think of a different path as well." The words may not be precisely the same, but this is what he meant, undoubtedly. The workers of the National Conference propagated that our leaders are firm on their earlier stance.[12] If they get the majority, they will nourish the 'objective' of twenty-two years of struggle. But, above all, the biggest factor was the ghost of hero worship, which was foremost on their thoughts and minds. In *Quran,* this is said about *Bani Israel.*

> *Recall also to mind the covenant We made with you while We raised the Tur over you: 'Follow strictly the precepts We are giving you and give ear to Our Commandments.' Your forefathers replied, 'We have heard, but we will not obey.' They were so prone to disbelief that they cherished the calf in their hearts. Tell them (0h Muhammad pbuh), 'If indeed you are believers, yours is a strange Faith that enjoins you to do such evil things.* (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 1970)

[12] The Indian government has promised to hold a plebiscite or referendum in Jammu and Kashmir, as called for by the United Nations in 18 resolutions. However, this promise has yet to be fulfilled, and the situation in the region remains unresolved.

Now, Sopore has become a compact area. From Watlub to Sage Pora, the Sopore town and forty-five villages of Zaingair, Rampora, Rajpora, Yember, Zalora, and Arzan Sahib are hilly areas. The rest of the constituency can be briefly visited in a day. But because of election enthusiasm, every village and locality wanted and demanded a visit. Hakeem Habibullah was nominated by the National Conference. The Sopore town was the epicentre of scuffles and fights as many rallies and speeches were organised there. The noble and courageous young men of Sopore, whose names unfortunately can neither be recollected nor mentioned, were busy organising rallies until 12:00 and 1:00 AM. As it was summer, in the month of June to be precise; all the rallies were organised after late night (عشا) prayers. The audience was attracted to the various topics and speeches delivered.

The educated class was at the forefront of every gathering. Without exaggeration, it can be recorded here that under every circumstance, the gatherings or rallies always began with a recitation of Quranic verses. This was then followed by Allama Iqbal's poetry. On every occasion, it seemed like a revelation and not an artificially crafted speech.

> *Such is Allah's favour: He bestows it on whomever he pleases. Allah is the lord of abounding favour*. (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 6:4)

From these speeches, both the common man and intellectuals benefited and they became mature and more ideologically stable.

The Tragedy of April 4, 1979: The Criminal Ignorance of the Government

Chapter 44

In 1979, the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly was in session in Jammu. On 5th of July, 1977, Gen. Zai-ul-Haq suspended Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government and took over the reins of the state, and he promised that the election would be held within ninety days and power would be

transferred back to elected representatives. Alas, he did not fulfil his promise and kept prolonging his rule. He filed an assassination case against Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan, and after the trial, the court pronounced capital punishment, and he was hanged on 4th April 1979. Prof. Bheem Singh took out a rally with overwhelming sloganeering. I was with my family in Dak Bungalow in Jammu. When Ansah, my daughter, who was then just eight, heard this news, and she cried. She did not even know who Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Gen. Zai-ul-Haq were and why this tragedy occurred. But, as a human, she was concerned. As the news spread in Kashmir Valley, the situation in the valley became tense. All parties became furious and united against Jamaat-i-Islami (JIJ&K). However, JIJ&K had nothing to do with this incident. In Pakistan, a judicial order was executed. The Jamaat-i-Islami-Hind was targeted but more specifically, J&K Jamaat-i-Islami. The National Conference, Congress and communists and other religious organisations united against J&K Jamaat-i-Islami and came out on the roads to express their anger and hatred in a shameful way. In cities, towns and villages, the associates of JIJ&K were physically assaulted, their homes burnt, and apple orchards cut. The details will come later. At this point, what needs to be understood is that the Chief Minister was in Jammu and aware of the situation in the valley. He did not take any steps to stop this mayhem, arson, loot and plunder. He could have made the administration proactive and given clear instructions to the police that nobody's life and property should be destroyed. This is the responsibility of the executive/rulers to protect their subjects and their interests. I shouted in the Assembly and said that the members of JIJ&K are intimidated, rounded up, physically assaulted and properties burnt to the extent of embarrassment. The Government, administration, police and Judiciary were all spectators. Is this silence not criminal? Can not the Chief Minister of state be held responsible for this mayhem and violence in the valley? Does he not have the power and capability to control it? My speech and his silence were proof that he was intentionally turning a blind eye. On his provocation, such incidents were

happening. The *gundas* of the National Conference, the antisocial element of Congress, the anti-Islam element of Communists, and so-called religious heads were looking for an opportunity to go after the associates of JIJ&K and those who had dedicated their lives to Islam, advised people to follow teachings of Holy Quran and Sunna [the Prophet's teaching]. The members of JIJ&K were subjected to violence; other groups were also looking for such an opportunity and the Government endorsed and supported them as well. In the Assembly, Abdul Rasheed Kabli, a member of the Janata Party, spit venom against Jamaat-i-Islami. Abdul Gani Lone's speech was neutral. He condemned the hanging of Bhutto, and the violence unleashed against the members of JIJ&K, and the destruction of their property. But, alas, his supporters and workers in the valley, too, were hand in glove with the anti-JIJ&K forces. This is the darkest chapter of SM Abdullah's rule, which is recorded in history. Whatever happened from 4-9 April , SM. Abdullah is directly responsible for that.

In my view, statesmanship cut off from creed,

Is Satan's slave, has no qualms, but low breed. (Allama Iqbal)

The 9th of April, 1979

Chapter 45

From the 4th to 9th of April, the entire Kashmir Valley, Kishtwar, Bhaderwah, Banihal, Batote, Poonch, Rajouri, Karnah, and in all those areas wherever members of Jamaat-i-Islami resided, their schools, homes, shops and even their apple orchards were destroyed. On the 9th of April, the Chief Minister visited Kashmir. I, too, reached the airport along with my family members. I was not aware until then that the Chief Minister was leaving on the same flight for Srinagar. When we got our boarding pass, the chief minister and his team started walking towards the plane. He looked at me, smiled, and asked if I was flying too? He further said, "Do you need security?" I promptly replied that God is the best security: "He is the greatest and most merciful

of all." After I reached Srinagar, I felt the entire valley was engulfed in violence and in the grip of fear. The five days of arson, violence, brutality and beastly display have made the entire valley fearful. The copies of the '*Tafheem ul Quran*' were considered as "Maudoodi's Quran" and hence were thrown in the sewage. After a while, after such madness had passed, some of them must have realised that a spell of madness must have been casted upon them to have taken out the funeral of their own religion and faith. When I reached Doru, all our neighbours assembled. They narrated what they had seen. All unanimously believed that whatever was happening was at the behest of the National Conference Government. And the organisation, who were anti-Jamaat, united with the government and added fuel to the fire of hatred and violence against the Jamaat. Innocent children could not come out of their homes for five days. Nayeem penned down the situation of his home!

> The next day, we got on a bus for college. As soon as we reached the toll plaza, people stopped the bus and told us that there was a strike. We got down and started walking without anticipating what we would come across. When we reached the chowk, we found the Holy Quran was being thrown out from the local office of Jamaat and burnt. Some known person saw me there. He told me that I must run away as they may kill me. I did not understand what was happening and why? Ali Mohammad Mashki, my friend and classmate, took me to his home. His elder brother told me that Bhutto had been hanged, and they think that the Jamaat has played some role in that. I was confined to a room for two days. I was worried for my children who were alone at home. On the third day, I started walking on foot towards home when, at Dangerpora, people yelled at me, and a few young men attempted to catch and beat me. But I ran and saved my life.

After reaching home, the girls embraced me and wept. Outside, the members and sympathisers of JIJ&K, were guarding homes holding axes in their hands. The sentiments of neighbours of

Late Abdul Rahman Khan and Abdul Summad Khan was worth watching. They said that they had decided if anyone came with bad intentions, they would become the victim of these axes. They also guarded the school in Doru. The news came that the protest and rallies were held in Danger Pora, Seelo and Watlub, but they had come to know about our shield. Hence, they got discouraged and returned back. Some well-off families, who liked Bhutto, offered prayers in absentia and raised black flags. Apart from this, they did not have the courage to do anything else.

> The mayhem was in adjacent villages as well. In Tujjar Sharief, the School of Jamaat was attacked. The associates of Jamaat *Shaheed,* Habebullah Mukhdomi, Abdul Rasheed Mukhdomi, Mukhtar Ahmad Mukhdomi, Mohammad Akbar Lone and others fought physically with the vagabonds of the National Conference, which resulted in the martyrdom of Mohammad Akbar Lone. *'Verily we belong to Allah and, verily to Him do we return.'*

The moment I came back from Jammu, Saaduddin, the Head of Jamaat-i-Islami J&K, called for a special meeting in its central office in Srinagar. It was decided that the delegation, which consisted of Hisamudin Bandy, Head Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) and I, the Head of JI, would lead the delegation to New Delhi. Hence we went to Delhi, briefed the press in New Delhi about the situation and discussed it with the then head of Jamaat Islami Hind (JIJ&K Hind), Moulana Mohammad Yusuf. He called a meeting of supreme leaders, and it was decided that the three-member delegation would visit Kashmir to understand the situation on the ground and prepare a report of the tragic incidents that happened from 4th of April to 9th of April 1979. This delegation consisted of Moulana Hamid Hussain, Moulana Abdul Rasheed Osmani and Moulana Siraj-ul-Hassan. We escorted them back to the Valley and to every village they visited over there. Their report is given below.

The Jamaat Islami Hind (JI-Hind) Delegation's Observations of their Visit

"The Jamaat Islam i Hind (JI-Hind) always extends their support to victims of any natural calamity, violence or tragedy. Due to the catastrophic situation in Jammu and Kashmir, the Jama'at Islami Hind sent a three-member delegation to the valley. One hundred seventy-eight (178) villages were affected. Out of which, the delegation visited ninety (90) villages, and fifty-eight (58) towns. The report they have submitted points out that in one hundred seventy-eight (178), all the homes of members of Jamaat Islami J&K were burnt, and nine villages were completely burnt because, in these villages, only members of Jamaat Islami lived. In Anantnag (Islamabad), Arwani village was completely burnt down as it was considered a stronghold of JIJ&K. The bridge which connected Arwani to Bijbehara was destroyed so that the fire engines could not reach them. In Jammu and Kashmir, twenty-four (24) offices of Jamaat Islami were attacked. In most of the office, everything was set on fire, including the Holy Quran and commentaries of the Holy Quran and Islamic books. The six hundred and fifty-one (651) libraries and thirty-two (32) book depots were set on fire. Ten (10) mosques were either set on fire or razed to the ground. (Forty-five) 45 schools and madrasas [seminaries] were destroyed. The four hundred and sixty-six (466) homes belonging to members of Jamaat Islami and three hundred and eighty-eight (388) shops were burnt (the government has estimated 300 shops). The English daily, Times of India of 24th May 1979, mentioned that one thousand three hundred and forty five (1345) homes were burnt down. The Government estimate is one thousand one hundred (1100), three hundred and fifteen (315) grain stores, five(5) stores, twenty-two (22) factories and mills were burnt and destroyed, Seventy (70) apple orchards were completely destroyed and all the trees were chopped off. And eighty-two (82) animals were killed as well. The Members of Jamaat Islami were physically assaulted, and women and children were mistreated. This mayhem lasted for three days. The loss was estimated to be more than forty

crores (40, 00, 00,000), and ten people also lost their lives. Seven miscreants died by police firing, or they drowned in water. Three members of JIJ&K were martyred by the violent mob."

'Verily we belong to Allah and, verily to Him do we return.'

The Times of India Report of 13th April 1979

The reporter writes that not only was the property looted, but members of JIJ&K were suspected as enemies of Bhutto; the innocent young men and the old men were physically assaulted. People were thrown into a burning fire. Religious places were desecrated. Animals belonging to the Jamaat Islami members, too, were attacked and killed. Women ran away towards fields to safeguard their chastity. When Bhutto's supporters were indulging in this violence, the administration was vacationing. They did nothing to stop this.

The reporter visited the vast area of the Anantnag District. The reporter saw the multi-story building destroyed and razed to the ground. The worried people were still trying to recover from this tragedy. In Rishi Nagar, Molo Chitramgam, Arwani and other villages, there were no houses with roofs. The timber of these homes was still burning; the destruction of these homes are a reminder of the mayhem that came after Bhutto's hanging.

The reporters narrate that on 4th April, when the news of Bhutto's hanging reached Kashmir, protests in Srinagar were instant; however, the rural areas remained unaffected. On the 5th of April, the supporters of Bhutto started propagating that cadres of JIJ&K distributed sweets and celebrated the hanging of Bhutto and spread news full of hatred, such as Jamaat-i-Islami leaders even hanged dogs and bulls to show symbolically that an anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan leader had been hanged. JIJ&K, which enjoys unwavering strong support in most areas of Kashmir, has become an obstruction for a few political parties, and they attempt to harm JIJ&K. Hence

all anti-Jamaat Islami united and, on the occasion of Bhutto's hanging, took advantage of the sad circumstances and attempted to settle old scores. Apart from attacking homes, the mob destroyed their orchards and uprooted trees filled with fruit.

The reporter further writes that on the 5th of April, in Shopian, violence was so much that police in the police station, subdivision, and other tiny police posts could not control the violence. The leaders of JIJ&K and other leaders from the affected areas alleged that the mob had many ruling National Conference cadres. Until now, fifty (50) people have been arrested by police who were allegedly involved in loot, plunder and arson. Things worth lakhs of rupees were confiscated from them, and some of it had been stolen from the villages after the hanging of Bhutto (Times of India, 13th of April, 1979).

From the reports in the *Times of India* and the observations of the delegation of Jamaat Islami-Hind, it is explicit that from 4th–9th April 1979, the mob was given a free hand and the government's silence was criminal ignorance. Behind this was political vengeance and clash with the holy aims and objectives of the '*Iqamat-e-deen*'[13] of JIJ&K, and hatred towards its ideology and discourse. The attackers burnt the Quran, destroyed mosques, forced bearded men to shave their beards, misbehaved with women and treated children nastily. The attackers claimed to be Muslims. If so, why is there a contradiction in their behaviour? The reason is that they do not follow the teachings of the Holy Quran and *Sunnah*, but rather, they believe in secularism and were taught in institutions run by the state. The main foundations of Islam are ignored, and paths of different schools of thought are considered to be the way for salvation

[13] *Iqamat-e-deen*: One of the core principles of the Jammat-i-Islami is the concept of Iqamat-e-deen, which means the establishment of religion. For the organization, this means promoting the values and principles of Islam in all aspects of society, including politics, economics, education, and culture. The Jammat-i-Islami believes that the implementation of Islamic laws and values is the only way to bring justice, peace, and prosperity to the Muslim community and the world at large.

instead. The secularists have limited Islam to worshipping Allah alone and have separated it from the holistic framework of the state. Unless these matters are resolved and given precedence, the disparity between the actions and words of Muslims cannot be remedied.

Consider how non-Muslims perceive this situation. Are such practices not a hindrance for them, and do they not cast Islam in a negative light? Allama Iqbal addressed this concern in response to Muslims' complaints by writing:

> Who is the mirror that reflects the Prophet's image?
>
> Whose deeds are the measure of time's advantage?
>
> Whose eyes bear the slogan of a foreign cause?
>
> Whose gaze is weary of the ways of the past?
>
> No passion burns in the heart, no feeling in the soul,
>
> You have yet to grasp Muhammad's message whole.

After one year, the admirers of Bhutto desired to repeat the same bloodshed. The leaders of JIJ&K instructed its cadres to hit back harder in case anyone attacked. In continuation of this, the JIJ&K District Baramulla organised a rally. The District head of JIJ&K, Ghulam Mohammad Saffi, addressed the rally in an emotional manner where he challenged the miscreants that if they dared, they must come forward. The young men in the audience raised

their fists in his support. The miscreants of the National Conference who were looking for an opportunity to create trouble and had sticks and rods hidden within *Pheren*[14] left quietly.

The Incident of 26th July, 1980

Chapter 49

On 26th July 1980, an army vehicle and a civil vehicle collided. There was an argument between the army driver and civilian driver. After this insignificant issue, the so-called "brave Indian soldiers" and followers of "nonviolence" came out with rods and hockey sticks in civil lines areas and roughed everyone who came across them and smashed dozens of cars, autos and taxis. When the police tried to stop them, they, too, were physically assaulted and injured. Ali Muhammad Watali, Senior Superintendent of Police, too, was injured. His teeth were smashed and broken. To see such a situation, the people of the adjacent locality came out and pelted stones at these lunatics; only then did this attack and rampaging stop. When SM. Abdullah was asked about this incident he replied, "Yes, they had taken control of the whole city and held it hostage."

Apart from this sentence, he did not issue any comprehensive statement about this incident. This incident proves that occupying forces can perpetuate violence against people at any time, and the so-called civil government does not have the courage to stop them. This is clear by the fact that SM. Abdullah, who was the most popular leader, was helpless to stop this vandalism of forces. Subsequent leaders lacked the courage to follow in his footsteps, and who else could? This was our lived reality. I was present in Srinagar on that fateful day when we had a public meeting in Pampore. I faced many challenges in securing a vehicle to reach the location. By

[14] *Pheren* (also spelled as *Pheran*) is a traditional winter attire worn in the Kashmir Valley of India. It is a loose, gown-like garment that is typically made of wool and reaches up to the knees or ankles.

the time I arrived at Eid Gah, where the meeting was taking place, the late Ahrar Sahib was already addressing the crowd. However, most people were whispering about the incident in Srinagar that had just been reported, and not much attention was paid to Ahrar's speech. As I approached the stage, people began to divert their attention towards me. Moulana Ahrar invited me to speak and promptly announced my name, which had been eagerly awaited by the audience. I wasted no time in beginning my speech, starting with the incident of state terrorism that had just occurred. People listened intently as I spoke. I remember Ghulam Rasool Nawaz, a well-known Peoples League worker, who had initially been ignoring my speech, but drew closer to the stage when I chose the recent incident as my topic. It was incidents like these that brought attention to the Kashmir Dispute, and the atrocities being committed by the Indian Army's occupation. Some selected incidents continued to be repeated. They were cautioned that allowing one nation's army to forcefully invade and oppress another nation may lead to a vicious cycle of repeated shameful acts. The only solution is the withdrawal of security forces from Jammu and Kashmir and for people to be allowed to decide their future through a referendum. Indian State, with the help of its Army's might, is curtailing our freedom and using infinite power to make the civilian's life miserable. We should not kneel in the face of such oppression. With courage, we must continue our struggle. Among the audience, the majority were young men and they were convinced and satisfied. Ghulam Rasool had arranged tea at his residence. After the public meeting, all the guests had tea and left for their destination. The following day I organised a protest in Sopore Chowk, where the same incident was strongly condemned. It was emphasised that people must unite and actively oppose the occupation through force.

For the first time such protests were held where it was said that to deal with such circumstances, we must sell our televisions and jewelry in order to buy arms for our protection. My statement

was published by the Indian Media. Even the Chief Minister was asked that SA Geelani has announced to take arms against the Indian State. What do you have to say about it? He replied: "such a statement should not be given much importance." The sense of insecurity among people was growing every day because of the aggressive approach of the Indian Army. The people realised that because of their prolonged stay, the rights of people were being systematically crushed.

As time passed, the aggressive majors of the Indian State and in Jammu and Kashmir gave a sense of insecurity to people. Apart from that, people realised that their rights were systematically being crushed. Therefore, the younger generation was worried about it and was trying to find a way out. The leadership of the National Conference left them in the hands of security men. They do as they please and the so-called civil administration is helpless in stopping security personnels. The government controls the Army and the police, but when the politicians who are in power become mere spectators, it inevitably leads to the oppression of the weak.

When an Anti-Islamic force and illegitimate rulers are enforced on a community, it results in the powerful dominating the masses and the weak; the evidence of history cannot be denied.

The Election of 1983

Chapter 58

In the 1983 J&K Assembly Election, none of the nominated members of the JIJ&K could win. The details of this have been mentioned in a two hundred and twenty-two pages book titled "*The Story of Pain*" (قصہ درد), edited by Sarvat Jamal. This book covered incidents until 1986, which is available at *Millat* Publication, Hyderapora. Let me mention about the prophecy of

Shaheed Hisamudin. When the election of 1983 was announced, I was nominated as a candidate for the Sopore constituency. The meeting was held in the District office for the preparation of election campaign. During those days, Hisamudin was in London. It was decided to bring him back. Prof Mohammad Maqbool Kar was present at the meeting. I remember him saying, "Hisamuddin's arrival and taking over as chief election agent is an assurance of our 50% victory; for the rest of the victory, we will do everything we ought to do." A delegation was sent to Late Saaduddin, Head of JIJ&K, to request him to get Hisamudin Bandy to Kashmir from London. So, a message was sent to him and he came back and took charge of the election. While he was away, the members of JIJ&K did not bother to register the voters in the voter list in their constituency while the workers of the National Conference had enlisted ten years old boys and girls, which was not noticed by anyone. The moment he took charge of the election, he noted this and based on that, he did his calculations and concluded the results too. In Bandipora, Shaheed Dr Ghulam Qadir Wani was given a mandate; the election campaign was in full swing. The members of JIJ&K organised a rally in Bandipora town and I, too, was invited. I went along with Hisamudin Bandy. The huge crowd was encouraging. Ghulam Qadir Wani was an exceptionally great orator and writer. May God grant him salvation. God had blessed him with the great skills of writing, oratory and literature. After his fervent speech, I spoke. The election campaigners encouraged us and assured us that we were moving towards victory. The rally got over before the evening prayer, and immediately after that, we offered prayers and left for Sopore. The moment we got in the car, I asked Hisamudin Bandy what he thought about the Bandipora constituency. Today's rally was very encouraging. In his peculiar serious and confident way, he said, "Bandipora is out of the question. This time we will lose Sopore as well." When I heard this, I was shocked. I knew him so well that I knew his prediction would never be wrong. Hence from that day onwards, we were prepared for the results of the Sopore constituency. At Watlub guest house, I told him that it was late and that we should stay

at Doru because if we went and dropped him at Adipora and came back to Doru, that would be very late, and we were tired as well. He stopped the car, got down, and started walking on foot towards Adipora. This was another characteristic that he remained adamant on his stance, convinced others and never compromised. This has been mentioned during the functioning of the assembly after the 1972 election as well. Despite being aware of the election outcome, he was neither lethargic nor neglected the election campaign. He was of the opinion that our struggle is for honesty and truth; hence victory and defeat do not matter, and we must be hopeful for reward from God. The worldly victory and defeat is not the criterion for us.

Late Hakeem Habebullah was the candidate for the National Conference. After the election campaign got over, the counting was held in Wadora College. He won by four thousand (4,000) votes, and the National Conference had won a two-thirds (2/3) majority and was about to form the government. NC desperately was waiting for the election result of Sopore as they wanted Hakeem Habibullah to be a Cabinet Minister. Right after the victory of Hakeem Habibullah, *Shaheed* Hisamudin Bandy advised me to congratulate him. Hence, I congratulated him for this magnificent victory and announced that for a party based on ideology and working for the supremacy of Islamic principles, for them, victory and defeat do not impact their efforts. The next day we had a public rally, and we thanked the people and told them that we would continue our effort for the supremacy of Islamic principles and for that, the struggle would continue. The people who are generally ideological and, in particular, the youth of the nation may be discouraged because of the result of the election. With all their enthusiasm and determination, they should be active and work for the supremacy of Islam and justice t, which is against the evil ideology.

This is the law of Nature. This is the order of Nature

Those who tread dynamism's path are the darlings of Nature. (Allama Iqbal)

The Formation of Muslim United Front

Chapter 67

I was put behind bars in March 1985 and released after twenty months of incarceration. Prior to my release from jail, the Muslim United Front (MUF) had been formed. Personally, I have no role in its formation. JIJ&K and other Islamic organisations, and leaders supporting accession to Pakistan, realised the demand of the newer circumstances and formed the MUF. Prior to this, 'suspended government employees'[15] were also attempting to form such a coalition. Because they were jobless; as the old saying goes, "Do something, oh jobless: tear your clothes and colour them black."[16]

Late Ghulam Mohammad Shah was removed as Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir and the Assembly dissolved. His supporters changed colour like a chameleon and began pleasing Farooq Abdullah. As a result, on the 7th of November, 1988, a coalition government of the National Conference and Congress led by Farooq Abdullah was formed, and the oath ceremony was held in Jammu. Along with that, the suspended assembly was dissolved, and new elections were announced by the new government.

The activities of MUF had intensified, and the leadership organised rallies to represent the sentiments of the masses. The people were angry and detested decision of the National Conference to get in coalition with Congress. The people expressed their anger in rallies and protests. The Government was spreading fear as per tradition, through arrests, arson, plunder,

[15] Jugmohan Malhotra, the then governor, had suspended many government employees. Jugmohan was perceived as a right wing ultra-Hindu bureaucrat, or RSS man, and an anti-Muslim. On the other hand, the suspended employees united against the suspension orders and resist this order.

[16] If one is unemployed and idle, they could potentially create a job for themselves by tearing their own clothes and dyeing them black.

and detentions. It was repeating its past which was disgraceful. The National Conference and Congress became alliance partners, and hinted at their forthcoming plan. Khawajah Sanaullah Butt, in his book "*Testament of Kashmir*" and writes:

> But Dr. Farooq Abdullah, immediately after the oath ceremony, went to Vishnu Devi temple to pay his respect and performed puja and rituals. The MUF has announced an comprehensive organised struggle against the Rajiv-Farooq accord[17]. The MUF has called the Rajive-Farooq accord as the political deception of New Delhi with the people of Kashmir. Muzzaffer Hussain Baig understood the displeasure of the people, and announced that he would resign.
>
> The Advocates of Kashmir rejected this accord too and called it anti-people, anti-democracy and a detestable step and announced resistance against it.
>
> One faction of the National Conference, too, rejected this accord. They called this step anti-Kashmir and announced that they wouldn't let it function. SA. Geelani, the leader of JIJ&K, has said that this government is enforced from above again, which is unacceptable and has appealed to the people of Kashmir that they must unite, organise and defeat the fresh conspiracies of New Delhi. (Bhat, 178)

On 21st of November, 1986, the MUF organised a public rally at Baramulla that called Jammu and Kashmir a disputed territory, and demanded its resolution. He added that the presence of the United Nations observers is evidence that this issue is international. In the rally, it was announced that Kashmiris are living as slaves, and this outfit of

[17] The Rajiv-Farooq Accord, which involved a regional political party and the main Indian political party (namely, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and the Indian National Congress), was seen by Kashmiris as a ploy to quell the political will of the people, and was consequently viewed as being against the interests of the Kashmiri populace. As a result, the Muslim United Front (MUF) was established, comprising several political, religious, social, and student organizations, with the aim of being the true representative of the Kashmiri people and accurately conveying their sentiments.

> slavery has been put on them by Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Ghulam Mohammad Shah and Dr Farooq Abdullah. In the name of socialism and secularism, Kashmir and the Kashmiris are enslaved. Now, the people have stood up, and they want to remove and tear this outfit of slavery. (Bhat, 179)

Muslim United Front and Elections

Chapter 68

At the end of October 1986, prior to my release from jail, the Muslim United Front (MUF) held a meeting at Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat's residence, at Botiengo, Sopore, and decided that they would contest the election. JIJ&K was the most important constituent in this alliance. To finalise the list of candidates, JIJ&K called a meeting of the Supreme Council, in which my candidature from Sopore was decided. I had won the election from Sopore in 1972 and 1977 and spent twelve years in Assembly; hence, I was not interested in contesting the election of 1987. I insisted that someone else contest this election, and I will leave no stone unturned for his victory. On my repeated insistence and refusal, Nazir Ahmad Kashani, Gen. Secretary of JIJ&K told me, "Why don't you rip your clothes[18]." In obedience, I had to accept. There was mixed reaction in Sopore about this news. *Shaheed* Hisamudin Bandy took charge of the election and called for a meeting of influential and local leaders of JIJ&K so that the election campaign could get initiated. I remember Dr. Abdul Qayoom Fhakto opposed my candidature, on the basis that "this person has become a symbol of Kashmir dispute" and hence his candidature does not seem suitable. May God grant him salvation. He was exceptional, efficient, intelligent and wise. He was told that his suggestions will be represented strongly in the supreme council, but nothing was achieved. Under tremendous pressure, I accepted this

[18] SA Geelani declined to participate in the election and refused multiple times, causing the Head and leader of JI to become irritated and suggest that he should rip or tear his clothes. Ripping of clothes are usually done under tremendous pressure or in anger or in desperation.

decision of the Supreme Council. Now, for the sake of holy aims and objectives, every attempt had to be made for the success of this election. On the 16th of October, 1986 Government officially notified that the Assembly Elections would be held on March 23rd 1987. After this notification, constituents of MUF became active. Throughout the valley, public rallies were conducted, and people were encouraged to support and vote for MUF. People were told that MUF would emphasize the resolution of Kashmir in the Assembly and that all their efforts would be dedicated to protecting the religious and National [Kashmiri] Identity.

Moulana Abbas Ansari was nominated its convener, and Ghulam Qadir Wani, Gen. Secretary. The Peoples Conference was not made part of this alliance, and for that, late Abdul Gani Lone was furious. In his unique style, he repeatedly grumbled about keeping his party out of this alliance; those who know him know his unique style of expressing his displeasure.

From the Passage below, you will get a glimpse of how befuddled the Indira Congress and National Conference were:

> The ruling alliance in power ordered police to remove green flags [put around the valley], and apart from this, some leaders of MUF were arrested and others too who had raised slogans in favour of MUF in Grand (Jamia) mosque of Srinagar on 27th February 1987.
>
> The leaders of the Congress and the National Conference sensed the tide against them and in favour of MUF; they went to New Delhi and insisted on a crackdown on MUF. Working against the established rules of the election, the authorities of Government, TV and Radio were instructed that no MUF candidate be permitted to deliver his speech through radio or television, and their election activities must be blacked out. The chief

electoral officer suddenly gave up his neutrality, held a press conference against MUF, and said that the members of MUF are spreading hatred in the name of religion.

The MUF was not allowed to hold public rallies. The district magistrate of Srinagar gave permission with stringent conditions to hold just a one-day rally in Iqbal Park, Srinagar. Alongside these conditions, there were other conditions as well; one other such condition was that 'no green flags will fly during the rally'. Hence on the 4th of March, 1987, a massive crowd came to attend the rally, in which SA. Geelani, Dr. Qazi Nisar, Moulana Abbas Ansari, Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat, and other leaders of MUF addressed the people. All the candidates of MUF, wrapped in shrouds, were introduced to the crowd.

In the rally, the oath was repeated that in the election Indira Congress and National Conference accord would be defeated, and people were requested to participate in the election without fear and to cast their vote in favour of the MUF.

Following the speeches delivered at Iqbal Park, a case was registered under the Terrorism Act against the leaders involved at the Shairgadi police station. The Peoples' Conference, led by Abdul Gani Lone, was not considered part of the MUF by some due to their secular constitution. Ghulam Mohammad Shah, the former chief minister, publicly apologized at an MUF rally and declared his support for Pakistan. When accusations of election rigging arose, the ruling alliance denied them and claimed that such allegations were an attempt to create a situation similar to that of Punjab. Despite this, dozens of MUF workers were arrested from their homes at night and detained. In an effort to pressure and intimidate the MUF, a large contingent of paramilitary forces was brought in from outside the region and stationed throughout the valley. In the Islamabad constituency, a young man was arrested for opposing the National Conference, and when his mother received news of his arrest, she suffered a fatal heart

attack. This caused anger in the region, leading to physical assaults on workers of the National Conference in retaliation.

The MUF's election symbol was the "Pen and Inkpot," which was widely discussed in households throughout the region in the morning and evening. As a result of 40 years of experience with election rigging, there were widespread assumptions that the ruling alliance would not allow for a fair and unbiased election. Despite the ruling alliance's pretense of working hard and even calling on Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to campaign for them, it was clear which way voters were leaning. The ruling alliance's efforts to appear diligent in their election campaign, including the involvement of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, were viewed as deceptive by many in Jammu and Kashmir, who strongly supported the MUF. It was widely believed that the joint efforts of the NC and INC were insincere and unappealing to voters, and that their true purpose was to prepare for election rigging in favor of the ruling alliance. (Bhat,1980)

The Election of 1987

Chapter 70

As mentioned earlier, I was jailed in March 1984. This incarceration got prolonged for two and a half years. Prior to my release from incarceration, the MUF had come into being. The constituent of the MUF rejected the temporary and conditional accession [of Jammu and Kashmir] with India state. It challenged the same and demanded the plebiscite be held as advised by the resolution of the United Nations so that the votes of freedom-loving people would not get divided. JIJ&K was part of this alliance. In a meeting held at Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat's residence, Botiengo, Sopore, leaders of the Muslim United Front decided that they would contest the election of 1987. The objective was to use the power of ballet to convince the Indian State to accept the plebiscite demand, which is the demand of the majority of the

people. To dedicate efforts to promote and protect the 'religious identity' nurture the aims and objectives of the majority community of Jammu and Kashmir were also part of the constitution of MUF. Hence, the MUF was not only a political platform; rather, it was a platform which had to promote the religio-political objectives of the community as well. The moment the Assembly Elections were announced and notified, the activities of MUF began. While participating in a rally in Iqbal Park, the members took an oath, wrapped in shrouds, that even if they had to sacrifice their lives for the objectives, they will not hesitate to do so and happily die for such a great cause. On the 23rd of March 1987 was the polling day. Muslim voters were excited and showed great interest and played their role in making the candidates of MUF successful. To continue the imperialistic policies adopted in 1952 and sabotage the will and wish of the people, the alliance of the National Conference and Congress came into being. Rajiv Gandhi was then the Prime Minister of India. He, in alliance with Farooq Abdullah, condescendingly used the administration, police and other forces and explicitly rigged the election. The MUF candidates who won were announced defeated, and the candidates of the National Conference and Congress defeated were declared victorious. The MUF candidates were arrested between the 23rd and 24th of March and sent to Heranagar Jail. Under tremendous pressure, only four candidates of MUF were declared victorious. (1) Ghulam Nabi Sumjhi, (2) Abdul Razaq Mir, (3) Mohammad Syed Shah and (4) Syed Ali Geelani. After the unexpected election results, the members of the MUF discussed whether victorious candidates should be permitted to go to the Assembly or not. Therefore, to find a solution, the Supreme Council met at the residence of Ghulam Mohammad Sumjhi at Botiengo, Khanabal. After a long discussion and debate, the decision was taken on the suggestion of Moulana Qazi Nisar that the four elected members be sent to Assembly and on his suggestion, I was nominated the group leader. In Assembly, we protested against the rigging of the election, but in a so-called democracy, as Allama Iqbal said,

Democracy is a certain form of government in which

Men are counted but not weighed. (Allama Iqbal)

Despite being in the minority, the MUF had no choice but to walk out and protest against the ruling alliance of the Congress and National Conference. The Assembly was indifferent to their challenge, and their efforts to expose the rigging and colonial pattern of the state's functioning were futile. The leaders of Machiavellian politics had no conscience, morality, or humanity left. While it is unclear if it was a conspiracy of the secular political leaders to trap the MUF in a dilemma of power, the members of the MUF did not entertain such thoughts as they went against their beliefs, faith, and religion. The MUF was immensely popular among the masses, and if the election had been fair, it would have won thirty to thirty-five assembly seats, enough to challenge the accession with a resolution passed in the Assembly. Despite being aware of the repercussions, this would have been an effective step recorded in the Assembly's records, and the MUF had no other objective than this.

The Factors and Inspiration for Armed Struggle

Chapter 73

During the initial days of armed struggle, the central leadership of JIJ&K was uncertain and indecisive about it. Late Hakeem Ghulam Nabi was the head of the JIJ&K. He was elected in 1988 at the Baramulla gathering. In the beginning, he himself was confused and could not take a stand. But members of JIJ&K were answerable to their cadres and people in their own respective places. I remember he visited Sopore as the Head of JIJ&K, where he had to face many questions from the members of JIJ&K. He was asked to explicitly announce JIJ&K's policy with regard to the armed struggle. The same questions were asked from everywhere. At another meeting at Batamaloo office, where members of the Supreme Council and a few other

opinion makers were invited. I remember all of us were seated on the ground floor. I was seated in the last row, next to Sadullah Tantray. I want to assure you that I could not even see who was seated in the front and who was conducting the program. In this gathering, it was agreed upon that the current circumstances are the outcome of policies adopted by the Indian State. The Indian State has, in its arrogance of being in power, rejected all peaceful means. JIJ&K will always support the plebiscite. Therefore, this is the most critical and enforced struggle upon an enslaved and oppressed community, for whom there is only one option left. After this, the Head of JIJ&K, Hakeem Ghulam Nabi, advised Sahrai and me to contact someone in this regard. To accuse me of lobbying for the endorsement of combat by the JIJ&K is factually incorrect. This was the decision of the Supreme Council of JIJ&K and some other opinion makers. This was not an arbitrary decision by anyone.

One of the objectives of the struggle for a plebiscite was to endorse armed struggle. Supporting armed struggle was considered crucial to achieving the goal of a plebiscite, but it was not linked to any specific militant group. After my arrest, I was not involved in how the JIJ&K leadership expressed their support for armed combat, or how the entire organization became associated with it. It was the responsibility of those in charge of JIJ&K affairs to support armed combat as a separate entity, without implicating the entire organization. Ideally, a dedicated and responsible group should have been appointed to handle this issue, but this was not the case.

Personally, I strongly felt the need for combat, right from the beginning. I had no doubt and confusion like many others. During the combat when combatants committed mistakes or crimes and digressed from the objective, I was the first one who condemned their actions without hesitation. My book "*The Story of Pain Volume- II*" (قصّہ درد) has details of it. While speaking in a Jamia mosque in Pulwama, I explicitly said that the murder of the Vice Chancellor of

Kashmir University was a huge loss for the entire freedom movement. For this, I was almost surrounded by the renegades in downtown Srinagar when I went to visit Mohammad Syed Dobi. The same renegades later became stooges of the Indian Army and crushed the freedom struggle, and are responsible for the deaths of many innocents. The reality is that the Supreme Council of JIJ&K did not approve of the announcement and endorsement of Hizbul Mujahideen (HM). Master Ahsan Dar had arbitrarily announced that Hizbul Mujahideen is the armed wing of Jamaat-i-Islami-Jammu and Kashmir. The Supreme Council of Jamaat-i-Islami-Jammu and Kashmir neither contradicted nor accepted it publicly. Later, when Mohammad Yusuf Shah (Syed Salahuddin) took over the reins, he explained that HM is not the armed wing of any organisation but rather it is the representative of the entire nation of Jammu and Kashmir.

Holding JIJ&K responsible for HM's actions is unjust. The decision to take up arms was made as a last resort in the pursuit of freedom, with the goal of this objective being the soul of the movement. Regrettably, the movement was plagued by flaws and disorderliness that resulted in a collective loss of the true objective of the struggle. Anti-combat groups seized upon these weaknesses to vilify the movement. The justification for an armed struggle to achieve freedom, which is also known as a "holy cause," is only valid if the combatants uphold ethical principles and respect human rights.

Whatever I have penned, in almost every writing I have explained, that within Jammu and Kashmir, the combat is the result of the unrealistic approach and policy of the Indian nation-state. Because the Indian State does not accept the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, it has adopted a strategy to use power to suppress political or armed struggle. There has been no democratic way which we have not adopted, but all our democratic voices were suppressed by force, using sticks and bullets. Therefore, people, especially the youth, realised that the

powerful only understood the language of power; and so they took up arms. This is the primary reason which needs to be understood. But we do not have enough resources to communicate and make the world understand the reasons for our struggle: why did we take up arms? The Indian nation-state has enormous resources and has convinced the world that our struggle is not an indigenous movement of Jammu and Kashmir. Rather, it is cross-border terrorism and is orchestrated by Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan is responsible for everything. Otherwise, the entire population of Jammu and Kashmir, without any exception, are with the Indian State and consider their land as part of India. But the Indian State completely ignores the history of this region since 1947. Does India not consider it important to question the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to the Indian domain by Hari Singh, the then monarch against the will of the people? The treaty of accession was temporary and conditional, which must be remembered, but contrary to it, the Indian state wants to forget it. It has taken the Kashmir Dispute to the United Nations and is signatory to dozens of resolutions passed by the UNO. The Indian State conveniently does not remember that from 1953 till 1975, SM. Abdullah led the Plebiscite Front to get a plebiscite. In 1975, just because SM. Abdullah had signed 'Kashmir accord'[19], how can it be interpreted as a representation of the aspiration of the entire population of Jammu and Kashmir who have struggled for twenty-two years, both practically and intellectually. The fire for the freedom struggle is still present in the hearts of the people, and will come out in

[19] The "Kashmir Accord" refers to an agreement signed between the Indian Government and the National Conference in 1975, which marked a significant milestone in the history of the Indian-administered state of Jammu and Kashmir. The accord aimed to restore political autonomy to the state, which had been suspended during the state of emergency declared in 1975, and to initiate a process of political reconciliation between the Indian Government and the Kashmiri political leadership. Under the terms of the accord, the National Conference agreed to support the Indian Government's efforts to bring peace and stability to the state, while the Indian Government agreed to restore political autonomy and other democratic rights to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The accord also facilitated the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles, and it paved the way for the state's first democratic elections since the emergency. The Kashmir Accord was a significant step towards resolving the political crisis in Jammu and Kashmir, and it marked a turning point in the relationship between the Indian Government and the Kashmiri people. However, subsequent developments, including the rise of militancy in the state in the late 1980s, have led to renewed tensions between the two sides, and the issue of Kashmir remains unresolved. Footnote: The "Kashmir Accord" is also known as the "Indira-Sheikh Accord," as it was negotiated by then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the leader of the National Conference, Sheikh Abdullah.

some form or other. From 1975 to 1978, the people did not lose any opportunity to express anti-India sentiments. The election of 1977 is an explicit example of that. SM. Abdullah got an Anti-India vote, not pro-India, as it was in opposition to the Janata Party, which was considered an Indian Party. Hence, the people voted against it and for SM. Abdullah. And this was because he started his election campaign with the statement, "If we did not get an honourable position within the Indian State, we might take a different path." The people of Jammu and Kashmir understood it as an assurance that he was not giving up on the twenty-two years struggle. But had rather changed the modus operandi and strategy. In 1977, while responding to the Governor's speech, I echoed the same in the assembly. That SM. Abdullah got an Anti-India vote, and this was recorded in the assembly proceedings. SM. Abdullah got a two-thirds majority but he did not honour the sentiments of the people. Therefore, the lava which has been accumulating over the years has exploded at last. The 1975 alliance of Congress and National Conference indicated that NC leadership did not honour the 22 years of struggle and enormous sacrifices which people had offered. Rather they were only power mongers; otherwise, how could they enter into an alliance with the Congress? Whom they had once called an "insect of the sewage?" This alliance was for the sake of power? Otherwise, what does it mean to have an alliance with them [congress]? Perhaps, it seemed as if externally people had forgotten this struggle. The reality is that the desire for birthright and fundamental rights was, internally, very much present and alive.

Terrorism or Permissible Freedom Struggle

Chapter 74

The majority community of Jammu and Kashmir believes that the political leadership of the Indian State has rejected all peaceful means, to accept 'Jammu and Kashmir as a disputed region.' Hence, the armed struggle is justified. SM Abdullah was incarcerated for eleven years,

and the Indian State spent three crore rupees fighting a case against him. Finally they forced SM Abdullah to bow down and make him part of the 'Indian Mainstream politics.' This was a huge political victory for the Indian State. But, does it mean that the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir is over? In the real sense, neither it is over nor will it get over until the Indian State takes realistic and courageous steps to resolve this sixty-four years old dispute in the historical context because it is important in the greater interest of humanity. India and Pakistan are both parties to it, both are nuclear powers, and this dispute is a nuclear flash point. If it is peacefully resolved and an everlasting solution is found, then it can be hoped that both countries will have a better relationship in future. But, alas, Indian state gives priority to its 'national interest' over the 'greater interests of the Kashmir community.' Although in the 'greater interest', all the concerns and interests of the Indian states are served in the best possible way. Both countries have fought three bloody wars on this dispute. For sixty-four years, the funds which could have been spent on the development and the welfare of the people have been spent on buying arms and tons of ammunition. The population of Jammu and Kashmir is one crore twenty lakhs (1, 20, 00, 000) spread in two parts [Indian administered Kashmir and Pakistan Administered Kashmir]. For over half a century, they have been the worst sufferers and been ruined the most. More than anything else, the political uncertainty would have ended If this issue is resolved, peace will prevail, and the people of three regions will experience mutual peace, tranquility, live as good neighbours, and well-wishers of each other. And then they can get busy working towards a better future. But unfortunately, day by day, this basic need is fading away. Stubborn and rigid stances are getting enforced. The devastation of the common man has failed to direct people towards constructive thinking. Right from the beginning, the Indian State has adopted a policy called 'Pakistan-sponsored terrorism' to divert attention from the real issue. The Indian state has never taken into consideration the sacrifices of the people, economic loss, and outrage of the modesty of women in Jammu and Kashmir.

From the inception of the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan has been recognized as stakeholder. Therefore it can play a vital role in its resolution. But because of their selfish leadership and their internal differences they could not chalk out a strategy with regards to the Kashmir dispute. But until the people of the disputed region take lead, the role of Pakistan cannot take shape. The Indian State has rejected this reality too, and has maintained a stance that the majority of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, from 1947 until now, have forgotten the history, and are satisfied with being a part of the Indian State. They have forgotten the revolt and have not even uttered a word of disappointment against India. India is using all its resources at its disposal and is busy convincing the entire world that its view is the right stance on Jammu and Kashmir. And Pakistan must not be allowed to support Kashmiris; hence Pakistan must be pressurised diplomatically, politically, economically, and even be threatened with war to stop its support of Kashmir. The brutal and tragic incident on 11th September 2001 provided a golden opportunity for the Indian State to garner international support and declare every armed struggle as an act of 'Terrorism.' The Indian State also succeeded in painting the struggle of the Kashmiri people for a 'plebiscite' as an act of terrorism and hence is getting justification for its stance to use military forces against it.

As far as terrorism is concerned, no sane mind and human heart will ever support it. To use violence and brutally target civilians, kidnap, kill, hijack ships, make the lives of innocent people difficult are unscrupulous acts. Who will call it right? Because of religious or political differences, to execute anyone is the worst crime and is considered an act against entire humanity. Likewise, to attack the family members of army men, women, children and Christian schools and the killing of foreign engineers is the worst form of terrorism; one must be ashamed of it. And to put effort into stopping them is the basic obligation of humanity. When this happens in the name of Islam, it becomes the most immoral and awful act. Islam does not

permit, even during a war, to attack women, children, the elderly and others who are not directly involved in the war, much less during peaceful times.

Terrorism sometimes at an individual, or group level, is led by the law-abiding army and sometimes by the government. On all three levels, to wipe it completely, to be ashamed of it, and to rescue mankind from this curse becomes a 'holy obligation.' When a long struggle through peaceful means has failed to achieve the objective and when the opponent uses military and state powers of the state to trample fundamental birthrights of people, the oppressed make sacrifices to achieve legitimate objectives which cannot be considered as terrorism. But the combatants at every step must keep in mind the moral values and respect human rights, and they should not take any steps which goes against these values. Therefore the mistakes of the combatants in Jammu and Kashmir are recognized, pointed out and condemned as well.

Whenever any tragedy happened as a result of religious or political differences, I have never hesitated or procrastinated the condemnation. Because of such incidents, not only the sacrifice of martyrs becomes doubtful but also questionable, and their justification for struggle is spoiled. They cannot justify it to the world and end up making their case weak. This irreparable loss cannot be compensated. Therefore, the active combatants must think sensibly and must make real changes in their behaviour, and the transformation must be such that no one can raise a finger at them. When Islam and its followers are accused of it, then it becomes an obligation of every Muslim to defend Islam because Islam is a blessing and a peaceful religion for the entire humanity. This peaceful and safe system of Islam is distorted and dishonoured by some Muslims and in such a situation, Islam cries out loud and clear.

I have no complaint against strangers;

I am subjected to inequity and brutal treatment by my own people.

After the armed struggle commenced, the Indian State imposed the 'Disturbed Area Act,' along with its special provisions, seven lakhs (700000) security personnel were deployed. The security personnel could search any house without prior permission from civil authorities, arrest anyone, take anyone to an interrogation centre and subject him to the third degree. And as a result, they are either killed or become disabled. In these interrogation centres, people are put upside down, rollers are rolled over their bodies, bodies are burnt on gas stoves, hot iron rods are inserted in bodies and 'forced disappearance are executed.' The fact remains that anyone can be arrested on mere suspicion, and tortured, and when security forces cannot extract any useful information, he is killed in custody and bodies are burnt, thrown in the river or buried in a faraway forest. That is how thousands are killed mercilessly. This is the biggest and darkest tragedy of mankind, and there is no accountability of this loss of life. What else can be the bigger example of helplessness? For twenty-two years, thousands of family members of the deceased have been distressed and have suffered mental trauma.

This requires parents who possess a compassionate heart and a profound appreciation for the value of human life to truly grasp. Throughout history, many in positions of authority have committed cruel and inhumane acts while under the influence of their own power. The current rulers of our era are similarly intoxicated with power and are shamelessly engaging in such reprehensible activities. To avoid human rights abuses occurring under their watch, they must learn from the mistakes of the past and make a concerted effort to prevent such atrocities.

I, without any hesitation, not only mention but strongly condemn the human rights violations and abuse of combatants, and when the picture of state terrorism becomes visible, it becomes more hazardous and beastly. State terrorism has proved itself to being blind, deaf and dumb

when it comes to the weak. The voices of the weak are unheard by the state, to the point that it is against their ego to hear them out. But when this fragile is defeated and exhausted, his peaceful voice transforms into thunder, and then the imperialistic tactic of tanks and ammunition is used to silence it.

The Resignation and After Math Circumstances

Chapter 84

After resigning from the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly, the three members of the MUF's legislative assembly began establishing closer connections with the masses. To this end, public meetings were organized throughout the valley, including Doda. While the youth were making sacrifices in the armed struggle, hundreds of thousands marched towards the United Nations Military Observers Office at Sonwar, Srinagar, demanding a plebiscite and submitting memorandums. Meanwhile, the state government was completely non-functional, and the entire valley was following the orders given by the youth.

The Indian State had not yet used its imperialistic tactics and was monitoring the situation to see in what direction it would tilt.

During this time, a few mistakes and blunders were made, and we are still facing the devastating consequences of that.

The First Blunder

The youth believed that they had driven out the Indian State and gained full control over the valley. However, the political leaders and organizations advocating for freedom continued to keep the Kashmir dispute alive until armed struggle or combat operations began. Consequently,

the youth felt that these leaders had no share in the power that the combatants had obtained. As a result, the entire mass movement was forced to be without political leadership; therefore, the reins were controlled by enthusiastic hot-blooded youth. People were under the impression that freedom was knocking at their doorsteps. Therefore, advice and suggestions from the pro-freedom political leadership were seen as not being required. I remember, after the arrest of Shabir Ahmad Shah, when strikes, protest rallies were organised. Once in Sopore chowk, I said to the enthusiastic youth: "this struggle is long; do not underestimate it." I gave an example that if anyone from Sopore wants to go to Srinagar, and one does not have a vehicle and begins running towards Srinagar, after a kilometer or so, one would be exhausted; but if one really wants and feels the need to go, one will have to be steady and walk step by step. One has to stay overnight in Pattan or any other locality, and next take some food and walk towards Srinagar. Then only one would reach his destiny."

The youth believed that they had driven out the Indian State and gained full control over the valley. However, the political leaders and organizations advocating for freedom continued to keep the Kashmir dispute alive until armed struggle or combat operations began. Consequently, the youth felt that these leaders had no share in the power that the combatants had obtained.

Almost the same speech was delivered on 20th February, 1990 in Yari Pora Kulgam, where almost one lakh people attended the public rally. I addressed the public in general and the youth in particular and said, "the might of the oppression has not come out fully yet, and apart from being enthusiastic, we must be alert. The journey is long, difficult and impervious; we must watch the steps we take."

After an hour-long speech, I stayed overnight at the house of Ghulam Nabi Sumjhi at Khanbal. The next day, early in the morning, a group of young men visited me and said that people have become annoyed after they heard my speech yesterday. I enquired from them about the mistake I might have made. They said that I had mentioned that the struggle would be long and tough. But the people were thinking that freedom would come before March, before they began tilling their land. Hence, they are hurt and sad. They feel that political leadership is misleading the youth and does not have an objective. After hearing this, I told these enthusiastic young men that nothing is impossible for God; He can bless us with freedom soon. But the circumstances and conjectures convey to us that it will not be that easy. To chase away the police does not mean that control and the iron grip of the state are over. When the Indian State uses imperialistic and oppressive tactics, then only as a community will our test begin. On the path to freedom, there will be difficulties, agony, and suffering which we have to overcome, and then we have to cross the rivers of fire and blood; only then will we reach our destiny of Freedom. And the same was brought to the notice of common people in every public meeting. These wise words were communicated to the people at every place and everywhere. It was emphasised in public meetings as well. Indian imperialistic power had not banned public meetings yet. Hence, every place was visited in the valley. In the Doda district, attempts were made to explain the upcoming demands of the struggle. Many enthusiastic public rallies took place in Doda, Banihal, and Kishtwar.

Had this been the logic of Jammu and Kashmir, if accepted as guiding principles, the justification of the legitimacy of occupation would not have happened. But the Indian State, with explicit lawlessness, autocracy and expansionism and with the help of its military might, has occupied this region. This is the real reason for the dispute. Apart from this, the promises of Indian leadership to the national and international community, which later they denied and

then tried to hide all the facts is as an imperialistic tactic where they declared this disputed region as "an integral part of India."

This struggle initiated by people, particularly the youth, is, in fact, a continuation of the struggle since 1947 but in a different form. But, what is required is being 'sensible in enthusiasm' (جوش میں ہو ش) and being conscious, and it must continue wisely until it reaches its logical conclusion. But then, the emotions ran so hot and destiny looked so close; hence the advice to 'wait and watch' was ignored and rejected.

The Second Blunder

When armed struggle started, the selection process of combatants was ignored. These included awareness of the objectives of the movement, clarity of concept, psychological maturity, awareness of the challenges and obstacles, conscious adoption of this path, background, hobbies, interests and being steadfast in suffering. The youth started walking haphazardly as people walked on National Highways. There was no inquiry into the motives or destination of those who joined the struggle, nor was any information sought regarding their leaders, or the ordeals they had undergone in their lives. The lack of required scrutiny and criteria resulted in individuals joining the struggle who were ignorant of its aims. These individuals obtained weapons to fulfill their personal desires and achieve their own goals. Those who black-marketed liquor and sold cinema tickets took up arms in order to make it a source of income. Singers and those who played musical instruments like *Tabalchi*[20] were just looking for a new experience.

[20] Tabalchi: The one who plays the musical instrument Tablah, is called Tablah.

Some were dominated by the spirit of vengeance, while others who just wanted the girl of their choice chose the path of kidnapping by getting guns. This situation distorted the face of the holiest struggle. Everyone is responsible for this struggle, people from both sides of the border and no one can declare themselves vindicated.

Among all forms of power, combat is considered the last resort for the fight for freedom. The success of the struggle depends on the approach adopted. Therefore, this movement must be carefully initiated and for this, years are required in its preparation. But, the misfortune of our community is that any extraordinary task is done ordinarily, by copying each other, behaving immaturely and without any consideration for the larger cause, and trying to dominate each other. A lot of attributes of our community and sheep are common. Which is unchangeable. Like sheep, we follow without even considering any other option. The outcome of this laziness and immature behaviour has been devastation and will continue to be so.

The Third Blunder

The brave combatants had successfully taken out the Kashmir dispute from the cold storage, and highlighted it on the international stage. The sad and disappointed community once again became active, and their inertness began breaking. People welcomed their combatants, embraced them and lifted them on their shoulders; not only did they open doors and windows, but they also opened their hearts and showered petals upon them, and gates of welcome were erected. But instead of giving the right direction to their enthusiasm, they became emotional and schizophrenic instead. These young men were elements of our own spoiled society; they were not the children of angels who had landed from the sky and therefore are empowered by desires. Because of this enormous welcome, they became stubborn and easily annoyed taking

such action that it proved to be deadly in the long run. In this direction, the first step was the internal clashes.

When the armed struggle began, numerous groups came into existence like insects. Every day new names made headlines in the newspapers. It was because of personal ego, desire for a position in society and to be the leader of the people. If two different schools of thought based on two different ideologies had come into being, this would have been considered as the sincerity and determination towards the objective that only two ideologies remain active in the field. If not for the internal feuds and clashes, the combatants could have unitedly fought against the enemy instead. If that wisdom was not lacking, at least they should have avoided internal confrontation and worked within their ambit as desired. But that did not happen. The enemy was kept aside, and through internal clashes, different groups weakened each other. They indulged in detestable and uncouth acts and killed each other. The occupation forces not only observed but also encouraged the internal conflict, and understandably so as it served their interests, and why would they not? The security forces were sympathetic towards a group accused of having collaborating with them, which posed an obstacle to the pro-freedom movement. Hence, it became necessary to remove this group from the picture. The clashes resulted in the death of several combatants, who were formidable and determined with a fervor for Jihad and martyrdom. Losing them in a fight against the enemy would have been a moment of pride, but their deaths caused by our own actions is a dark chapter in our history. Consequently, we feel forever humbled and ashamed.

The Fourth Blunder

The armed struggle was deemed the most effective means to gain freedom from Indian imperialism. Everyone, including political leaders, combatants, and the general public seeking

liberation, understood the power of an AK-47, which could have compelled the occupying Indian forces to relinquish control of the occupied territory. However, the actual aim was to compel the Indian government to acknowledge that Jammu and Kashmir was a disputed region, thereby increasing international pressure to implement the United Nations resolutions and fulfill their promises. To achieve this, a meaningful and result-oriented dialogue was initiated, taking into account all parties involved in the conflict. This dialogue aimed to heal the wound caused by the dispute and prevent the Indian government from maintaining an unyielding stance that Jammu and Kashmir was an "integral part" of India. This was the ultimate objective of the armed struggle. Unfortunately, the objective of achieving freedom disappeared from the combatants' focus, and they got entangled in unnecessary issues. They overstepped their boundaries and interfered in personal affairs, such as property disputes, marriage, and obtaining government contracts for construction projects. They even pursued menial jobs, loan repayments, sought influence in government offices, granted permits to cut trees in forests, and resolved age-old disputes. Moreover, they announced the formation of new organizations and attempted to manipulate news publications. If their news was not published, they resorted to kidnapping journalists or imposing a ban on newspapers. This dictatorial behavior led to excessive use of force, and the combatants lost sight of the actual objective. Under these circumstances, it became impossible to put in any effort towards achieving the objective. Instead, these activities became common among the combatants. In this quagmire, the cunning enemy exploited the situation by offering benefits and approving fake bills, filling the pockets of the combatants. All organizations, groups, and individuals associated with the armed struggle cannot claim to be innocent of wrongdoing. The collective consciousness of our community was explicitly visible, as no one remained impartial but acted like sheep. The occupational and oppressive forces took advantage of this situation. The occupational and

oppressive forces exhibited ingenious management in such a way that the entire struggle became purposeless/aimless.

The Fifth Blunder

In this armed struggle, the real objective was to reduce the force of occupational power and to pressurise the occupational force to be more realistic. In such struggles, the unity of heart and mind is the only assurance for success; despite abundant and enormous sacrifices, we could not achieve this assurance in our armed struggle. During our struggle, such incidents took place, which distorted its sanctity.

It is an undeniable historical fact that in every armed struggle, there exist both apparent and hidden enemies. This cannot be disregarded. Just as the holiness of the Prophet is accepted, the wickedness of Abu-Lahab,[21] also exists, which is a universal fact. Due to our lack of vigilance, we were unable to identify the cunning tactics of our enemies, resulting in unfortunate tragedies. Consequently, we were unable to convey to the world that our struggle is for our inherent birthright and fundamental rights. As with any other subjugated nation, our declarations at the international level were suppressed by force with the backing of a powerful military. Our youth are being killed, women are being raped in front of their families, and properties are being burned down in broad daylight. Thousands are being unjustly imprisoned without any concern shown. The people are subjected to constant violence, and their economy is being destroyed. In such dire circumstances, if a nation does not consider liberation as the only option left, then what other recourse do they have?

[21] Alongside the holiness, piety, truth and honesty of the Prophet PBUH, there also existed the wickedness of Abu-Lahib; this mean that the good and the wicked exist together

Doesn't this exemplify a community held against its will, treated as subhuman, and forced into perpetual enslavement? To gain global recognition of this reality, we must demonstrate that we are vulnerable and powerless in every aspect and circumstance. Unfortunately, we failed to do so. Once we acquired arms, we began to believe that we were invincible and imitated the oppressive tactics of the occupying forces, treating people in the same cruel manner that they had treated us.

Our youth failed to comprehend the reality that despite the presence of hundreds of thousands of heavily armed security personnel, including guns, machine guns, and tanks, who were imposed upon us, they could not win our hearts. Instead, we risked our lives to be free from them. How could a few thousand combatants, through force, win our hearts and force us to applaud their arbitrary decisions? If only we had kept the sanctity of every action in mind, then help would have come in unexpected ways and from invisible sources.

> Create an atmosphere reminiscent of Badr, where angels descend in groups,
> So that they may descend in countless groups for your guidance.

\We must accept the bitter truth that we failed to create a situation similar to the Battle of *Badr*.[22] Due to our mistakes, we did not receive guidance from divine sources. Despite our prolonged struggle and countless sacrifices, we are still far from achieving our goal of freedom. The oppressive occupational forces continue to commit heinous human rights violations while we, on the other hand, should have maintained a spotless record. Unfortunately, we have not done so, and our own human rights abuses have been overshadowed by our enemy's massive crimes.

[22] Battle of Badr (624) is a major military victory lead by Prophat PBUH himself, against the Abu Sufiyan, The opponents were more in number but yet were defeated, which was believed to be miraculous. Not only did it confirm to ummah divine sanction of Islam, for the Holy Quranattributed the success to divine intervention.

With their vast resources and communication channels, they [Indian State] have exaggerated our minor missteps while downplaying their own mountainous offenses. Even human rights organizations, while condemning the oppressive power, have also criticized our actions, leaving us and our supporters feeling suffocated.

Crackdown

During the peak of the armed struggle, the state administration and police became incapacitated, leading the Indian security forces to take control. Kashmir was labeled a "disturbed area," granting the security forces unrestricted and unaccountable powers, which they wielded with impunity. Despite the efforts of political leaders associated with the freedom struggle to keep the movement going, the occupational forces believed that giving these leaders a chance to direct the struggle would only highlight its flaws and limitations. Therefore, they sought to rectify the situation.

Hence, the New Delhi authorities made the decision to arrest us, depriving us of any contact with the public. On the 10th of April 1990, I was on my way to Arihil Pulwama to give a public address when I was arrested. Along with me, Abdul Gani Lone, Prof Abdul Gani Bhat, Moulana Mohammad Abbas Ansari, and other leaders were also taken into custody. Shabir Ahmad Shah had already been imprisoned since October 1989. I will provide further details on this matter soon, God willing.

The Open letter to Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Indian Prime Minister

Chapter 86

Greetings! I pray to God that you find this letter in good health.

I am writing to you from Doru village amidst a state of emergency. On December 14, 1989, a curfew was imposed in my hometown of Sopore and the Baramulla District, which was later extended to Srinagar, Shopian, and Islamabad on December 15th. The curfew has continued for four days now, and the army and paramilitary forces are conducting flag marches, instilling fear in the people. Every household is being searched, and many have been arrested, killed, robbed of their belongings, and women are being raped in broad daylight. Your new government has increased the number of security personnel, and the entire valley has been turned into a vast prison and cantonment.

Dr. Farooq Abdullah has been summoned to New Delhi and is currently engaged in a series of meetings with you and the Home Minister, accompanied by a few senior cabinet ministers.

In light of the repeated announcements on radio and television regarding the firm handling of "Anti-National" elements and "separatists", and the Central Government's assurance to provide logistical support to the J&K government, I, as a representative of the oppressed and enslaved Kashmiri community, feel compelled to highlight a few fundamental truths. It is not my intention to educate you on Kashmir, as you are already aware of the facts that are publicly available and the experiences of the 12 million Kashmiris over the past 42 years.

You have become Prime Minister for the first time; you carry the weight of great expectations from the people. Only time will reveal whether you will live up to those expectations or not. However, it is the responsibility of hopeful individuals to utilize all possible resources to express the sentiments of the masses and to hold you accountable for your promises and actions.

That is why I am writing this open letter to you. I sincerely hope that when you read this, you will consider it as a fellow human being and take steps to address the pain and suffering inflicted upon a section of our own society.

Islam Is the Only Solution for All Problems

Above all, I would like to draw your attention, as a fellow human being, to the fact that in this entire universe, the honor, power, and rule belong solely to Almighty Allah. Every living being is His slave, and He alone holds the power of life and death. He has bestowed upon humans the responsibility of being the most elevated beings and His representatives in this world. Therefore, humans must govern in accordance with His will, so that there may be peace, harmony, equality, and justice throughout the world. This will create opportunities for blessings from God to manifest.

Regardless of which religion one follows, the fundamental teachings emphasize similar virtues. In the Islamic tradition, it is unequivocally established that there is only one God (الٰہ وحدت), one human race (آدم وحدت), and one system (وحدتِ نظام). It provides solutions for every problem that humanity faces in this world. If people, individually and collectively, follow Islamic teachings without prejudice, they will be able to overcome all obstacles and find constructive solutions. This approach will help recognize and address the rights of all, leading to the creation of a just and noble society.

Invitation to Islam … Pure Intentions

The essence of Islamic teachings is that strength, power, army, weapons, and even life itself are all a trial and test. The results of this trial and test will be declared after death, on the Day of Judgement and in the hereafter. If a person has been obedient to God and prepares for the

hereafter through their actions in this life, their reward will surpass all expectations in the hereafter. However, if they live to fulfill their desires and those of others, they will be punished in the hereafter, and they cannot escape this fate. On the Day of Judgement, when they are helpless, no one will help them. The suffering they will endure will be so intense that it cannot even be imagined. No wealth, power, status, or even children can liberate them from the pain they brought upon themselves through their actions. Even their children's pleas and recommendations will not be helpful in freeing them from this torment. There is no bribery in the hereafter. The hereafter is an eternity of either true success or failure. My hope for you is that you remember the concept of life and the hereafter, and that you realize that the power and position you hold must be used with utmost honesty. The primary purpose of extending an invitation to the universal and eternal message of Islam is to promote universal brotherhood, transcending divisions of color, ethnicity, language, patriotism, and caste. As a fellow human being, I am optimistic that you will also reflect on this message and set aside any ethnic boundaries.

If you are considering embracing the timeless principles of Islam and practicing them, you may find the behavior of contemporary Muslims to be a significant obstacle. Muslims may appear to be submissive and not living in accordance with the eternal principles of Islam, even if they are rulers. They may even be contributing to the violence and turmoil in the world. However, it is important to remember that we are only accountable for our own actions, not the actions of others. Therefore, we must focus on correcting our own deeds and not use the excuse that others are not following the principles of Islam.

In the Indian parliamentary elections held on November 22, 24, and 26, no political party won a majority to form a government on their own. However, the National Front, which includes

your party, Janata Dal, won 144 seats. Despite the ideological differences between the BJP and the Communist Party, both parties supported you to keep Congress out of power, allowing you to form the government. The National Front has not held power in almost forty years, and it remains to be seen how long they will stay in power and how they will fulfill their promises to the people.

You were administered the oath of office by President of India, Shri Venkataraman, on December 2, 1989, and on the previous day, December 1, 1989, I addressed a massive public rally at Soura Srinagar Kashmir. At the rally, I outlined two criteria for scrutinizing the new Prime Minister of India. If he fulfilled these criteria, then V.P. Singh would be considered a savior and capable of healing the wounds inflicted on the Indian social milieu by forty years of rule. If he did not fulfill these criteria, it would be clear that merely changing the person in power did not guarantee real and necessary change in governance and the social milieu.

The Land of India is Stained with the Blood of Muslims

As the Prime Minister of India, you are held to a higher standard. One criterion is your ability to provide security to minorities, particularly Muslims outside of the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir. The tragic chapter of atrocities committed against Muslims over the past 42 years in India's history must be rectified or erased for the government and Prime Minister to earn acceptance and significance among minority groups.

India gained independence from British rule in 1947, but communal violence persisted. The Indian leadership blamed the British for orchestrating the violence to maintain their rule. Innocent people from all walks of life joined the Indian leadership to fight against imperialistic power. However, after the British left, unexpected and bloody communal incidents occurred,

destroying humanity. Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims were equally involved in these riots. Where Hindus and Sikhs were in the majority, they subjected Muslims to physical violence, and vice versa. India's soil was stained with the blood of communalism victims. The partition of India saw unpleasant and unbearable incidents that could have been avoided if Congress and the Muslim League attempted communal harmony during the freedom struggle. Instead, both movements disregarded human rights and fostered nationalism and patriotism, resulting in communal violence when the British relinquished power. The people were left at the mercy of communalists who acted like ravenous beasts, leading to riots viewed as an inevitable consequence of partition.

After partition, it was expected that both states would forget the wounds of partition and protect their people and properties thoroughly. Unfortunately, the Indian government, its leadership, and the majoritarian group failed miserably in fulfilling this responsibility. Dalits faced viciousness, Sikhs faced the majority community's wrath, and Muslims faced discriminatory policies and prejudice. A huge book can be written about the communal violence that has taken place in almost every Indian state, including Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and the union territories. Even in New Delhi, especially near Jama Masjid and other Muslim localities, communal forces have been brutal in the presence of police and paramilitary forces. This has painted a bloody image of India's history and tarnished its reputation in the world. Non-violence gave birth to the concept of "Permo Darhma" in Gandhi's India, but bloodshed has become an ordinary act. Finding a similar example in today's world is impossible.

The violence in places like Jabalpur, Aligarh, Jamshedpur, Kolkata, Kilasita Merahi, Bhiwandi, Mumbai, Pune, Moradabad, Meerut, Assam, Neelipur, Mena, Sihesram, and recently Bhagalpur is not just communal violence, but rather the ethnic cleansing of Muslims. Murders have taken place under the aegis of the administration, paramilitary forces like CRPF, and the Army, right in front of the police, who have remained unmoved.

The Heartbreaking Story of Bhagalpur

There are numerous accounts of the tragic events that occurred in Bhagalpur. One particularly poignant story was witnessed by an Indian military officer, which I will recount as an illustration. It highlights the Prime Minister's duty to safeguard the well-being of Muslims and hold those responsible for the riots accountable.

> *The events of 27th October have left a profound impact on me, and I fear it may drive me to insanity. These are the words of a military officer who had previously safeguarded hundreds of Muslims from communal violence and handed them over to the police for protection. The following day, upon returning to the house where they were kept with food, he was met with an empty house and bloodstains everywhere. As he exited the premises, he heard the desperate cry of a woman pleading for help. Despite being unable to see anything beyond a few bushes and murky water, he heard the voice again, leaving him in a state of confusion and shock.*

Proceeding further, the soldier noticed a woman submerged in water with only her head visible. Upon calling out to her, she explained that she couldn't get out as her feet were broken. The soldier offered his rifle, and the woman grasped it tightly to pull herself out of the water. After she came out, she remained quiet. Later, when the soldiers removed the branches from the

water tank, they discovered several corpses. Shockingly, these were the same individuals whom the army had entrusted to police custody.

Malika, a sixteen-year-old physically disabled girl, survived the massacre and gave a first-hand account of the horrors. She revealed, “The police promised us safety and many of us slept. At around 4 am, there was chaos, and the attackers surrounded the house where we were kept. The police stood at a distance smoking cigarettes and watching like spectators. We begged the attackers to leave the village and promised never to return. After much negotiation, they agreed to take us out of the village on the condition that we would not come back. We had no choice but to agree. The attackers took our belongings and led us to an open area where all hell broke loose. Our neighbors turned against us, and we ran to our uncle and aunt’s house for refuge, but they threw us out. My mother was killed in front of me, and my uncle, who was a police officer, along with his family, were also not spared. Our neighbors surrounded us and drowned us in the water tank. When someone tried to rape me, I jumped into the water tank, broke both my legs, and lost consciousness. When I regained consciousness, I was among the dead bodies, and the next morning, I saw soldiers and called out for help.” Malika’s story is not unique; many like her perished before they could tell their tales. Mohammad Rehmatulah, a police inspector in Bhagalpur, recounted how his family was also attacked and murdered. He shared his story with a fellow inspector from his community, hoping for justice, but even his subordinates did not follow his orders. Rehmatulah’s family members were among the nineteen who were killed. Similarly, Pervaiz Ahmad and Ather Ahmad from New Bazar lost nineteen family members who were also killed. They were forced to hide in a friend’s home and helplessly witnessed these brutal and heart-wrenching incidents.

“My family and I called for police assistance. When the police van arrived, they stood away from the house. Despite being in front of them, my whole family was massacred,” said the two survivors.

Dr. Kaleemul Rahman, a medical officer with broken feet living in Sahib Gunj relief camp, narrated:

> *As I was returning home from my hospital duties, I waved my hands towards the CRPF soldiers patrolling in our colony, hoping they would save my family members who were surrounded by the rioters. Instead of helping, they physically assaulted me while the rioters continued their attack. My home was burnt down. An army officer's statement revealed the horrific death of a pregnant woman who was attacked by a group of rioters. They smashed her belly with rods and stones, causing a miscarriage and ultimately leading to her death. These gruesome stories in and around Bhagalpur are testing the patience of those who hear them. Sadly, there are thousands of such stories that will never be told, as the storyteller is no longer alive." (Excerpt from 'Upkaar' daily, New Delhi, 4th edition, 11th November 1989, pp. 15-16)*

You have been acquainted with the harrowing tale of Malika sixteen-year-old girl, narrated by an Army officer, as well as the accounts of families being massacred before the police. In addition, the tragic story of a pregnant woman being attacked and killed with stones is truly heart-wrenching. Such barbaric acts are a disgrace to the notion of democracy in India.

Malika was taken to Dana Pore Hospital where the Government assured to bear all expenses. Although the government announced compensation of one lakh rupees for the deceased and twenty thousand rupees for the injured, this is just empty talk. No amount of money can ever

compensate for the loss of a human life. Unfortunately, in India, blood seems to be cheaper than water. If justice is to be served, all culprits responsible for this genocide must be presented in an open court and, upon conviction, hanged publicly. This will serve as a warning to potential rioters and communalists, and only then can we hope to protect human lives in the future. However, for 42 years, neither the state government nor the central government has ensured justice, which is why communal violence against Muslims continues to happen.

Indian Muslims Must Live a Warrior's Life

This is the message to the fifteen to twenty crores of Muslims in India: we, the people of Jammu and Kashmir, are oppressed and suppressed, caught in the claws of Indian imperialism. We can only suggest that you adopt the lifestyle of a warrior and prefer the death of a warrior rather than die helplessly. You must fortify yourselves to the extent that when communalists, along with police or paramilitary forces, attack you, you must unite, defend yourselves and achieve martyrdom. Indian Muslim must remember the prophet's saying: "*Whoever is killed while defending brutality and suppression is considered a martyr*."

The people and rulers of India must not forget this fact that in this country, humans are subjected to brutality, suppression, and injustice. Here, the state does not fulfil its responsibility, but rather ignores it via a 'criminal silence'. God's wrath always comes upon the oppressors and the same are held accountable, no materialistic power can protect the oppressor from that punishment of Allah, the Almighty.

Honourable Prime Minister of India

Your primary duty within India is to ensure the safety and protection of all Indian citizens, regardless of their religion, ethnicity, language, or place of origin. It is essential to note that

these responsibilities will be closely monitored not only by the people of Jammu and Kashmir who are oppressed and subjugated but also by the rest of the world.This is pre standard, by fulfilling this obligation with high standards, you can establish yourself as a great patriot and empathizer in Indian history. However, it is crucial to prioritize your responsibility towards fundamental human values, such as safeguarding the security and rights of minority groups, including Muslims, above the pursuit of materialistic progress and development.By doing so, you can ensure that your reputation remains untarnished and that you are remembered as a leader who prioritized the well-being and security of all citizens above everything else.

Kashmir … Victim of Indian Expansionism

The second criterion to scrutinise your position as Prime Ministership, is the 'Dispute of Jammu and Kashmir.' This dispute is the result of the Indian State's policy of expansion, dual hypocrisy and an explicit example of following Machiavellian politics. Until the Indian State and its people think out of the box of expansionism, respect freedom, keeping in mind justice and facts and move positively towards the resolution of disputes, their claims of democracy, secularism and being representative of freedom will be considered hollow and unjustified.

The Context of Kashmir Dispute

Kashmir is a state located in the northern region of South West Asia that shares borders with five countries: Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia, China, and India. Its border with Pakistan stretches over seven hundred miles. The state has a total area of 84,471 square miles and is comprised of two regions: the Kashmir Valley, which is 84 miles long and 25 miles broad, and Jammu. According to the 1961 census, the population of Kashmir is 4.21 million people, with Muslims constituting almost 80 percent of the population. In Gilgit, the entire population is Muslim, and in the Kashmir Valley, Muslims make up 90 percent of the population.

Muslims have ruled this region for the past seven hundred years, ever since Islam began to spread across the Indian subcontinent. From 1515-1715, the Mughals ruled the region, followed by Afghan governors until 1819 when Muslim rule began to decline in the entire Indian subcontinent. The Sikh Empire then took over until 1846, during which the Muslim majority faced oppression and difficulties under the minority Sikh ruling community.

This period is regarded as a shameful and dark chapter in Indian history. Meanwhile, the British strengthened their rule and defeated the Sikhs, eventually selling Jammu and Kashmir for seventy-five lakhs Nanakshahi Takas, which is equivalent to almost fifty lakhs today. This meant that every Kashmiri was sold for Rs. Seven only. This tragic event took place on March 16, 1846, through the Amritsar Treaty, marking the beginning of Dogra rule in Kashmir, whose descendants govern India and their Kashmiri agents today.

The establishment of Dogra rule in Jammu and Kashmir was a unique and shameful event where not only land but human beings were also sold by the British, which is reprehensible. The century-long Dogra rule was brutal and oppressive towards the majority community to an extent that the stories of their suffering evoke great pain. The minority community held all the important portfolios, enjoying the support of the Dogra police and army. Meanwhile, the majority community struggled to make ends meet, with a few wealthy landlords living lavish lifestyles. Muslims were primarily peasants and could not even afford one meal a day, while taxes were imposed on everything from windows and fireplaces to wives, homes, animals, and chimneys. To add insult to injury, people were forced into unpaid labor'[23] as well.

[23] Forced-cum-unpaid labour was a practice initiated by the Dogra ruler in Kashmir during the 19th century. This involved the forced labour of Kashmiri men who were made to work for the state without any payment. The labourers were primarily employed to carry ammunition and military equipment on mountains, which was an important task for the state's military operations. The practice of forced-cum-unpaid labour was a source of

The entire Jammu and Kashmir region was sold for seventy-five Nanakshahi Takas, and the community endured brutalisation for over a century under Dogra rule. In 1947, Late Hari Singh's decision to join the Indian state decided the fate of the entire community that he had oppressed and bought. This decision provided the Indian state with a platform for brutalising the majority community. From a justice perspective, the entire Dogra rule is wicked, unreasonable, and unjust. Hence, the people of the valley reject the illegitimate treaty signed on October 26, 1947, by the fleeing monarch.

The Temporary and Conditional Treaty

The treaty signed by Maharaja Hari Singh was temporary and conditional. After India's independence from British rule, the partition was based on the 'Two Nation Theory,' which allotted Muslim-dominated areas to Pakistan and Hindu-dominated areas to India. Additionally, almost six hundred princely states were given the option to choose between these two states while considering factors such as geographic location, borders, language, religion, culture, and tradition. These words were spoken by Lord Mountbatten.

> These states hold their independence and have the freedom to accede to any country of their choice. However, it is important to acknowledge the geographical compulsions

extreme hardship for the Kashmiri men who were subjected to it. They were not provided with adequate food or other basic necessities, and due to the long journeys, difficult terrain, and extreme climate, many of them died. For those who did survive, there was no guarantee of when they would return home, and many were separated from their families for extended periods of time. It is important to note that forced-cum-unpaid labour is different from bonded labour, which involves the coercion of an individual to work in return for a debt owed to their employer. In the case of forced-cum-unpaid labour in Kashmir, the labourers were not working off any debt, but were rather forced to work without any compensation or benefits. The practice of forced-cum-unpaid labour continued in Kashmir until the early 20th century when it was abolished by the British administration. However, its legacy continues to be felt in the region, and it remains an important topic of discussion and research. For those interested in learning more about the topic, Shuhail-ul-Rahman Lone's article, "Begar (forced labour) in Kashmir During The Dogra Period (1846-1847AD)" published in the Jostar journal in 2012, provides a detailed account of the history and impact of forced-cum-unpaid labour in Kashmir during the Dogra period.

> that may limit their options. It is not feasible to distance oneself from a country that is closer in proximity, and it is equally important to consider the will of the people for whom the decision is being made go against the will of the people for whose welfare you are responsible. (Mountbatten, Lord. "Address in Chamber of Commerce." 25 July 1947)

As per the Viceroy of India's directive, Jammu and Kashmir is a region with a majority Muslim population of 85% and shares a border of seven hundred miles with Pakistan. Had the British and the Congress not plotted and granted Gurdaspur to India, there would have been no direct road access for India to Jammu and Kashmir, and they would have had to cross Pakistani territory to reach the region. Given these circumstances, how could the monarch have justified the so-called accession of Jammu and Kashmir when it lacked a road link and the region had a Muslim majority?

The Indian state's justification for the so-called "invasion" by Pakistani Tribals in October 1947 is highly questionable. The prevailing narrative is that Maharaja Hari Singh was forced to sign the accession treaty with India after he requested India's help to fend off the Tribal invasion. However, this narrative conveniently ignores the fact that the Maharaja had previously disarmed Muslim soldiers and police, which led to the brutal genocide of Muslims in border villages, particularly in Poonch and Rajouri. Hindu extremists in other border towns of Jammu also played a role in this violence. This news spread across the borders and the Tribal entered the valley to defend their fellow Muslims who had become victims of state brutality. This was not the first instance of such violence against Muslims in the region. In 1931, twenty-two Kashmiris were randomly shot and killed in the Central Jail of Srinagar, which sparked outrage among Muslims living in adjacent border areas. In response, they attempted to enter

the valley to help their Muslim brethren, but the British arrested thirty thousand people to prevent them from doing so.

The arrival of the tribal in 1947 was driven by religious sentiments, but some individuals misled them by inciting violence and using it as a political strategy to pressure the Maharaja into signing an accession treaty. Following the massacre of Muslims on 26th October 1947, the Maharaja fled Srinagar for Jammu, where he signed the accession treaty with the Secretary of State. The Indian State then sent their forces to Jammu and Kashmir on 27th October 1947, disregarding human rights, democracy, and morality.

On October 27th, 1947, the Indian State dispatched its forces to Jammu and Kashmir, ignoring the principles of human rights, democracy, and morality. Meanwhile, the late Maharaja, who had fled from Srinagar to Jammu, signed a treaty with the Secretary of State while hiding in his palace.

In a letter dated October 27th, 1947, the Governor General communicated to the Maharaja the details of this accession.

> "*About our policy in regard to all those princely states whose accession is disputed, the question of accession must happen as per the will of the people. My Government desires that the moment peace returns back to Kashmir, the accession must be decided by consulting people.*" (Letter from Governor- of India to Maharaja of Kashmir: 27th October 1947)

During those, PJL Nehru sent a telegram to the Late Liyaqat Ali Khan and wrote:

> *We assure you that as soon as peace is restored, we will withdraw the army from Kashmir. As for the future of Kashmir, that decision will be left to the people of the state. This pledge is not only made to you, but also to the people of Kashmir and the entire world*." (Telegram 225, To Pakistani Prime Minister, 31st October 1948)

In January 1948, the Indian State's representative addressed the Security Council and stated:

> "*We have made it clear to our neighbors and to the international community that the Kashmir dispute will be resolved through a decision made by the people of Kashmir regarding whether to accede to India or remain independent. This decision will be made independently and only after peace has been restored*." (227th, Meetings of the Security Council, 15th, January 1948)

The leaders and government of India have acknowledged that the Maharaja's accession is provisional and that the ultimate decision regarding accession will be made by the people of the state. This sentiment was expressed by PJL Nehru:

> India has been committed to the principle that the final decision about the future of the state rests with its people from the very beginning. We are bound to this pledge, and there is no way to escape it. This is the truth on which India has agreed to the temporary accession. The real decision will be made when the people express their will." (The Times of India of 17 July, 1952)

In his book "Story of Integration of Indian States," V. P. Menon, the Secretary of State who convinced the Maharaja to agree to temporary accession, clearly mentioned that the accession was temporary.

The Indian representative to the United Nations Security Council, Gopal Swami Ayengar, also took a similar stance on the temporary nature of the accession during the 227th meeting of the Council on January 15, 1948.

The Resolution of the United Nations

On April 21, 1948, the United Nations passed a resolution stating that both India and Pakistan were in favor of resolving the Kashmir issue through a plebiscite. This resolution was accepted by the Indian government. Later, on August 13, 1948, another resolution was passed that decided the future of Jammu and Kashmir would be determined by the will of its people. Furthermore, on January 5, 1949, a resolution was passed stating that both countries had agreed to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute democratically, independently, and impartially through a plebiscite. This resolution also included the following statement:

(1) No coercion, intimidation, or bribery of voters.

(2) Individuals of all religions are permitted to express their opinions without fear of reprisal, and lawful political and legal activities will not be deemed illegal.

(3) No retaliatory or vengeful actions will be taken by the state against an individual for expressing their opinions.

The resolution of December 23, 1952, serves as a reminder to both India and Pakistan of the United Nations Security Council's decision to conduct an independent and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir. The resolution of November 16, 1957, emphasizes that both India and Pakistan have agreed to conduct a free and fair plebiscite, as outlined in the resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949.

These are indisputable facts and evidence that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India is temporary and conditional. Indian leaders have promised a plebiscite to the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the world. Therefore, if the people of the state are demanding that these promises be fulfilled, why should they be punished as war criminals? They are being subjected to gunshot wounds, knife injuries, beatings, and imprisonment.

The Explicit Contradiction in Indian Nation State's Policy

The Indian Army invaded the Princely States of Hyderabad, Junagarh, Travancore, and Manadoor due to the presence of Muslim rulers and Hindu subjects. Despite the rulers' accession to Pakistan, the majority Hindu population led to the integration with India. The decision of the head of the state was not representative of the religious and cultural preferences of the majority, leading to its rejection. Similar considerations should have been applied to the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir, but the Indian government's territorial expansion ambitions led to the acceptance of the Maharaja's accession. This resulted in military occupation and oppressive policies that continue without remorse for over forty-two years.

"The Indian state's assertion of assembly endorsement lacks a valid foundation."

The assertion made by the Indian State that the 'temporary accession' was validated by the state Assembly is entirely equivocal, misleading and insignificant. The Indian government had committed to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, and to the world, that an impartial plebiscite would be conducted under the monitoring of United Nations observers, once the military personnel of both India and Pakistan were withdrawn, to decide the future of the region. The plebiscite was intended to be conducted in both the Indian-administered and Pakistan-administered regions, not for reservations or elections, but to determine the political fate of the territory. Regrettably, this promise was not upheld, and no plebiscite was ever held in the entire

state. The assembly election, which took place without the withdrawal of security forces, cannot be deemed a replacement for the plebiscite.

During a United Nations meeting, the Indian representative stated clearly that any decision made by the J&K Legislative Assembly regarding the plebiscite would not carry any weight. "The position of my Government is that the Legislative Assembly is entitled to voice their perspective on the matter, but they do not possess the authority to make any final determinations regarding it."

The same is echoed by PLJ Nehru in a letter written on 5th March 1954 to his Pakistani counterpart and the Security Council:

> *Dixon informed me that the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference is planning to establish a "Constituent Assembly" to determine the future of Jammu and Kashmir. However, I wish to recall that a resolution has already been passed regarding the future of Jammu and Kashmir, which mandates the conduct of a transparent and unbiased plebiscite. Any alternative proposals would go against the agreed-upon agreement.*

The Election Cannot be substitution for Plebiscite

The bogus elections that took place were a severe blemish on democracy. SM. Abdullah, who was draped in the national flag during his burial, made this statement regarding the validation of the "temporary" and "conditional" accession by the so-called Legislative Assembly.

> *Although I acknowledge that I was responsible for establishing the "Constituent Assembly," I must clarify that the decision regarding accession was made while I and my colleagues were detained. The decision was made through the bribery of several members, either in the form of cash or permits, and many were subjected to brutality.*

It is impossible to claim that the decision was made freely, fairly, and with sound judgment." (The Hindustan Standard Calcutta-April 11, 1964)

The 1957 elections were marked by similar irregularities. The ruling party, National Conference, claimed a clean sweep with all 25 seats, but popular parties like Plebiscite Front and Political Conference, which had the support of the public, boycotted the polls. Nine nominations from socialists and five others were also rejected. These fraudulent and manipulated elections have set the precedent for all subsequent polls, and neither the Indian government nor their state government agents can claim that these elections were free and fair. Even the 1971 and 1987 elections did not serve as a substitute for the promised impartial referendum under the supervision of the United Nations. It is unacceptable to legitimize the actions of the Indian nation-state by using these so-called elections as a basis, given their historical context.

The Indian Occupation Has Only One Justification

The Indian state justifies its military occupation and imperialism in Jammu and Kashmir solely on the principle of "might is right." Due to their control over the region, including military and logistical power, dissenters who argue that the occupation is unlawful, immoral, and against the free will of the people are deemed weak. However, this justification cannot be accepted as legitimate. The brutality, oppression, and subjugation in the region have surpassed all limits. The Indian state has been in power for many decades, during which thousands of people have been killed or martyred, habitats destroyed, women raped, and youth oppressed. The games of blood and fire are being played, with the youth tortured in jails, lock-ups, and interrogation centers. Thousands are incarcerated, and the Indian state, with the help of its stooges, is crushing the spirit of freedom and strengthening its imperialism.

The question remains: will the world accept this justification of the Indian State's illegal occupation? To answer this question, one must research the history of the entire world, which requires a lot of work. Recent examples of human rights violations can serve as a reminder to abstain from taking more steps to crush the spirit of the people seeking freedom. The darkest blot in Indian history can be erased, and it would be considered a national service.

The Editorial of the New York Times

The New York Times, in its editorial note, repeated these historical facts:

> India claims that Kashmir, (most of it has been occupied by the Indian Army), has legally acceded through due process. However, it is worth noting that in Alsace Lorraine, a region in Germany controlled by Bismark, the Germans won and fully integrated it. The region even sent representatives to the German Parliament in Shitag. Hitler further integrated it, but today it is part of France. The will of the people cannot be altered by constitution or power. It is the same plebiscite that India refuses to conduct in Kashmir. *(The New York Times editorial: 13th April 1964)*

Kashmir … is Not Integral Part of India

Pakistan was established on August 14th, 1947, and East Pakistan was recognized as a constitutional and legitimate part of the country. However, with the assistance of Russia, the Indian government sought to separate East Pakistan from the West and create the independent state of Bangladesh. In 1971, East Pakistan successfully gained independence and became recognized as Bangladesh on the world stage. When asked about their military intervention in Bangladesh, Indian leaders claimed that they were supporting the people's struggle for freedom and had the right to provide political, military, and moral support to nations fighting for their independence. If the Indian government can support the freedom struggle of Bangladesh, then

why can't they grant the same rights to the people of Jammu and Kashmir and allow them to express their desire for independence without suppression?

The Indian State proudly declares its support for the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) and their struggle for freedom, providing them with political, moral, and material assistance until Palestine is liberated from Israeli oppression. The P.L.O. even has an embassy in New Delhi. Using the same logic, the people of Jammu and Kashmir who aspire for freedom should also receive the same support. However, India's territorial ambitions become evident when it comes to Kashmir, and they refuse to accept their imperialistic actions. The Indian State does not feel ashamed of using force and power to crush the spirit of freedom, while attempting to convince the world that Kashmir is an integral part of India. The Indian State intervened in Sri Lanka under the pretense of safeguarding the rights of Tamils and to establish peace, but now, The recently elected government of Sri Lanka has demanded that India withdraw its troops, stating that it will not host the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) unless the troops are withdrawn. India has officially announced the withdrawal of its troops as it is a moral responsibility to do so. Shouldn't the same moral responsibility apply to Jammu and Kashmir? The Indian State has promised to withdraw troops and hold a plebiscite once normalcy returns to the region in international forums.

India's fight for freedom against the British had two aspects to it. While Gandhi was leading the non-violent and constitutional struggle, Bhagat Singh and Subhash Chandra Bose were actively engaged in combat operations. Bhagat Singh detonated bombs in Bengal to inspire the people in the fight for independence, and Subhash Chandra Bose organized the "Independent Indian Army". Both are revered as heroes of the Indian state, although Bhagat

Singh faced the consequences of his actions, and Subhash Chandra Bose was deported and lived in exile.

However, when the people of Jammu and Kashmir took up arms against Indian occupation, the Indian state labeled them as “terrorists,” “separatists,” and “anarchists,” tarnishing their struggle. These young men are also heroes, freedom fighters, Mujahideen, and brave defenders of their nation. They are justified in their struggle to free their land and community from imperialistic occupation. It is time for the world to see the dichotomy in the Indian state’s treatment of its own combatants who fought against the British as heroes, and the Kashmiri fighters as terrorists. The truth will be revealed eventually.

The Indian Occupation is Unacceptable

Since the partition, the people of Jammu and Kashmir have been protesting against Indian occupation. In the past two decades, their struggle has intensified, with increased courage and clarity. Despite the economic impact, the common people have shown solidarity and responded passionately to protest calls.

The people of the valley observe January 26 (Republic Day) and August 15 (Independence Day) as black days, and October 27, the day the Indian Armed Forces arrived, is marked as a silent protest. Despite being oppressed and unarmed, the community continues to resist through mass protests and agitation across the valley, expressing their dissent against the violent actions, physical assaults, shooting of bullets, and incarceration by the Indian security forces and their agents.

Thousands of youth and freedom fighters remain incarcerated for years in different jails and torture centers such as Hiranagar, Kathowah, Jammu Central Jail, Udhampur, Srinagar Central Jail, Kothi Bagh Sub Jail, and others. Despite this, thousands of people continue to make sacrifices in the struggle for freedom. How much longer will the Indian state be able to suppress the spirit of resistance and extinguish the flame of freedom? Throughout history, there has been no example of nations' freedom being suppressed with such brutality and cruelty. If this were possible, there would have been no resistance against British India, nor against the dictatorship of communist states, and millions would not have shed their blood in the streets. If this were possible, the Berlin Wall would not have fallen, and the people of East and West Germany would not have been able to embrace each other. If this were possible, the Russian Army would have emerged victorious in Afghanistan on December 27, 1979, and the defeat of Russian forces in February 1989 would not have been written in the pages of history. Even today, the Mujahideen of Afghanistan would not have made sacrifices against the people who are ideologically enslaved, as Najibullah was, to Russia. How long will the Indian state continue to ignore these facts and occupy Jammu and Kashmir?

On December 20, 1989, during his address to both houses, President R Venkata Raman remarked that, "I. (Source: The Voice of Nation, Srinagar: December 21, 1989)

R Venkata Raman, the president of India, while addressing both houses on 20 December 1989, said:

> *The situation within the state is extremely fragile. At the cost of the unity of the country and in its interest, there cannot be any agreement with the separatists. The problems of the people of the state will be looked at in detail, and as soon as possible, an eternal solution will be found." (The Voice of Nation, Srinagar: 21st December 1989*)

The President of India's statement acknowledging the fragile situation in the state is commendable, but claiming that any agreement with separatists would come at the cost of the country's unity and interest is historically inaccurate. In fact, there are no separatists within the borders of Jammu and Kashmir. Instead, the people have been demanding a resolution in accordance with the United Nations' resolution for over four decades. India has been touting its military and material power, insisting that "Kashmir is an integral part of India," but the truth is that Jammu and Kashmir was never part of India, so its citizens cannot be accused of seeking separatism.

If the people of Jammu and Kashmir were to exercise their right to a free and fair plebiscite and choose to separate from India, they would either align with Pakistan or become an independent Islamic Republic and chart their own course for the future. This would not threaten India's unity, as Jammu and Kashmir was never a part of India in the same way as other states like Maharashtra, Kerala, and Rajasthan. Instead, it has been a disputed territory since 1947, both on the world map, on the agenda of the United Nations, and on its geographical map. The resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute does not compromise the unity of any country.

The primary issue for the people of Jammu and Kashmir is the resolution of the ongoing dispute. To fulfill its promises made at international forums, the Indian state must arrange for a plebiscite. The Tashkent and Shimla agreements were rejected by the people of Jammu and Kashmir because they were not consulted during their formulation. It is important to note that Jammu and Kashmir is not just a border dispute between India and Pakistan, and a ceasefire or alteration of borders cannot bring an end to the conflict. This is a matter of the will and freedom of 1.2 million people and their independence, culture, religion, faith, belief, and honor. A mere

increase in development quotas, economic benefits, jobs, roads, schools, and hospitals cannot satisfy the demand for freedom by the people of Jammu and Kashmir. As far as their basic rights and issues are concerned, these factors are inconsequential.

As a representative of the majority community, I want to be clear that repeating the policies since partition and only focusing on minor economic issues will lead to a more fragile situation in Jammu and Kashmir. If this happens, people will be willing to sacrifice their lives to free themselves from the brutal military occupation of your government. If there is bloodshed, the Indian State will be held accountable.

It is important to note that Hindus and Sikhs are our brothers and an integral part of our community. Despite communal violence against Muslims in different states of India, there has been no retaliation in Kashmir. It is unacceptable and goes against Islamic principles to engage in such inhumane acts.

Our struggle is against the oppressive military occupation by the Indian Nation-State, which positions us as the oppressed and the Indian State as the oppressor. Our aim is to fight against exploitation, but we also strongly uphold the value of peace and tranquillity and will not allow anyone to disrupt it. Any such incidents would be a result of state agencies' conspiracies or the outcome of Machiavellian politics. Today, the people of the state declare their intention to distance themselves from such occurrences.

Honourable Prime Minister

As I conclude, on December 14, 1989, a curfew was imposed in Sopore Baramulla, and on December 15, 1989, in Srinagar, Islamabad, and Shopian without any justification. During the

curfew, security and paramilitary forces entered homes and mistreated women, while elderly men and children were beaten. Doors, windows, and staircases were set on fire, properties were destroyed, and pedestrians were shot. Security forces shot and killed Ghulam Hassan Ganai, also known as Raja of Karhama, Ganderbal, and Mohammad Yusuf of Sopore.

On December 22, 1989, the Government of India is responsible for the shooting of a person in Sopore. The extended curfew only allows for more brutality to be inflicted upon civilians. Ajaz Ahmad is currently fighting for his life in the hospital. Despite the government claiming not to act hastily, the army and police continue to torture civilians. Since partition, India has enforced a violent occupation policy in Jammu and Kashmir, including unnecessary curfews and handing over the valley to security forces. Nevertheless, the people of Jammu and Kashmir have responded with bravery, courage, patience, and tolerance. The government should respect democracy and human values instead of using weapons. In a free and fair situation, the people of the state should be allowed to decide their own future, which would bring honor to the government. If not, there will be dire consequences.

When the blood of enslaved people boils and they rebel against their oppressors,

The world trembles with the intensity of their rebellion, a sight of catastrophe far and wide.

The heart of the master, once like stone, with a face as unyielding as a mirror,

Collapses under the relentless onslaught of the weak slaves' uprising, ever clearer.

Your Well Wisher.
Syed Ali Geelani
21 December 1989

Chapter Three

Selected Translations from Volume Three

Preface [April 2015 edition]

What was so evil has by steps put on the shape of good and fine:

In state of bondage, as is known, the shift of conscience is quite sure. (Unknown)

The book release of *Wular Kinare v*ol. II, was organised on 10th October, 2012. *Wular Kinare* vol. III got delayed for over two years because of a busy schedule, health issues, meeting visitors throughout the day and therefore I did not find enough time to pen it down.

Wular Kinare vol. III not only encompasses the details of the incidents of the valley, but also incorporates the incidents in and around the border areas of Jammu, Poonch, Rajouri, Doda and valley of Chenab. I visited these places when I was the Chairman of Jammu and Kashmir All Party Hurriyat Conference (J&K APHC) and Mohammad Hussain Altaf accompanied me as my secretary; he penned down details of these visits in two pamphlets "Forgotten Mountains" and "Balakot Kashmir" which are in the public domain. I have included these details as well in *Wular Kinare* vol. III, so that we come to know the tragic story of unfortunate brothers and sisters living there out of sight, and in unpredictable circumstances. They live near mountains and we cannot imagine the problems, troubles and suffering they come across. As you read about them, you will discover their deeply touching tales, including the burial of their loved ones in their very own compound.

In the book you will read about the callous and premeditated killing of nineteen family members by 'brave' Indians.[1] Furthermore, you will come across other agonizing and sorrowful accounts that may evoke a physical reaction, such as experiencing Goosebumps and trembling throughout your body.

The worshipers of Sita, physically violate [Kashmiri women] mothers in front of their daughters and vice versa, feel proud and consider this act as service to their country. The elderly men [are so burdened that they have to] carry the coffin of the younger generation. The Village Defence Committee (VDC) goons have committed atrocious acts, and the people are demanding justice and are protesting. However, the government remains indifferent to their plight, much like in the case of the Kashmir Valley. On my second trip to Poonch and Rajouri, I was joined by Ayaz Akber. He documented our visit in a booklet titled "Near the Bloodline." This book includes a selection of noteworthy events from that booklet.

By the grace of God, the third volume of my work is now in your hands. As with the previous volumes, this one contains accounts of my political struggles. It covers the years 1995-2014, during which I dealt with many important issues. These include my arrests in 2002 and confinement in Jharkhand, as well as my near-death experience during that time. I also write about the Peoples Conference's decision to contest elections and the criminal silence of the J&KAPHC in response. Additionally, I cover the anarchy within the J&KAPHC and the formation of J&K Tahreek-e-Hurriyat. The book also covers other important incidents, such as the agitation against the land transfer to the Amarnath Shrine Board in 2008, the tragic rape and murder of Asiya and Nelofar of Shopian in 2009, and the mass agitation in 2010 that

[1] Brave Indian soldiers are referred to security personals or Indian army. Since most of them are Hindus occasionally they are referred as worshipers of Sita as well.

resulted in the martyrdom of 128 young boys. Finally, I write about the execution of Afzal Guru in February 2013, which the Indian State carried out despite protests and opposition from many quarters. The Indian State ignored legal processes and moral responsibilities, leading to protests and bunds against it. This volume provides a comprehensive account of my struggles during these tumultuous times.

These issues have a lasting impact on the politics of the Kashmir Valley. During the final stages of the book's publication, a devastating flood ravaged the area, destroying shops, homes, and even people and animals. The floodwaters reached as high as two floors of a house, and residents lost everything they had accumulated in their lifetimes in just a few moments. The Lal Chowk and adjacent areas, which were business hubs, were immersed in water for weeks, deserted for almost a month, and became symbols of terror for all. After the flood, debris piled up in front of every shop, and homes remained submerged for two weeks, causing some to crumble down. In Raj Bagh, Jawaher Nagar, Bemna, Qamarwari, Karan Nagar, Balgarden, and other areas, numerous homes collapsed, and even those accustomed to living in mansions were forced to sleep under the open sky. Thousands of animals died, and cow carcasses were left on the roadside for weeks in Bemna and Qamarwari. Calls were made to the District Administration to remove the dead animals. The flood caused havoc in Islamabad, Pulwama, Sonawari, Sopore, Bandipur, and other areas. Although the damage caused by the flood cannot be comprehensively discussed in this preface, it was a 'warning from God' because people had been moving away from His religion, His revelation, and the teachings of the Prophet.

Allah, the most powerful, cautioned the people of Kashmir that He has the ability to transform grand mansions and opulent houses into debris, right before their very eyes. Regardless of their

efforts to preserve them, they will be unable to do so and will be forced to witness the destruction unfold helplessly.

The flood's catastrophic impact moved us to tears, causing us to weep uncontrollably. We received overwhelming expressions of grief and sorrow from all sides, making the situation unbearable. Despite the distress, our community's youth were motivated to assist the victims. Their enthusiasm was so great that they risked their own lives, developed innovative rescue techniques, and saved people from the deadly floodwaters. Despite the government's inactivity and our limited resources, our brave-hearted youth fought the flood with unwavering courage and dedication. The future generations will undoubtedly appreciate the youth's heroic efforts. Furthermore, I must note that during this time of crisis, the pro-Indian political organisations were absent from the scene, concealing themselves somewhere. Although a few individuals attempted rescue operations, they were neither organised nor coordinated. Despite their involvement in the government and access to resources and administration, all they did was deliver speeches.

The Indian Army used the media to create an image of conducting flood rescues at a heroic, war-like level. However, their efforts were focused on rescuing Army personnel, tourists, and individuals belonging to a particular community, while Kashmiri Muslims were only rescued towards the end. Despite this selective rescue effort, the Army received extensive publicity in India and worldwide, portraying them as saviours. This created a perception of the Army as being compassionate towards those who had previously opposed them. One incident during the rescue involved an elderly man being informed that even individuals like SA Geelani, who were strongly opposed to the Army, had been rescued. Fortunately, our residence was not affected by the flood, but we were dismayed to see the Indian media repeatedly broadcasting

fake news based on rumours. The Department of Information also propagated these lies. Furthermore, the Indian State refused international aid and prevented it from reaching Srinagar. The reason for this was to make Kashmiris starve and punish them for speaking their minds. By withholding aid, the State punished people for their political thoughts, making them starve. It is clear that the Indian State is not a well-wisher of Kashmiris.

During this devastating time, our own community stepped up to help those affected, despite limited resources. Pro-Islamic and freedom-loving individuals played a significant role in providing aid, with unaffected individuals going door-to-door to collect donations and supplies for flood victims. Humanitarian aid and support came from across India, including Indian Muslims who offered assistance from New Delhi and other cities. Organisations such as Islamic Publishing acted as a medium for providing special aid and relief, for which we are grateful. Sikh brothers from Punjab generously provided necessary goods, and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind constructed shelters for victims.

After experiencing such a tragedy, the people of Kashmir should have reflected and turned to Almighty Allah, but unfortunately, this did not happen. As individuals and as a group, Muslims believe in Allah's compassion and forgiveness, but also in His retribution. We cannot ignore the punishment of Allah for even a second. Allah warns of punishment for those who are proud and arrogant; Allah says:

> *Do the people of those towns feel secure that Our punishment will not come to them at night while they are asleep? Or, do the people of those towns feel secure that Our punishment will not come to them by daylight while they are at play? Do they feel secure against the design of Allah? None can feel secure against the design of Allah except the utter losers.* (Towards Understanding the Quran, 7: 97-99)

Indeed your Lord is swift in retribution, and He is certainly All Forgiving, All Compassionate. (6:165)

Elections

Who does not desire ecstasy?

But to sacrifice self for it, what is the worth of such ecstasy?

The devastating flood had left people struggling to recover, with flood water still present in the compounds of homes that were destroyed or half-washed away. The heaps of garbage in and around Lal Chowk were evidence of the failure of rescue and rehabilitation efforts carried out by the state and occupying forces. The situation was so dire that hospitals had to declare an emergency, schools and colleges were shut down, and exams postponed until the following March. Despite this suffering, the Indian State decided to hold assembly elections, adding to the people's agony and misery. The Modi government and its allies in Jammu and Kashmir mobilised the administration and police to suppress dissenting voices, resulting in the arrest of thousands.

The police thoroughly searched every corner and crevice of every street, engaging in disputes with anyone who expressed dissent. Those who did were detained either in police stations or jails, in accordance with the supposed "democratic and code of conduct of elections,"[2] in order to prevent any decline in the "election fever." Once all potential dissenters were locked up, those who claimed to represent democracy could easily carry out the election performance. In

[2] The phrase "Democracy and code of conduct" is used in a mocking tone to suggest that the suppression of dissenting opinions and boycott campaigns was carried out under the guise of upholding "democracy and election code of conduct." It is worth noting that in the past, elections in Kashmir have been allegedly rigged at the direction of New Delhi.

this one-sided game, they were the only players, spectators, and umpires. Such behaviour can only be described as a farce.

This reckless behaviour continued until the end of December, and a significant part of our community participated in it. During the flood, the Kashmiri community was condemning Indian stooges and injecting enthusiasm among others by chanting slogans for Islam and freedom during funeral processions. However, this same community has also experienced the rape of their mothers and sisters, with political-businessmen playing a vital role in these heinous acts. These political stooges even rewarded the murderers of children from the same community with the title "Swarms of Birds" (*Tairen Abbabeel*).[3] Despite all of this, the community's contrasting attitude suggests that they have not yet matured enough to differentiate between good and bad. They organize musical events during the day and night to please political supporters who reinforce occupational forces. Men and women dance to drum music all night long, disregarding all limits of humanity, modesty, and morality. These immoral activities may have disturbed the spirits of the martyrs of Kashmir in the graveyard, whispering to each other that the community's instability and non-serious attitude are the real causes of their misery and agony. The occupational forces are strong and shrewd and exploit this weakness for their own benefit.

[3] Tairen Ababil is a concept mentioned in the poetry of Allama Iqbal, The term "Tairen Ababil" is derived from the Quranic story of the birds Ababil who were sent by Allah to destroy the army of the elephant that had come to attack Mecca. In Iqbal's poetry, Tairen Ababil is used as a metaphor to describe the power of a community of individuals who come together for a common cause, like the birds in the story, to fight against oppression and tyranny. According to Iqbal, the concept of Tairen Ababil represents the idea that a group of united individuals can bring about a revolution and achieve their goals, regardless of their apparent weakness or lack of resources. Iqbal emphasizes that such a group must be motivated by a deep sense of purpose and a shared vision of their goal. The Tairen Ababil, therefore, symbolizes the potential of a collective effort to bring about change in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds. Overall, the concept of Tairen Ababil represents the idea that a group of determined and united individuals can overcome any obstacle and achieve their goal, much like the birds in the Quranic story who were able to defeat a much larger and stronger army through their unity and determination.

For decades, the drama of elections in J&K has overshadowed the real issue at hand. Our priority should be to pull people out of the quagmire of political instability and foster an independent atmosphere of development, peace, and prosperity where they can exercise their right to self-determination without the presence of occupational forces. We have urged people to boycott elections and heed the boycott call, not because we oppose elections or desire to impede the government's resolution of people's problems, but because we believe that the root cause of political instability must be addressed first. The people of J&K have made unparalleled sacrifices, and we owe it to them to address their concerns. The Indian Army, with the blessing of local government stooges, has committed countless atrocities, resulting in enormous loss of lives, over 600 martyr graveyards, over 7,000 unidentified graves, over 100,000 martyrs, thousands of women raped, and over 10,000 men who have gone missing after being arrested. Voting in such an election only empowers those responsible for this bloodshed.

The individuals in power, our rulers, function as subordinates to both Delhi and the Army. For six years, they have been vocally advocating for the removal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), but in vain. The Chief Minister runs the state government on the crutches of New Delhi. He has accepted that we have temporary jobs. For this temporary job, and to remain glued to the seat of power, these leaders do whatever New Delhi desires and orders them to do. Since sixty-five years, this has been happening, and the same will continue to happen in future as well. But yes, faces and brutal hands who hold power will keep changing. As long as the person continues to remain in the pocket of New Delhi, he will remain in employment and enjoy its benefits. These politicians go to the Assembly to strengthen the occupation of Jammu and Kashmir and to get Islamic convention and culture diluted in the tradition and culture of Indian Hindus. The 'instability and non-serious' attitude of our community is the real reason for our problems. And they feel proud uprooting the seeds of

Islam, principles of pure and clean society and allowing evil to grow. [These leaders behave] as if they are 'more faithful than the king[4].' In broad daylight, these political leaders condemn communal elements and followers of the right-wing Hindutva forces, but come nightfall, they socialise with them. Even the bloodshed of Gujarat failed to soften their callous hearts, as they ignored the cries and lamentations of innocent people during the 'Gujarat Riots.' These power-hungry charlatans deceive people with captivating slogans like 'change' to win elections, but once they secure their positions, they strive to maintain their status and exploit the state for personal gain. Some corrupt and nominal Muslims even competed against each other to curry favour with the biggest murderer of Gujarat, though their attempts were rejected by the common Kashmiris, but garnered some support from their family members. The BJP has disguised communalism as "development and prosperity" and used state machinery, a significant amount of money, and biased media outlets to propagate its agenda. This is how the BJP won all seats in Jammu, while the People's Democratic Party (PDP) exposed the failures of Omar Abdullah's government and obtained 28 seats in the Valley. However, none of the political parties possess the mandate to form a government, leading to a new era of uncertainty and instability. During election campaigns, groups who previously considered each other untouchable are now eager to embrace each other for the sake of power. However, regardless of which political party comes into power, the common Kashmiri will continue to suffer as they have in the past. Human rights violations, bloodshed, and deaths will persist, as will the oppression of police and army in both villages and cities. The voices that advocate for the rights of the people will still be silenced. In short, everything will remain the same, except perhaps for the change or transfer of puppets. As Kashmiri people, we must fight for the restoration of our rights, for if elections and new governments made any difference, there would have been

[4] In their pursuit of power, the Indian stooges in Kashmir resort to extreme measures to suppress the Kashmiri community, often becoming more brutal in the process.

fewer elections held in the past. We must fight determinedly against army oppression and occupation. In the past six months, the mistreatment of minorities in different states of India highlights the impact of Hindu militants' hatred on Muslim-majority states. Forced conversions under the banner of 'Ghar Wapsi'[5] are a clear indication of their real mission and ideology. Both intellectual Muslims and common people understand this. In this wave of hatred, our culture, tradition, religion, faith, and identity will be washed away. It is possible that we may enjoy a luxurious and prosperous life in the name of development, but as Muslims, we will lose our faith and identity. I swear on Allah, the Omnipresent and Omniscient, and want to make it clear that if we want our future generations to remain Muslims, we must stop this flood of cultural imperialism before it destroys everything we stand for and believe in. As I near the end of my life, I acknowledge that Allah holds the power of life and death. It is possible that when you recall my words in the future, I may no longer be alive. If you have intentions to take action, it is imperative that you act now, or it may be too late. I will not be held accountable before God, as I have spoken out against the flood of disrespect. Everywhere I have been, whether in districts, villages, or localities, I have injected words of caution into my speeches. I have warned visitors, addressed congregations in mosques, and communicated through my writing. My duty was to inform people about their living conditions, and I have fulfilled it to the best of my ability. I lack the authority of the government, army, or administration, and can only try to halt cultural imperialism and religious invasion by alerting my community. Regrettably, the Kashmiri community has become a commodity, and they relentlessly knock on every door, scrutinising those who have already been tested, rather than uniting towards a common goal. They blindly chase after voices they know will lead them to slavery, darkness,

[5] "Ghar Wapsi" (meaning "homecoming" in Hindi) is a controversial campaign led by Hindu right-wing groups in India, in which Muslims and Christians are targeted and coerced into converting back to Hinduism. These groups believe that their ancestors were originally Hindus and, therefore, those who converted to Islam or Christianity should be "reconverted" to Hinduism. The campaign has been widely criticized by human rights activists and religious minorities, who argue that it is a violation of religious freedom and a form of forced conversion.

and ruin, willingly trading everything, including their faith, for trivial gains such as jobs, roads, electricity, and passports. Despite this, I remain hopeful, for Allah is infinitely benevolent and compassionate. In the midst of this darkness, there are a few passionate elderly men, women, and children who hold the torch of Islam, and are battling these storms. They are willing to die rather than bow their heads. As Amir Osmani says:

> In my eyes, only that head is worthy, oh Amar,
> Which can be severed but not lowered. (Amir Osmani)

Our nation possesses an invaluable treasure [youth] that can be found in various places, including homes, colleges, universities, prisons, interrogation centres, and even at the heart of India [New Delhi]. This treasure is a source of pride for our community. I am confident that the courage, sacrifices, and integrity of those who hold this treasure will prevent any damage to our nation's reputation. May it be so, with Allah's will.

The Tragedy of Peshawar

A heinous crime was perpetrated on December 16th, 2014, in Peshawar, a prominent city in Pakistan. Terrorists killed 150 innocent children and injured nearly 134 others in the attack. *'Verily we belong to Allah and, verily to Him do we return*.' The victims of this atrocity included young children, who were in the middle of taking their exams with pen and paper in their small hands. This tragic event deeply shook the entire world, particularly the 180 million people of Pakistan and the 13 million people of Jammu and Kashmir. We stand in solidarity with the grieving parents and relatives of these children, as do the broader Muslim community, all of humanity, and the Muslim brotherhood. Our sorrowful hearts implore God, the Almighty, asking why He did not disable the hands of these murderers when they were mercilessly killing

innocent children. Why did He not render them blind as they marched towards the school, or engulf them in darkness so that they would not have perpetrated such a horrific crime.

From December 17-19, 2014, the people in the Valley were seen praying everywhere, beseeching Allah, the Most Compassionate and Benevolent, to accept the martyrdom of the victims and grant them a place in heaven. May God bestow patience, fortitude, and bravery upon the parents and loved ones of the children who lost their lives in this unforgettable tragedy. Amen.

Following the tragic incident, the grief-stricken Pakistani nation stood united and firm, setting aside political differences and speaking in one voice to combat terrorism. While Pakistan is not governed by the principles of Islamic law, the people yearn for justice as corruption continues to plague the nation. The common man is besieged by a host of problems, but these cannot be solved by violence or brutal acts of terrorism. The killing of unarmed and innocent people goes against the teachings of Islam and humanity, tarnishing the religion's reputation and distorting the image of a just Islamic system. Muslims in the Indian subcontinent have always desired good relations with Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, and unity and development among these countries will have a positive impact on all regions' people. However, enemies of peace and stability often conspire against such efforts. Our prayer is for peace and stability to prevail in Pakistan, and for justice to be accessible and affordable to all. The measures taken to tackle terrorism must conform to the just tenets of Islam and fulfil all Islamic requirements. Vindictiveness and a thirst for vengeance are not constructive actions and can lead to civil war, so capital punishment should only be considered as a last resort, following legal, moral, and impartial trials to prevent punishing the innocent.

Terrorism is not confined to an individual or group but terrorism can also be perpetrated by a State and administration. It is carried out on a large scale and is considered the most hazardous

type of terrorism because it is backed by the law and justified by government departments. It is executed by the administration, and we have been the victims of this oppression, tyranny, and cruelty since 1947.

Every citizen of Pakistan has the right to stability, integrity, national unity, peace, and prosperity. It is the responsibility of both the state and its citizens to protect each other regardless of their religion, be it Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, or Christian. This includes safeguarding their lives, property, dignity, honour, faith, and places of worship. The majority community holds a greater responsibility to care for their non-Muslim brothers and sisters, share their joys and sorrows, and make them feel welcome. A stable and powerful Pakistan must extend its assistance to those who are oppressed and victimised, and help liberate Allah's weak people from the chains of slavery around the world.

> *Those who, when We establish them in the land, keep up the prayer, pay the prescribed alms, command what is right, and forbid what is wrong: God controls the outcome of all events.* (Towards Understanding the Quran, , 22: 41)

This preface briefly explains the circumstances under which the third and final volume of my autobiography, entitled *Wular Kinare vol. III*, was prepared and compiled.

Every nation regards its youth as a valuable asset, and like everyone we too keep an eye on it. All the organisations and political parties seek to attract younger generations with promises, like secularism, great future and luxurious life, and some even brainwash them with patriotism. But, our purpose differs from theirs. Our objective is to establish Allah's sovereignty on earth, free from any ideological 'isms' or catchy slogans. We do not advocate for patriotism or multiple gods. Instead, we advocate for the worship of one Allah, as Iqbal states, "And we know that the youth are the torchbearers of this divine mission."

Muslims too built their own identity and freedom.

The cultures sculpted numerous idols

Within these deities the biggest is the homeland.

This attire of his that is the cloak of the religion. (Allama Iqbal)

Moulana Haseen Ahmad, a renowned theologian from Deoband, claimed that the state is the foundation of a nation. However, Allama Iqbal vehemently disagreed with this idea and expressed his dissent through his couplets. The translation of the same couplets is given below:

> Translation: Non-Arabs still lack the knowledge and ability to comprehend the symbols and intricacies of Islam. Otherwise, Maulana Haseen Ahmad from Deoband would not have made a shocking and regrettable statement while standing on the pulpit, proclaiming that "the foundation of a nation is a state." This contradicts the stand and practices of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), who migrated from Mecca to Medina for the sake of Islam. True Islam entails following the Prophet's way of life [which is a true path], contradictory to Abu Lahab, [evil path] which is anti-Islam as well. (Allama Iqbal)

The Holy Quran and the sayings of the Prophet are explicit and unequivocal.

The group is on the rise, advocating for a narrow interpretation of Islam that restricts it to prayer and the mosque. This approach, often associated with monasticism and mysticism, excludes Islam from the broader collective life of Muslims. These individuals also fail to present the true essence of Islam to the wider public through sermons and speeches. By withholding the eternal and universal truths of Islam from Muslims, they are depriving them of the blessings of Islam, including its sense of justice, objectivity, humanity, honesty, and integrity. When the supremacy and involvement of Islam are excluded from our society, degeneration and disorder ensue, as we can see in both the Muslim world and the wider world today.

I implore the young men and women of our community to follow Islamic teachings in every aspect of their lives. It is essential to read the Holy Quran, gain knowledge of the Sunnah, and become familiar with authentic Islamic literature. It is important to be prepared to devote one's life solely to Islam. It is worth noting that Islam does not hinder one's progress or success in this world. In fact, when the Prophet (PBUH) was asked for advice on the best prayer, he emphasised the importance of balance between one's spiritual and worldly pursuits:

> *Oh our Allah! Bless us in this world and hereafter: and save us from the fires of Hell.*

For *Wular Kinare* vol. III, I had requested Prof. Khursheed Ahmad to continue the convention of writing the preface as he had for the second volume. Unfortunately, his wife was sick and he was occupied with taking care of her. While he could not write the preface, we found a substitute in Hafiz Idris. He has been kind enough to accept my offer and within ten days wrote a meaningful and comprehensive preface. For that, from the bottom of my heart, I am thankful to him. He is the intellectual and deputy head of *Jamaat-e-Islami,* Pakistan. His kindness added more splendour to '*On the Shores of Wular' Vol-III* and will be considered as encouragement and gratification specifically for the people of Jammu and Kashmir under the Indian Administration, God willing.

> *Believers! Be upright bearers of witness of Allah, and do not let the enmity of any people move you to deviate from justice. Act justly, that is nearer to God-fearing. And fear Allah. Surely Allah is well aware of what you do*. (Towards Understanding the Quran, , 5: 8)

By the grace of God and the prayers of loving individuals, I have been able to complete the three volumes of *Wular Kinare*. Without their support, I do not consider myself deserving of this achievement.

My autobiography's third volume was completed thanks to the dedicated work of those who contributed to it. Without their help, it would have remained unfinished. Dr. Nayeem-ul-Zafar Geelani, my son, played a crucial role in editing and discussing the manuscript, demonstrating his literary talent in volumes II and III. Although we had some disagreements, he ultimately accepted my perspective. However, his health remains a concern due to inherited heart complications. I pray that Allah protects him and keeps him healthy.

Mohammad Afzal Lone also deserves credit for his hard work in preparing this volume for publication. His attention to detail during proofreading and editing ensured that no aspect of the book was overlooked. This was no small task, and I pray that Allah bless him for his efforts. Finally, Shabeer Ahmad Rather's contributions were essential in compiling and finalising this bulky book. Despite facing challenges at home, he cheerfully fulfilled his duty, and I pray that Allah grants him good health, relieves his problems, and brings him comfort.

The translation of volume I & II into English has been started by our two beloved journalists. May God bless them with good health and guidance so that all three volumes can be translated soon. Amen. My life's three main objectives are: embracing Islam as a complete way of life, striving for the freedom of Jammu and Kashmir from Indian Military Occupation, and working towards the unification of the Muslim Ummah based on the principles of Islam. Allama Iqbal, whom I have mentioned numerous times in my books, is a pious man who has engraved the true essence of Islam in his heart and mind. He has exposed the deceptive tactics of false

religious leaders and political brokers. Therefore, I would like to end this preface with a couplet by Allama Iqbal. Its veracity is evident to all.

When politics are divorced from religion,

It often leads to the establishment of autocratic rule.

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds!

Syed Ali Shah Geelani
2nd January, 2015
Hyderbpora, Srinagar

The Assembly Election 1996

Chapter 6

Following six years of the governor's rule, the 1996 election was conducted. HD Devegowda, a former Prime Minister, introduced an economic package that included the waiver of bank loans up to Rs. 50,000 and the allocation of Rs. 3.52 billion for development projects. In response, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference, stated that they would contest the election if at least two percent of the votes were polled. However, despite the opportunity to gain power, the leaders of the National Conference deceived the oppressed community and disregarded their sacrifices, ultimately proving themselves to be India's puppets and power-seekers. As a result, the APHC declared a boycott of the election, and a ten-page pamphlet entitled "Why Boycott Election?" was published to explain their decision.

Why Boycott Election?

The present-day era is often regarded as refined due to its unique characteristics. To foster an intellectual and political revolution in this era, a democratic approach that values logic, argument, and decency is emphasised. Elections are considered an effective means of expressing these contemporary values for democracy and contemporary politics, and many countries, including India, employ this process. However, in the region of Jammu and Kashmir,

where we belong, the Indian Government uses its military power to enforce the conduct of elections. This is despite the fact that Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed region, and its status remains unresolved.

A Few Points [About the Election Process]

The election process in Jammu and Kashmir must be viewed within the context of the ongoing dispute in the region. Several points must be taken into consideration, as outlined below:

(A) The resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute must determine the future of the region, not the form of government under the Indian State.

(B) According to political scientists and international law authorities, fundamental rights are crucial.

Therefore, it is an established norm in international law that, where the future of a state or nation is uncertain, a plebiscite must be held instead of elections. The United Nations acknowledges this reality and has stated in its resolutions that "the election process cannot affect the status of the Kashmir dispute." Hence, the resolution of the "Kashmir Dispute" lies in a plebiscite, not in any elections organised by the Indian government. These elections, which are held under the watchful presence of 800,000 soldiers, are unfair and unjust, given that the Indian State is a stakeholder and has repeatedly promised to Kashmiris, Indian Parliament and to the UNO to hold a free and fair referendum to determine the future of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, both in India and abroad. The Indian State's failure to fulfil this promise is a separate issue. Through the use of military power, the Indian State forcefully occupies the region, which is an imperialistic strategy. The Indian State often stages the spectacle of holding elections, misleading the international community into believing that the people of Kashmir are expressing their will through these elections.

Our Stand

Jammu and Kashmir is still disputed. The elections cannot serve as a substitute for a plebiscite, a fact that is widely known across the world. Thus, the J&K APHC boycotts the elections and remains committed to the boycott until a resolution is reached. The uncertainty surrounding our future makes it impossible to participate in the elections.

Participating in or aiding the election process would be tantamount to betraying the people of Jammu and Kashmir and our objective of holding a plebiscite. We cannot disregard the sacrifices made by countless men, women, and youth in our quest for justice and participate in the elections declared by the Indian State. Doing so would render us criminals in history and a disservice to the cause we have fought for.

The formation of the J&K APHC is a testament to our commitment to democratic values, and we do not require lectures on democracy from representatives of a system that does not serve our interests. We believe in democratic means to achieve our goal, but the current elections are nothing more than a performance and a substitute for the actual resolution of the dispute.

Our purpose is not to form a government under the Indian State but to create a platform to achieve a plebiscite and represent the people of Kashmir's sentiments. Any election process is likely to escalate tensions and create further danger. Therefore, the J&K APHC cannot ignore this fact and will not passively support any efforts that do not prioritise peace.

The Previous Election

Taking into account the history of past elections, it is evident that no election has ever had an impact on the viewpoint of Kashmiris that Kashmir is not a part of India geographically,

politically, or socially, and the future of Jammu and Kashmir is yet to be resolved. As a result, elections are now viewed by Kashmiris as nothing more than a spectacle or a game of tipcat [Gilli Danda] and are not considered important. Over the last decade, the Indian administration has orchestrated the show of elections on at least three occasions, but the Kashmiri people have shown little interest in them.

For instance, in the 1989 midterm elections, 98% of people boycotted the election, shocking the world and shaking public opinion in India and the consciousness of the entire world. This made it clear that Kashmiris have no interest in the election process, and they are more interested in expressing their will for a real and lasting resolution to the dispute of Kashmir.

The Indian administration has to import almost ten thousand (10,000) officials from other states as election officials, because Kashmiris government employees are not interested. On the day of polling, with the help of these [imported] officials, the election process is orchestrated in every city and village. The Army and their associates have beguiled the election process, and pro-India [renegades] are taken around to all polling stations in groups so that they can cast votes. The Army has also used imperialistic means by using the enormous power of guns and threats in villages to breathe some life into these staged elections.

To call the infamous exercise of the Army an election process is a joke. Isn't this a fact that fifty to sixty thousand voters did not cast their votes in every constituency? Despite using all tactics of coercion, fear, and rigging, the army had to be content with a tiny percentage of voters and that too incorrect or rigged numbers.

The Unchanged Circumstances

After the drama of the election, a local government was formed, which misled public opinion in India and overseas. However, after three years of governance, there are no signs of accomplishment of the tall claims that were made the major claim used to mislead the international community was that it was a ‘law’ and ‘order’ issue and a result of external interference. It was asserted that the Kashmiri movement for a plebiscite was not indigenous. It was claimed that the issue could be resolved by forming a government and that prosperity, peace, and other rights would be honoured within Kashmir.

However, time has proved that the Indian state has exhibited its worst imperialistic tactics to the international community and Kashmiri people. The bloodshed, arson, kidnappings, rapes, custodial killings, and incarcerations of Kashmiri youth without trial, and destruction of residential homes have continued as before, without any decline. The Imperialist forces of New Delhi, have been executing complex task, which is continue to hunt their prey, more than ever. The Disturbed Area Act and other draconian laws not only existed in the past but continue to this day.

In addition to this, the world observed a strange experiment in the political history era, where army officers were appointed as advisors to run a civil government. Even after the elections, the fear of the army was very real and not only did it continue but also increased. To provide some evidence in numbers, the Hurriyat has provided information from authentic sources from the 8th of October 1996 to the 31st of July 1999.

The Numbers

Homes blasted and raised to the ground	Homes burnt	Custodial Killing	Total number of Martyrs

306	1020	492	3759

In addition to this, there are hundreds of incidents on record of molestation, rape, kidnaps and extortion.

What Does Hurriyat Desire

Given the pragmatic reality of the situation, it can be argued that the decision made by J&K APHC to boycott elections is both historically and politically reasonable, as well as justified from an international perspective.

The APHC aims to achieve a permanent and conclusive resolution to the dispute in Kashmir. This is particularly crucial at present as both India and Pakistan possess nuclear capabilities, and the unresolved conflict has the potential to escalate into a nuclear flashpoint.

With widespread reports of violence, including the killing of young people, rape of women, and murder of innocent children, the election process is deemed unnecessary in such circumstances. Instead, there is a need for sensitivity, positivity, and an active pursuit of a long-lasting resolution to a conflict that has persisted for far too long.

In this pragmatic reality, the decision of J&K APHC to boycott elections is historically, politically reasonable, and from the international point of view, justified.

Politicians Who Participated in Elections

In the eyes of the ordinary Kashmiris, individuals willing to participate in staged election, under the Indian administration are considered as stooges or deceivers[6], as they ignore the brutality and indifferent to the bloodshed caused by the Indian security forces. Despite witnessing the oppression of Kashmiris, fundamental rights being trampled, these so-called pro-election individuals are solely interested in serving the interests of the Indian State and fulfilling its imperialistic objectives.

For atrocities on Kashmiris, which have lost countless loved ones to the suppression of the Indian State, these stooges lack compassion, therefore [Kashmiri people] do not shed tears, do not show sympathy. They disregard the plight of young Kashmiri men and women who desire to get married but are left with no suitable partners and circumstances.

Their insatiable greed, avarice for power and wealth blinds them to the impending storm brewing in the region, as eloquently expressed by the poet: "they do not realize about the lightning and rising storm in this land."

> No one cares how many homes are burnt here
> How many lightning bolts have struck, how many storms have raged.

One could question these corrupt individuals promoting elections amidst the presence of heavily armed security personnel and ammunition depots. During the 1996 and 1998 elections, security personnel coerced and threatened villagers to vote, unsuccessfully attempting to increase the voter turnout. Is there any such example where in a civilized society such practice exists where security personnel, coerce citizens to vote and comply with the oppressor's

[6] S. A. Geelani is of the view these politicians can forget how many mothers and sisters were physically violated hence they have deceived them.

regulations in a democratic society? Is this the substitute for the holy blood shed by our youth and for our rights which are violated by the Indian State? Contesting elections under oppressive rule amounts to 'writhing of the dying'[7] the contestants are opportunistic power mongers who pretend to be people-friendly. Who will make them understand that they left the common people at the mercy of brutal forces? These politicians supported the implementation of the Disturbed Area Act, resulting in violence against Kashmiris. This law grants soldiers the power to shoot and kill any Kashmiri, which is the consequence of local politicians' rule. Those who desire to play the politics of power and authority may do so, but murderers who approve of oppression's continuation cannot claim to be the saviours of Kashmir. This is pure political manoeuvring, and the people of Kashmir should ask questions of pro-Indian politicians.

Oh, with the morning breeze! All of this is yours, or even less.

Is not Jugmohan the embodiment of their oppressive rule and brutality? And the history of his crimes are part of freedom struggle?

Indian Stooges on one hand accept India's rule and on other hand express sympathy towards supressed Kashmiris is contradictory. It is an action that undermines the internationally recognized dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, as well as the resistance leaders who are being pressured to engage in dialogue with the Indian state and accept its presence in the region. The fact that the United Nations has placed the resolution of the Kashmir dispute on its agenda is widely known, and therefore, to ignore this is a deliberate attempt to undermine the status of the conflict. If this is not an act of betrayal to the Kashmiri people and their unparalleled

[7] Writhing of the dying; رقص بسمل is a term in Persian language which refers to a traditional dance performed in Iran, usually during celebrations and special occasions. The dance involves participants holding hands and forming a circle, while moving to the rhythm of the music. The term "بسمل" in Persian means "hazelnut", and it is believed that the name of the dance may have originated from the movements resembling the shaking of hazelnut trees during harvest time.

sacrifices, then what is? Do Kashmiris have a dispute with the Indian State that pertains to economics, education and unemployment? If so, then dialogue between New Delhi and Kashmir is necessary to resolve it. SM Abdullah attempted to initiate such dialogue through the "Delhi Agreement" and "Sheikh Indira Accord" in 1975, but the status quo for Kashmiris, who have endured oppression and a dark history of brutality, has remained unchanged. For the sake of personal honour, SM Abdullah seized the power he had gained at the expense of the entire community, burying it at the feet of New Delhi's leaders. What else did he achieve apart from being called a cheat, a deceitful and fraudulent man by historians?

Neither could I meet God nor beloved.

The Pro-Indian Politicians [in Jammu and Kashmir] attempt to position themselves as a viable alternative to the resistance leadership in Kashmir, but in doing so, they are merely enticing vulnerable Kashmiris. If their true goal is to uphold what is right and speak the truth, why do they not support the Kashmiri people and participate in the resistance movement? These politicians align themselves with the imperialist agenda of New Delhi, and yet, hypocritically, they invoke the name of Allah when it serves their purposes. Their worst offence is exploiting the deaths of Kashmiri martyrs for personal gain. This reprehensible behaviour has become their favourite pastime.

Why don't those who claim to value truth and justice stand in solidarity with Kashmiris and support their resistance movement instead of aligning themselves with the Imperialist powers in New Delhi? It's hypocritical for these pro-Indian politicians to call upon Allah alongside Kashmiris when it suits their agenda. They exploit the blood of Kashmiri martyrs for their own gain, which is a despicable pastime. These politicians will align themselves with Congress or BJP as it serves their quest for power in India, all the while shedding crocodile tears about

regionalism and the pain of Kashmiris. This is just another way they deceive Kashmiris into accepting exploitation and suppressing dissent.

Here come our leaders

To teach us the manners of servitude.

Avoid Casting Votes

Simply replacing one person with another, particularly those who are pro-India in Jammu's leadership under Indian rule, will not bring about a transformation from the dark night of oppression to a bright morning of freedom and prosperity. The fundamental problem in the Kashmir conflict with India lies in the necessity for liberation from Indian occupation. Anyone who ignores this fundamental need is responsible for the atrocities committed against Kashmiris, whether they are local or non-local. Such disregard stems from malicious intent and serves as a feeble attempt to absolve the occupying force in New Delhi. The ongoing search for a new political leader in the valley is seen as a continuation of India's deceptive policies towards the region that have persisted for decades. This policy aims to cultivate political puppets, such as Bakshi, Sadiq, Qasim, SM Abdullah, Farooq Abdullah, Mufti, and Baig, who are leftovers from the "Mughal stable," to serve Indian imperialism as stooges.

In the current political landscape, the "dough" is prepared to bake political puppets to keep the Kashmiri people enslaved according to the wishes, preferences, and desires of New Delhi. The so-called "new resolution" is merely a disguise to derail the progress of the Kashmiri people. Therefore, I earnestly implore the oppressed Kashmiri community, including brothers, sisters, and elders, not to fall for the old traps set by people like Mufti Sahib or the Shaikh family. Both have played a part in shackling the Kashmiri people in chains of slavery.

None should be deceived by leaders who are barbed in white,

For who knows how many stars the dawn has swallowed.

It is because of the stooges of New Delhi that over seventy thousand Kashmiris lost their lives. It's crucial that we remain vigilant and uphold the dignity of our community. We must remember the respect we owe to our mothers and sisters and refrain from profiting from the sacrifices made by the martyrs. As a result, abstaining from voting in elections is necessary as it would be disloyal to the martyrs and a betrayal of the freedom struggle movement.

We have written with the blood of our martyrs.

The title of the story of martyrdom is life.

The Kargil War

Chapter 14

In May 1999, news outlets reported that Pakistani soldiers and fighters had taken over the Indian Army's advanced posts, which had been abandoned during the winter. On May 26th, the Indian Air Force initiated air strikes, but on the following day, May 27th, the Pakistani Air Force shot down two planes, a Mig-21 and Mig-27, that had crossed the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and entered Pakistan Administered Kashmir. The war continued for two months, resulting in significant human casualties for both countries. India and Pakistan made conflicting statements about the events.

Despite appearing as though the Mujahidin and Pakistan Army were winning the war, Bill Clinton contacted Nawaz Sharif on June 15th and advised him to withdraw Pakistani troops. A few days later, Nawaz Sharif travelled to the United States to meet with the American President. On July 5th, Nawaz Sharif publicly announced the withdrawal of troops. Although India claimed it as a victory for "Operation Vijay" of their army, it was clear that the withdrawal was due to US intervention. The pressure from the US led Pakistan to withdraw its troops. The

town of Kargil is located 205 km from Srinagar and 173 km from Skardu, a town in Pakistan. Prior to India's control, this area of Ladakh was considered a part of Baltistan. Kargil is situated between Leh and Srinagar, with Leh being 420 km away from Srinagar. This is the only supply route for food and ammunition to reach Indian soldiers stationed in Siachen, a high-altitude and snow-covered region. Both countries consider it a matter of pride to control these mountains. According to a survey in 1998, the Indian State spends one million dollars every day on the Siachen Front, and Rs.500 is spent just to deliver a piece of bread. Kargil and Siachen are both disputed parts of Jammu and Kashmir, which is currently under Indian control. India has ignored the peaceful struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan has supported Kashmir politically, morally, and diplomatically, but its stance has not been consistent; it has wavered and, at times, been apologetic.

In my view, Pakistan should have accepted that they have sent their troops across the Line of Actual Control, they should have boldly declared their intentions that its soldiers have crossed over to aid in the freedom struggle of Kashmir. There's no shame in openly acknowledging your actions, and failing to do so displays a significant moral weakness. I believe that if Pakistan had shown bravery and not succumbed to pressure from the US President to withdraw their troops during the Kargil War, it could have been a pivotal moment in the Kashmir conflict. This could have compelled world powers to seriously consider and take steps towards a lasting resolution for the dispute.

Indo-Pak Dialogue

Chapter 16

On March 28, 1997, the external secretaries of India and Pakistan, Salman Haider and Shamshad Ahmad Khan, met in New Delhi after three years to discuss the Kashmir dispute.

The issue was to be resolved in the context of its historical significance and the sacrifices made by the people of Kashmir. However, the unrealistic approach of the Indian State resulted in a deadlock, and both parties agreed to meet again in Islamabad. Later that year, in the months of May-June, the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India, Nawaz Sharif and Inder Kumar Gujral, met and decided to form a working group to address all pending issues since 1947. Representatives from both countries agreed on eight points for a result-oriented dialogue, including the resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Sharif reaffirmed Pakistan's unchangeable stance on Kashmir, calling for a plebiscite to determine the region's future. During subsequent rounds of talks in Islamabad, India rejected Pakistan's claims that Jammu and Kashmir was a disputed territory. Indian representative Salman Haider insisted that India would not discuss Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan, but rather Pakistan-administered Kashmir, including Gilgit Baltistan. India remained inflexible and unwilling to compromise, making the dialogue pointless. Those who engage in such dialogue are only aiding India's imperialistic policy, as the Indian State uses dialogue as a political tool to mislead the world and reinforce its military occupation of the region. To make the dialogue meaningful, India must acknowledge that Jammu and Kashmir is disputed, withdraw its security forces, repeal draconian laws, and release all political prisoners. The United Nations should supervise a triangular dialogue with all three stakeholders to resolve the dispute. Until these demands are met, any dialogue will be meaningless. Nonetheless, dialogue remains crucial if the Jammu and Kashmir dispute is to be resolved, and other issues will eventually be resolved once this central issue is addressed.

Jamaat-i-Islami Jammu Kashmir (JIJ&K) and the Combat Operations

Chapter 22

In 1946, the establishment of JIJ&K owed much to the pivotal role played by Saaduddin, May God accept his services. When discussing JIJ&K, it is essential to keep in mind its aims, objectives, and contributions since its inception. This approach allows for accurate introspection and interpretation. The aims and objectives of JI are universal and focused on "Iqamat-e-deen,"[8] which means implementing Islam as Allah intends. To achieve this, the Holy Quranic vocabulary of "Shahadat-e-Haq" (witnessing the truth) and "Amar bil Maroof wa Nahi Anil Munkar" (enjoining good and forbidding evil) is practiced. JIJ&K seeks to promote Islamic supremacy, Caliphate, Islamic governance, and other objectives, guided by the Prophet's life and his holy companions.

Serving this objective is not for personal gain, but rather for the sake of Allah and the flourishing of life in the hereafter. This holiest objective is the objective of every Muslim who has recited the Shahada (declaration of faith). JIJ&K exists to remind Muslims of their responsibilities and to spread this message to others. Those who serve this holiest objective will undoubtedly make mistakes, but human error cannot affect the objective's sanctity. The sanctity of this objective is the only assurance of success in this world and redemption in the hereafter. Any Muslim who is genuinely aware of this objective should have no doubt about it.

Since 1946, JIJ&K has been serving its aims and objectives in a humble manner in Jammu and Kashmir. Personally, I have been blessed by the spirit of its aims and objectives since 1950 and am honoured to serve its objective as well. After completing JI's unique three-year training process, I became a member in 1953. I am well aware of its entire history, including its ups and downs, tests, and persecutions. JIJ&K was founded by Sayyid Abdul A'ls Maudoodi on August 25th, 1941. After Partition, JI was divided into JI Pakistan and JI Hind. The separate

[8] *Iqamat-e-deen'* is an Arabic and Urdu term used in Islamic discourse to refer to the establishment of religion of Islam and the creation of a just and equitable society based on the principles of Islam. It is a central concept in Islamic theology and governance.

constitution in Jammu and Kashmir is an answer to many confusions and unpleasant concerns. I remember Shaik Muhammad Abdullah asking the Head of JIJ&K in a program in New Delhi in 1965, after his release from jail, whether he was with them. Moulana Abu Al-lase replied that they are constitutionally and administratively separate from them. SM. Abdullah responded with a smile, "You have resolved our problem." Jammu and Kashmir is disputed, and until the issue is resolved, it is not part of India or Pakistan.

The Jammu and Kashmir Dispute has been a constant focus for JIJ&K, as they strive towards their objectives while emphasising peaceful resolution. Unlike others who view the conflict through the lens of patriotism, nationalism, ethnicity, regionalism, or language, JIJ&K's stance is rooted in justice, right, and truth. JIJ&K firmly believes that the Indian Nation State has no moral authority to occupy Jammu and Kashmir, a view supported by historical evidence. Despite Indian rulers and leadership failing to fulfil their promises and disregarding international commitments, they persist in their occupation. However, the exercise of unlimited power means that no nation can maintain a unified stance forever. Power forces subservience, leads to exhaustion, disappointment, and compromise.

Even the mighty have to accept defeat in the face of overwhelming power. Therefore, JIJ&K's different stance is a result of power dynamics and not any other factor.

In this world by Alexander and Genghis Khan.
The cloak of humanity has been repeatedly torn apart.
The perennial message of the history of nations endures over time.
Oh, wise people, the intoxication of power is dangerous.

Our youth initiated an armed struggle in response to the oppression and show of force by the Indian State, a move that received widespread support from the community because of its

foundation in truth and justice. JIJ&K is an integral part of this society and therefore shares equal responsibility in it.

Is the Role of Gun over?

JIJ&K stated that it is time for serious dialogue as the role of guns is no longer effective. Guns only bring destruction and cannot produce flowers. Bearing the use of guns is only necessary when it is inevitable. The reason our youth have taken up arms is not due to a hobby but to convey to the Indian State that Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory that must be resolved based on its historical context. It is essential to take affirmative action to convince the Indian State of this reality. However, it appears that the Indian Nation-State has not yet accepted this reality. Instead, to eliminate a few hundred combatants, the Indian Nation-State has deployed more than seven lakh armed security personnel, whose targets include not just combatants but also their families, homes, orchards, lands, mothers, sisters, wives, and food and shelter. The fact is, the massive use of guns by lakhs of security personnel is causing massive destruction contrary to guns of a few combatants. Currently, the Indian State's arms have transformed our paradise into a living hell. When we discuss the end of the gun's role, why doesn't it also apply to the Indian State's guns? Over the past 23 years, the Indian State has arrogantly relied on its military, yet their ruthlessness has failed to resolve the dispute in Jammu and Kashmir or bring its people closer to the Indian State. Instead, the oppression has garnered international attention and caused further hatred among the majority community, resulting in greater distance from the Indian State. With all veils removed, the true face of the Indian State is now visible. Will the Indian State seriously contemplate the region's real situation and seek its resolution? If it does, it would be the best possible outcome. When lakhs of guns remain silent, only then will a few of combatants also become silent.

Why does the Indian media laugh when someone declares that the role of guns is over? The Indian State believes that the armed struggle aimed at achieving a plebiscite has ended, and that everyone now accepts Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of the Indian State. Those

who assert that the role of guns is over do not necessarily believe this themselves. Rather, they advocate for an end to the use of weapons and a transition to dialogue as a means of resolving the dispute in Jammu and Kashmir. If the Indian State were to announce that it will engage in dialogue with all stakeholders, a peaceful environment could be established that would enable the 1.3 crore people of Jammu and Kashmir to breathe again, normalise. Indo-Pak relations, and resolve all issues that could spark a war. If, after all of this, anyone were to continue advocating for the role of guns, they would be an enemy of all humanity. For 65 years, India has not taken steps to resolve the issue, and it seems unlikely that it will do so now. Its immense power will continue to sow discord and create divisions among those who stand for truth and justice. However, to believe that the entire nation will willingly give up their fundamental rights and bow down to authority is to ignore the weight of historical facts. From this detailed analysis, it is clear that the responsibility to end the use of weapons rests with the Indian State. The State has two options: it can continue on its current path, or it can acknowledge reality and work towards a peaceful resolution.

Make a firm decision whether to take action or not, but avoid indecisiveness.

Altering Position or Viewpoint

When JIJ&K announced that the "role of the gun is over," it was assumed that this was due to a shift in posture or circumstances faced by the organisation. However, JIJ&K defended this statement by citing comparable political postures or tactics used in the past, such as the "ideological tussle of JIJ&K with SM Abdullah," during which JIJ&K had aligned with the Congress to diminish the political status of SM Abdullah and distanced itself from the "Plebiscite Front" slogans. However, such assumptions cannot replace the facts. JIJ&K has never changed its posture or stance, nor has it shied away from oppressive situations. From 1946-1953, a few JIJ&K members were suppressed by the Dogra regime and then by the SM

Abdullah government. I recall that in 1950-51, the government's fear was akin to that of today's Special Task Force (STF).

Pream Nath Bazaz once wrote a poem on 'New Kashmir' that included the couplet: "now the new Kashmir is the only religion of Kashmir." However, members of JIJ&K, Qari Saifuddin and Qari Mohammad Shafi, rejected this statement and asserted that the religion of Muslims is Islam, not New Kashmir. They were physically assaulted and imprisoned for their resistance. How could a state with 85% Muslim population not understand that an ideology or principle cannot become the religion of Muslims? But oppression, fear, greed, and blind hero-worship have made people mute and unwilling to take the lead. In 1953, SM Abdullah, said that 'nation could call him immoral but not a traitor. At Dargah Hazratbal, he further asserted and questioned the disputed accession and was imprisoned by the Indian State. The JIJ&K indorsed his views and fully supported him.

When the Plebiscite Front was established in 1953, JIJ&K was its largest supporter, and its members suffered the same brutality and victimisation as the members of the Plebiscite Front. The members of the Plebiscite Front used the JIJ&K platform to stay in touch with the masses. In 1964, when SM Abdullah was released from jail, Mohammad Islam, the representative of Jamat-e-Islami Hind and editor of 'Dawat,' interviewed him. During the interview, SM Abdullah praised JIJ&K for their great work in nurturing morality, which he believed was of utmost importance.

The members of JIJ&K and the Plebiscite Front were incarcerated together, which provided an opportunity for them to understand each other. During this time, members of JIJ&K questioned why the Plebiscite Front had no clear ideology to train its members for good.

The members of JIJ&K and the Plebiscite Front were incarcerated together, which provided an opportunity for them to understand each other. During this time, members of JIJ&K questioned why the Plebiscite Front had no clear ideology to train its members for good governance post-referendum. After much insistence, Khawajah Mubarak Shah explained that the Plebiscite Front had members with diverse ideologies, like Gohsoian Tumul,[9] making it difficult to mentor them. JIJ&K, on the other hand, always had training and mentoring in mind, which contributed to their success in achieving their aims and objectives in seventy-five years.

In contrast the Plebiscite Front, with its diverse group of members with different ideologies such as socialist, communist, opportunist, and hero worshipers, struggled to find direction. Eventually, after twenty-two years of wandering, it embraced power.[10]

Political Dispute

The Jammu and Kashmir dispute is political in nature, as affirmed by many leaders including Ghulam Mohammad Bhatt of JIJ&K. It is not rooted in any specific religion. Although I agree that it is a political dispute, it will have far-reaching consequences that will impact various aspects of our lives such as culture, economy, society, tradition, religion, language, faith, morals, lifestyle, and ideology. Unfortunately, politics often lacks morality and integrity. If politics were moral and ethical, Jammu and Kashmir would not have become a part of India according to the partition theory. On 27th October 1947, India sent troops to occupy Kashmir as part of Chanakya's politics and expansionist ambitions. Although India promised to withdraw and provide a chance for the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their future,

[9] Gohsoian Tumul: In the Kashmiri language, the word "Gohsoian" is used sarcastically to refer to Shia Muslims in Kashmir, and "Tumul" is a Kashmiri word for rice. "Gohsoian Tumul" refers to rice collected by Shia Muslims, from different households during commemoration of the martyrdom of the descendants of the prophet for cooking a meal known as Niyaz.

[10] SM Abdullah signed Kashmiri Accord in 1975 with Indira Gandhi and called 22 years of struggle for referendum as mere time waste or wandering.

this promise was repeatedly broken. This is a well-documented fact of history. If the politics surrounding this dispute were moral and ethical, it would have been resolved long ago. India would have conducted a plebiscite, and the matter would have been settled. Unfortunately, the politics surrounding this dispute are rife with deceit, lies, manipulations, delusions, and malice.

The political dispute in Jammu and Kashmir has escalated into a long-term military occupation, causing immense suffering for the people. This issue has become intertwined with our very existence, including our lives, our morality, and our honour. It would be naive to suggest that this is merely a political dispute, given the numerous deaths, rapes, and property destruction that have occurred. For many, this is an issue that affects their faith, religion, honour, and moral purity, while for others, it is an issue of protecting their identity as a community. The continued occupation of the region only makes our future seem bleaker. There are also concerns that the quick measures are taken to alter the demographics of the region will result in the same consequences that the minority community faced in Jammu division, during post partition mayhem in October-November, 1947, where countless lives were lost, and no one took notice. It is unfortunate that the top leadership is merely a spectator to this bloody scene. Being taken to alter the demographics of the region will result in the same consequences that the minority community faced during the Jammu division of October-November, 1947, where countless lives were lost, and no one took notice. It is unfortunate that the top leadership is merely a spectator to this bloody scene. Alas!

If religion is sacrificed for the sake of attaining freedom
Muslims only incur losses in such business.

Lahore Declaration

Chapter 23

Following their nuclear tests in May 1998, Pakistan and India recognized the urgent need to address the problems between them. The governments and people of both countries were concerned about the possibility of nuclear conflict and the risks of unauthorised access to

nuclear weapons. In September 1998, the two nations agreed to continue the dialogue to find a peaceful solution. Pakistan's Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, took a step towards improving the relationship between the two countries by inviting Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee to visit Pakistan. On February 21, 1999, Vajpayee visited Lahore, where both leaders discussed how to normalise their relationship and bring regional and global issues within the ambit of SAARC. The result was the Lahore Declaration, which was signed on the same day. The main points of the Lahore Declaration are summarised below:

1. The emphasis was placed by both nations on the significance and priority of maintaining peace.
2. The primary objective for both countries should be to concentrate on achieving stability and promoting development.
3. Both leaders reached a mutual agreement that the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir would be resolved through the Shimla agreement and in accordance with the United Nations Charter.
4. When Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visited Pakistan, JI Pakistan (JIP) staged a protest which was forcefully suppressed, resulting in injuries to thousands of JIP members including Qazi Hussain Ahmad, the head of JIP, due to police lathi charge and firing. JIP denounced the police's brutality as a "Dance of the Devil."

However, despite this incident, both countries' leaders acknowledged the need to strengthen their bilateral ties, particularly after becoming nuclear powers. Additionally, they vowed to address the Kashmir dispute and established a two-minister committee to investigate human rights violations, cases of political prisoners, and instances of missing persons.

The "'Lahore Declaration" too failed in the same way as the earlier agreements, like the Shimla agreement, signed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Indira Gandhi in 1972, to resolve Kashmir Dispute through dialogue. Even after 38 years, there has been no progress made regarding the dispute. One of the reasons for non-implementation was the Kargil incident in May 1999, which further escalated the situation. To establish pleasant and durable ties between India and Pakistan, it is crucial to address the Kashmir dispute. Without doing so, durable peace cannot be established in the region. Declarations, agreements, meetings, and assurances by India or the United States are merely symbolic and lack substance. The dispute of Jammu and Kashmir has been an unhealed wound for 65 years, and lip service paid by India and the United States misleads the people. They make promises only to break them, and this has been often the case.

> O Lord, I am not sure whether your enemy is the spear of European or the politics of power,
>
> But only the wealthy and rulers worship it
>
> By fire you created only Satan
>
> While from clay, It has created thousands of Satans. (Allama Iqbal)

Bus Yatra [From Srinagar to Muzaffarabad]

Chapter 48

In early 2005, General Pervez Musharraf extended an invitation to the Hurriyat Leaders to visit Pakistan. The Mirwaiz faction of Hurriyat promptly accepted the offer and began preparations for the trip. However, our organisation, the Supreme Council of the Hurriyat Conference, took a different approach and expressed reservations about the visit, leaving the decision up to the council. On both sides of the bloodline (the Line of Actual Control or LOC), rumours began to circulate that fuelled tensions about the visit. Some advocated in favour of the visit, while others opposed it and wanted to make their opinions known to the Hurriyat leadership. Both

viewpoints were compelling and deserved careful consideration. Ultimately, we convened a meeting of the Supreme Council of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat to determine whether the leaders should go or not. During the meeting, some members spoke in favour of the visit and justified it, while others spoke against it. After a lengthy discussion, it was decided that there was no need to visit Pakistan at this time, as the purpose of the visit was unclear. We are not in the business of offering unrealistic promises to our people, and therefore, it would not be appropriate to go there simply to be tourists. We conveyed our decision to the President of Pakistan and asked him to excuse us.

There were two opposing groups regarding a visit, with one in support and the other against. The latter aimed to voice their dissent to the leaders. Both stances were substantial and deserved consideration, as the decision on whether or not to proceed with the visit required addressing public reservations and concerns. The Supreme Council of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat was summoned to discuss the matter. Though not visiting Pakistan disappointed some supporters, the leadership deemed it unnecessary as meetings and grand receptions cannot bring about substantial change. The root problem lies with the Indian State, not Pakistan. While some cautioned that rejecting the invitation might result in isolation, the leader believed that the cause was worth enduring such consequences.

Anyways, the other leaders travelled to Pakistan by bus and were repeatedly asked by the media, why SA Geelani did not join them. The purpose of the delegation's visit was brought into question by the media, who published editorials with headlines such as the "The Marriage Party without Groom"[11] and "The Son of Sayyid Who Lives Alone." The newspapers even

[11] SA Geelani did not visit the Pakistan along with other Hurriyat leaders, therefore the Pakistani media called him groom and other leaders as marriage party and coined a term called Groom-less marriage party.

referred to the delegation as “the Hamid Karzai of Kashmir” in their editorials. However, the visit’s most significant event was the appointment of Mirwaiz as the Chairman of the Hurriyat Conference. This was due to his acceptance of the invitation of the President of the Pakistan. Despite their moral obligation to do so, my colleagues who urged me to become Hurriyat Conference Chairman did not voice any objections to this alteration, which left me disheartened. The rejection of the invitation does not mean changing loyalties, and it sends a negative message to the world and people of Jammu and Kashmir. A bandh was announced in protest of this visit, and the people supported the stance against the unilateral acceptance of the division of Kashmir if they travelled across the LOC by bus. They observed an exemplary bandh, and their decision was in favour of the protest. Even upon their return, Mirwaiz Omar Farooq stated that “everyone’s shop is closed there” while addressing a gathering in Jahangir Chowk.

Alas! During slavery the nations change their consciousness.

We declared a bandh to protest against the alleged ‘visit’ and urged people to recognize that travelling by bus across the LOC would signify our acceptance of the partition of Kashmir, which we reject. The public showed solidarity with our stance, enforcing a successful bandh and expressing their agreement. In fact, widespread protests were held against the visit. Upon his return, Mirwaiz Omar Farooq addressed a gathering in Jahangir Chowk, stating that “Everyone’s shop was closed there.”

Four Point Formula of Gen. Pervez Musharraf

Chapter 50

During his visit to Delhi, General Pervez Musharraf had a change of heart and declared, “We are renouncing Pakistan’s national and fundamental policy towards Kashmir, and we will

explore alternative solutions." Pakistan's policy towards Kashmir has always been to grant the people of Jammu and Kashmir the right to self-determination to determine their own future since 1947. Every government and political leader has supported this fundamental right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, both morally, politically, and diplomatically.

In a December 6, 2006 interview with Indian news channel NDTV, General Pervez Musharraf stated that he would only be willing to abandon Pakistan's traditional policy on the issue of Kashmir under one condition: if the Indian government accepted his four-point formula. He emphasised that both countries needed to renounce their positions and make compromises. The four-point formula proposed by General Musharraf is listed below:

1. Maintaining the current border, while allowing free movement of people across it
2. Instead of complete independence, autonomy or self-rule
3. The military would be gradually withdrawn
4. Joint control would be established with both the Indian and Pakistani armies, as well as a representative from Jammu and Kashmir

The people in Jammu and Kashmir gave a mixed response. The opposition in Pakistan severely opposed it. The Indian State did not respond to Gen Pervez Musharraf's four point formula. The Indian State said that their policy about Jammu and Kashmir is explicit and unchanging. The Hurriyat Conference Omar (O) welcomed this formula, while we severely condemned and rejected it. I said that we regard the only justified solution to the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir is to hold a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir. Gen. Pervez Musharraf had lost confidence and was under tremendous pressure. He keeps bringing forth one proposal or another. This may

include his personal view, not just that of the Pakistani State or the political leadership in Pakistan.

Land transferred to the [The Amarnath] Shrine Board

Chapter 58

In 2008, there was a local newspaper report that the government had given 800 Kanals[12] of land to the Shrine Board. The Amarnath Yatra had been taking place for a century without any obstacles, as the Muslims facilitated the pilgrimage. The Shrine Board was established in 2001 by Farooq Abdullah, and it was not necessary before then. Initially, the pilgrimage was for only three days, but it was later increased to fifteen days. SK Sinha, the Governor pressured the Mufti Government to increase the pilgrimage to two months and open another route from Baltal. This led to the transfer of 800 Kanals of land, most of which was owned by people, to the Shrine Board, causing significant unrest. The Tehreek-e-Hurriyat members noticed this issue and called for a meeting of the Supreme Council to discuss it. On 12th June, 2008, a press conference was held to draw attention to the adverse impact of the land transfer, and the upcoming program schedule was presented, citing references of newspaper reports. The number of visitors to the pilgrimage had increased from 12,000 in 1989 to 4 lakhs in 2004, and the targets were set to be raised to 20 lakhs in the next few years. Mian Abdul Qayoom, a well-known advocate, was given the responsibility of forming an action committee, including other social and political groups. On Friday, people were informed of the consequences of the land allotment, and a seminar was held the next day to condemn the decision.

[12] One Eighth (1/8) of acres is equal to Kanal or 545 square feet Kanal, or 8 Kanal is equal to acre. The land in Kashmir is measured as Kanal.

On June 16th, a press conference was organised in Islamabad to inform people of the imperialistic tactics behind the land transfer. The signature campaign was initiated on June 17th, and those running the campaign were arrested by the Indian State. On the same day, Molvi Omar Farooq requested a meeting with the Tehreek-e-Hurriyat leaders, and it was decided that the appointment would be given on June 19th.

Our conversation was just a regular event, and I never anticipated that it would be blown out of proportion and given so much significance. However, Mirwaiz cohorts, as well as the print and electronic media, gave it extensive coverage. On June 18th, we visited Shopian as planned, and upon our return, we noticed that the media was highly agitated. I couldn't fathom the reason behind it.

On June 19th, Shabir Ahmad Shah and Molvi Omar Farooq visited me with a single agenda: they requested that I lead the committee against the land transfer. I informed them that advocate Mian Abdul Qayoom was already heading the committee, and if they wished to help, they could nominate representatives from the Hurriyat Conference. This way, we could reach a mutual understanding and resolve the issues. They agreed, and our conversation came to a close.

However, Shabir Ahmad Shah, who was interested in promoting greater unity, utilised this opportunity to discuss the need for unity. This led to a prolonged conversation that lasted for six hours. During this time, the media surrounded my residence. The public viewed the land transfer to the Shrine board as a serious concern, and they deemed it necessary for both factions of the Hurriyat Conference to unite to address the issue. If we had focused solely on Mirwaiz agenda, it would have been disappointing for the people.

The division of the Hurriyat Conference, would have been held responsible if re-transfer[13] of land [to its original status] would have been delayed.

Previously, whenever Mirwaiz visited my residence, he accused me of hindering the unity of Hurriyat. However, after a lengthy discussion, it was agreed that both factions of the Hurriyat Conference would remain separate but collaborate on crucial matters. In order to achieve lasting unity, a delegation consisting of three members from each side would commence dialogue. Mohammad Ashraf Sahrai would lead our team, while Ghulam Nabi Sumjhi and Masarat Alam Bhat would serve as members. The plebiscite will be the basis for unity in the interim. The Indian State must recognize that the issue of Jammu and Kashmir must be resolved through a plebiscite, withdraw its troops, abolish oppressive laws, and accept trilateral dialogue as a means of resolution, but within the Indian constitution, it will not be accepted. This temporary unity had a positive impact and was good enough. After a prolonged debate and discussion, both stakeholders came to the conclusion that the primary goal of the Hurriyat Conference's struggle is to [1] hold a plebiscite. In addition to this, keeping in mind the historical struggle and immense sacrifices of the Kashmiri people, the Hurriyat will also play a comprehensive political role in tripartite dialogue.

2. It has been agreed that both factions will continue to exist with this objective. To strengthen and make the plebiscite more effective, a comprehensive mechanism will be established. Both factions of the Hurriyat Conference will nominate three members each, forming a six-member committee. The constitution of the Hurriyat from 1993, with necessary amendments, will be fully implemented for the formation of the committee.

[13] Retransfer, from Shrine board to the original status, from where it was transferred to the shrine board.

To achieve unity between both groups, the committee will decide on the modes of operation, important steps to be taken, and other details.

3. Shrine Board [The issue of land transfer to Shrine Board]

1. SA Geelani
2. Mir Waiz
3. Shabir Shah
4. Masarat Alam
5. Ashraf Sahrai
6. Ghulam Mohammad Sumjhi

I gave a speech at the tourist centre mosque on Friday, June 20th, 2008 regarding a planned protest aimed at shutting down liquor shops. Following prayers, the protesters marched to Dalgate where a rally was held. During my speech, I expressed that the state's policies are designed to deprive our society and youth of religious and moral values, and to achieve this, large-scale plans are executed to facilitate the use of drugs such as brown sugar, liquor, pornography, and immorality. This approach reflects a form of cultural imperialism. I urged the people to stand against un-Islamic measures in order to protect their religion, Islam.

A protest was scheduled on June 23rd to oppose a land transfer, with plans to commence from Khanqah-e-Moula. However, police closed off all roads leading to the location and physically assaulted and arrested leaders from the J&KAPHC who had arrived. In light of these arrests, I departed from my home on June 22nd, 2008, and arrived at Chota Bazar where a significant number of youth were waiting. As we began the procession, more people joined us along the way in a peaceful and respectful manner. However, the police and CRPF responded with an imperialistic approach, firing tear gas shells at us and targeting our vehicles. Tragically, a young man was martyred during the chaos. News of my injury spread quickly throughout the

city, prompting people to take to the streets in protest. From 24-27 June 2008, I was placed under house arrest at my residence. The people continued to demand the withdrawal of the land transfer orders through ongoing protests.

On June 30th, a large rally marched through the city and arrived at Nowhatta Chowk where it turned into a protest gathering. During this gathering, I emphasised that the primary issue at hand is the return of 800 Kanals of land. Under Indian Occupation, our lives, land, property, honour, and beliefs are not safe. As a result, the entire nation must unite and fight for complete freedom and a plebiscite. Despite any feelings of disappointment, we must maintain faith that God will change our circumstances. The nation has awoken from its slumber and is now actively fighting for its birth-right and fundamental rights. This is all thanks to God's grace. We must remain determined and continue forward while also praying for the Indian state. I want to make it clear: we need to break away from forced accession and regain control of our land in Jammu and Kashmir.

Break the grip of tyranny, free our beloved Kashmir.

On Tuesday, July 1st, Mian Abdul Qayoom, the Chairman of the working committee, announced a program at the Grand Mosque. However, most members, including Mirwaiz Sahib and Sahrai Sahib, were arrested. Anticipating this, I had left a day earlier and stayed in a house near the mosque.

Despite security forces' restrictions and clampdown, I managed to attend midday prayers at the mosque, shocking the massive gathering. Before my speech, I discussed the plan with Mian Abdul Qayoom and others, and we agreed not to observe any bandh on Wednesday and Friday, but to announce a protest program. During my speech, I drew attention to the army's occupation of 28 lakh Kanals of land, including vacant pieces of land, schools built under the guise of 'Good Will' (Sadbahvana), and thousands of Kanal land. I urged the people to protest

collectively for their rights, rather than separately. Our nation has made countless sacrifices for the past 62 years, and we must continue to fight.

Mian Abdul Qayoom spoke but did not provide any calendar for the program, leaving people unsure of what to do in the next two days. Later that same night, news came that the government had revoked the land transfer order. In response, people organised a celebration. However, it would have been more appropriate to offer thanks instead of celebrating, as per the conventions of Islamic society. This was a successful peace protest.

During a press conference on July 2nd at the JK APHC office in Raj Bagh, People [attendees of protest] were thanked for their peaceful protest and bandh, as well as the dedication of the youth and the support of the people. It was emphasised that the same level of vigour and peaceful methods must continue. Serious concerns were raised regarding the safety of Muslims in Jammu, who are surrounded by extremists and unable to openly oppose them. In places like Poonch, Rajouri, Gul Glab Gudh, Doda, and Kishtwar, Muslims are in the majority and coexist peacefully with Hindus. However, peace is constantly threatened as the BJP, Bajrang Dal, VHP, and their RSS leaders publicly incite Hindus against Muslims. The occupation forces, local police, and anti-Muslim administration are complicit in this abhorrent mechanism. The Village Defense Committee, consisting of armed Hindus, distributes 'Trishul' and trains females to use weapons, with support from police, security forces, and other agencies. Hindu extremist, Danish Bharati even had a slogan that a Hindu cannot be accepted unless they kill a Muslim the administration has given these sick-minded anti-Muslim communalists complete freedom. In these circumstances, the lives, properties, honour, religion, and faith of Muslims in Jammu are in enormous danger, causing anxiety and apprehension among Muslims in Kashmir. Thus, Muslims in the valley were urged to treat non-Muslims with brotherly affection to demonstrate their devotion to Prophet Mohammad, whom God has bestowed with the title

of Blessed in the entire universe. We condemn the anti-Muslim communalists of Jammu and pledge to protect the life, honour, and religion of Hindus in the valley. It is crucial for the government to ensure the safety and security of all citizens regardless of their religion or ethnicity, and for civil society to promote peace, harmony, and tolerance among all communities.

The Abhorrent Design of Sangharsh Committee

The communalists formed the Sangharsh Committee, a united platform of communal elements in Jammu, demanding the return of 800 Kanals of land for the Shrine Board. While their demand is not objectionable, they resorted to protests, bandhs, and anti-Muslim violence to create a fearful atmosphere. They threatened to kill Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir, forced them to migrate, and even demanded that they hand over their girls before leaving. According to reports, around 750 Muslim families from Gujjar residential areas were forced to migrate. The communalists attacked the Joriyan Police Station, beat two Muslim policemen to death, looted shops owned by Muslims, and physically assaulted many more, all while the communal police watched silently without taking any action. This shows how the police and administration gave complete freedom to communal and anti-social elements. Delhi government's silence on the matter is equally culpable. For 40 days, the police remained spectators during the anti-Muslim pogrom. Later, another group reached Jammu and held a discussion with the leaders of the Sangharsh Committee.

The Sangharsh Committee carried out an assault not only on Muslims in Jammu but also targeted Kashmiris Muslims in Jammu as well. They burned, looted, or destroyed trucks filled with fruit from the Valley and physically attacked Muslim drivers. One driver is currently in a coma at AIIMS, while another from Pantha Chowk was killed in the attack. Some individuals were doused in petrol and set on fire, barely surviving the ordeal. One driver spoke out in an interview with Sen Channel, stating that he will no longer drive trucks and will instead remain at home with his children. The months of July and August are crucial for fruit harvesting and

transportation to the Mandi. However, the Srinagar National Highway was taken over by delinquents, resulting in the destruction of crores worth of fruit.

The fruit growers and Mandi of Sopore staged a strong protest, but their cries fell on deaf ears as the government took no action. Fruit growers from Shopian, Srinagar, and other regions also protested, as did I through the press and public meetings. Despite our peaceful demonstrations, New Delhi persisted with its conventional habits and practices and failed to address the issue. As a result, fruit businessmen had no choice but to seek an alternative route. After careful deliberation and discussion, it was decided to take the Jhelum Valley route, the only road that provides the Valley with access to the outside world. Unfortunately, the imperialists had handed over control of this road to the military, causing massive economic and tourism losses and turning the entire Valley into a prison. It is my hope that human rights activists around the world will awaken to this serious issue and become active in liberating the Valley from the Indian State, its brutal police, political leadership, and vicious tactics. However, it seems that humanity and moral values have been overtaken by material benefits, burying justice under greed. When it comes to the rights of Muslims, the voices of the so-called champions of peace become silent. While East Timor, a Christian country, was granted freedom from Indonesia within two years, the majority of the population of Jammu and Kashmir have been oppressed by the Indian State for 62 years, with little attention paid to their plight. Even the 58 Muslim countries seem to lack human and national Honour, as their interests have been crushed under irrelevant materialistic benefits. In light of the economic blockade imposed by the Sangharsh Committee, I present Goutam Novlakha's article, which provides details of the situation. [The title of the article is] "J&K Answer in the Wind KASHMIR BURNS: India is to be blamed for whatever is happening in Kashmir." Greater Kashmir, 23 August, 2008.

March Towards Muzaffarabad

Chapter 59

During the protests against the land transfer to the Shrine Board in Jammu, communalists imposed economic blockades, preventing the supply of essential commodities to the Valley and obstructing the transportation of fruits and other goods to markets. This caused widespread anxiety, prompting people to consider alternative routes. In response, the "All Valley Fruit Growers and Dealers Association" held an important meeting on August 7th in Sopore, attended by various organisations, including the Bar Association of Baramulla, the Transport Association, and leaders of Moin-ul-Islam. The meeting concluded that the Government's promise to restore the safe transportation of fruit trucks was a false promise, and alternative markets and routes were necessary. The fruit was getting spoiled in the Valley, and apple orchard owners were anxious as apples have a short shelf life. In this meeting, it was decided that the fruit trucks would be put on the Jhelum Valley Road, and the fruit traders would move towards Muzaffarabad to save millions of rupees worth of fruit from getting spoiled. This decision was a natural reaction to the economic blockade and the people's movement against it. However, there was a danger of distraction and general upheaval, so the resistance leadership took control of the situation and announced that both factions of Hurriyat would stand with the business community. A press conference was called in the Hyderpora office to convey the program details for August 11th, and people were requested to protest in solidarity with their brothers in their respective countries. Communal elements were being brought from other states to brutalise Muslims in Jammu, and the government took every necessary step to make the "Muzaffarabad Chalo" program a failure. Despite this, the fruit traders brought their trucks and came to Mandi a day before the scheduled program. The Army and police broke the main gate of Pampore Mandi and attacked people, but the preparation for the program was in full swing, and fruit trucks were ready in every district.

The Tragedy of Shopian and the Movement for Withdrawal of Army

Chapter 63

For one year, our organisation organised conferences on the life of the Prophet (Seerat Conference) at the district headquarters. The prizes were distributed among those children who performed well during these conferences. This program was in retaliation to the statement of Ghulam Nabi Azad, then the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, that MK. Gandhi's ideology and principles are better for running the day-to-day affairs. Hence he emphasised that Gandhi's teaching should be spread among the common man and that seminars on Gandhi should be held. In one such seminar, Ghulam Nabi Azad gave a cash award of one lakh rupees. Through these conferences on the life of the Prophet, we conveyed that for secular champions, the teaching of Gandhi may be better, but for a wise Muslim, this is not acceptable at any cost. Through these programs, we wanted to convey to the people the best and only way in which success and prosperity had been brought by the Prophet for the entire humankind. The last program of this series was held at Barzulla Baghat on the 31st of May. Here, in which a young man from Baramulla got the first position and took seventy-five thousand rupees as prize. On the night between the 29th and 30th of May, the tragic incident of Shopian happened. But, since we had made all the preparations and had the life of the Prophet in our minds, we continued that program. I was supposed to deliver the presidential lecture, but I was put on house arrest, so I delivered it by phone. On the 29th of May, Nelofer, wife of Shakeel Ahmad Ahangar, and his sister Asiya Jan, both residents of Bonham Shopian, were working near Ranbir Nallah. When it was late in the evening, and they didn't return home, the family filed a report at the Shopian police station and sought their help. Police send their force to search and investigate but in vain. On the 30th of May, the family once again went to the police station. The police took the family members along with them and after some distance, found the naked bodies of the missing women of both. The commotion erupted in the entire town. The police took custody

of both the dead bodies and sent both bodies for post-mortem. A lady doctor under oath said to the mourning crowd that both victims were first raped and then killed. From the 30th of May, the entire Shopian town was closed. All the business establishments were closed, and activities of day-to-day life stood at a standstill. The people of Shopian have shown a great strength of character by keeping their business establishments closed for forty-eight days, expressing their anguish. The Chief Minister was confident that it was neither a case of rape nor murder and stated the same in a press conference. The duo drowned and died in a stream. This was the first reaction of the government. When reports and forensic tests were conducted and said that it was rape and murder, the Chief Minister appointed a one-man commission and was advised to submit the report within a month. After forty days, when a report was submitted, instead of pointing to real culprits, irrelevant questions were raised. The majority of people of Jammu and Kashmir do not realise even after sixty-two years that the Indian State and its leadership, and its army all worship at the altar of 'National Interest.' To them, human rights, honour, property and life are all useless except their national image. That should not be spoiled.

When a nation[14] [or a community] is occupied by the military and who have been given the authority to gang rape, murder, or set buildings on fire, or even conduct interrogations using inhuman methods, they are directly or indirectly involved in any act which happens in such a place. They know they will not be held accountable as punishing or taking them to court is out of the question. After the tragedy of the Shopian, on the 8th and 9th of July, Amina Akhter, resident of Dolipora Trigram, was raped by the occupational forces. None involved in this incident were either arrested or punished.

[14] S. A. Geelani writes Nation for Kashmiri community, therefore nation and community both are used to refer Kashmiri community which he dreams to establish not the nation which is existing as a nation.

The Unique Concept of Freedom

> Muslims hold a unique perspective on freedom, which emphasizes the ability to practice and worship Allah without restrictive laws. They feel enslaved when non-Islamic systems are imposed on them, including constitutions, laws, education, politics, economics, traditions, and culture. True freedom, in their view, can only be achieved when they have the power to implement the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah without hindrance from internal or external forces. This would lead to genuine freedom and transformation within the Muslim community.
>
> In the Indian subcontinent, the concept of freedom involved people from various religions, including non-Muslims, coming together to establish a diverse nation. Muslims, driven by their own aspirations, sought a separate land, which they eventually obtained through great sacrifices. Unfortunately, they also face injustice. It is regrettable that the British granted freedom to those who have consistently opposed the expansion of Islam. During the freedom movement, these individuals sought Muslim support for matters related to Islamic systems, culture, and politics. However, when the masses now demand an Islamic system, these same people react negatively. (Sadiqi:2009)

On the 1st of June, peaceful protests were held. The protestors were physically assaulted by occupational forces alongside the local police. In Hyderpora, the youth protested. Tear gas shells were shot at them, and they were dispersed. I heard the sound of shelling in the Tehreek-e-Hurriyat office as well.

The next day, in relation to the Shopian Tragedy, I held meetings with my colleagues to schedule programs, and it was decided that at 4:00 PM a press conference would be held so

that the sentiments of the masses would be represented. But after the afternoon prayers, there was rampant police mobility, and barricades were erected. They stopped the media personnel from coming to my office too. I understood that they would not allow a press conference. So, I got a detailed message recorded. The police closed in and attempted to get inside. The SP and the DSP heard my message, and I was arrested, and my home was searched. The office staff, Abdullah Shaikh, Mohammad Afzal Lone, Mushtaq Ahmad, and Farooq Ahmad Rather were arrested and taken to Humhama Police Station. Dr Mohammad Abdul Khaliq, his wife and daughter had come from Maharashtra as tourists to visit the Valley. They, too, were arrested. Ameer Hamza, who had come to meet me, Showkat Zaz, Sajjad Ahmad Zaz and Abdul Rahman Rather, too, were arrested and taken to the police station. I was denied the simple privilege of going for an evening walk. Later, Naseem brought me food from home. After offering Ishan prayers, I made arrangements to sleep. Just as I was about to doze off, the DSP and the SHO unexpectedly arrived in my room and informed me that I could go home. However, I refused their offer. The others who were also arrested were taken to the Khan Sahib police station, with a promise of release by 10:00 or 11:00 AM the next day. Despite their insistence, I realized they would forcibly take me with them. Reluctantly, I boarded the vehicle and reached home around 12:30 AM.

A young man, Nisar Ahmad Mir of Berzullah, was injured because a shell hit him; he achieved martyrdom in Soura hospital. His family insisted that I must lead his funeral prayer. The family members of the martyr began their march towards Hyderapora, but near the Ibrahim Mosque, security personnel shot shells at us and stopped the march. Mohammad Ashraf Sahrai was told to offer funeral prayers; he, too, was not allowed to go and lead the prayers. Later, the funeral prayers were offered in Eidgah of Berzullah.

After sixty-nine days of house arrest, on the 6th of June around 10.30 PM, I was arrested and taken to forest Hut in Chashme Shahi. The DSP confiscated my phone and disconnected my connection with the outside world. The on-duty DSP told me that newspapers and magazines would be provided, but the staff deliberately stalled in providing me with newspapers. Someone said it was bandh, while another said something else. Finally, it was lunchtime. I refused to take lunch. After some time, they brought the 'Srinagar Times', 'Khidmat', and 'Aftab.' They said that they [police] could not get the rest of the newspapers. I told the staff that I would not eat food unless the rest of the newspapers were brought to me. Around 4:00 PM, the newspapers were brought; by then, the food had become cold and I could not eat it. The police always behave like this.

> On the 3rd of June, all those who were arrested: Abdullah Shaikh, Imtiyaz, Hyder, Mushtaq Ahmad Shaik, Mohammad Afzal Lone and guest Sajjad Ahmad Zaz, were sent to Kot Bhalwal jail. (Rising Kashmir: 8th June)

On the 16th of June, 2009, Mohammad Ayoob, the SP of Central Jail, Srinagar, visited me along with Kifayatullah Khan. They informed me that the Forest Hut was declared a sub-jail, and supervision had been put under the Central Jail, Srinagar. Maybe now they will press the Public Safety Act (PSA) against me, and it looked like my detention would be very long. May God grant us good health, guide us towards the right path and bless us with patience. We face these trials and tribulations for the sake of our goal - to attain freedom from Indian Occupation as soon as possible. All we need is determination, patience, and unwavering trust in God, and success will surely be bestowed upon us.

On the 30th of June, Mohammad Saleem Wani, s/o Abdul Rasheed Wani, a nineteen year old boy, alongside other residents, Syed Kareem, Mohalah Baramulla and Tariq Ahmad Malik,

achieved martyrdom, on the way to the hospital. *"Verily we belong to Allah and, verily to Him do we return."*

Latif-Al-Zaman Deva, the Deputy Commissioner (DC) of Baramulla, consoled the family, announced an investigation and appointed an additional Magistrate as an inquiry officer. The entire town was angry, and tensions were high. The Supreme Council of Hurriyat (G) announced three days of bandh against these atrocities committed by the security forces at Shopian, Baramulla, and other places. The martyrs' funeral prayers were held in absentia after the Friday prayers and an appeal was made to the public to hold protests peacefully.

On the first of July at 11:30, I was shifted from the Forest Hut to SKIMS. Because of diarrhoea, I had become very weak. I was admitted to the ICU, and a long list of investigations were carried out. Thank God that all tests came back negative. However, I had become weak. Dr. Showkat Zargar visited me as well and did a check-up. He advised me to drink salted tea. So far, the arrests had been under an FIR. But on the 21st of July 2009, Public Safety Act (PSA) was applied against me; this meant that the incarceration would continue for an unlimited period.

On the 8th of August 2009, after morning prayers, I was walking in the Garden. Three armed policemen were escorting me, two in civil clothes and one in uniform. That is when I saw a lady in a burqa and she was crying. I asked her why she was crying. She was breathless and could not talk. With a lot of difficulty, she said, "When I see you, I feel breathless. I pray for your long life. May your shadow be upon us. The three policemen were taken aback when they witnessed a lady declaring, "You are the hope of the nation and the focal point for those who are helpless." I had never met this woman before and was completely unaware of her existence.

It is when God wishes to aid his people that he instils emotions of love, concern, and kindness in the hearts of individuals like her, who express their feelings with utmost sincerity. Without Allah's endorsement, guidance and unless. He fills the hearts of ordinary people with affection and love for you, it is impossible for an ordinary person to earn a place in their hearts.

That is not difficult for Allah.

At 7:00 PM, from SKIMS, I was shifted to Chashme Shah Sub jail, where I felt severe chest pain. SHO Nishat visited me and the Director of SKIMS was contacted who sent Dr. Dr Israr Ahmad Shah. He examined ne on the following morning.

On the 23rd of June, Mohammad Afzal Lone's father passed away. *"Verily we belong to Allah and, verily to Him do we return."* May his soul rest in peace and may Allah grant him paradise. Mohammad Afzal Lone was in Kote Bhalwal for three months. I advised my office staff that on my behalf Saifulah must go and offer condolences. He went and led funeral prayers and addressed the gathering as well.

Later that day, Mukhanlal, the retired High Court Judge and head of the government-formed Head Advisory Board, came to visit me along with the SP of Central Jail, a Sikh man from Sharkwarah Sungrama, and a young man. Mukhanlal initially made a request for me to place my hand on his head, with the promise that he would then touch my feet as a gesture of respect. However, I gently reminded him of the teachings of the last prophet, which emphasized the importance of respecting elders and showing affection to youngsters, as it is a sign of belonging to the community.

He approached me with folded hands, acknowledging my ability to resolve the issue. He urged me to speak with the Indian Government and the political leadership. I responded that I was not opposed to dialogue, but until the Indian State recognizes Jammu and Kashmir as a disputed territory, such conversations would be meaningless. We concluded our discussion by inquiring about each other's health. As they prepared to depart, I emphasised that I was fighting for a sacred objective, and even if it meant sacrificing my life, I would feel blessed.

Later, on September 7th at 5:00 PM, the Jail's SP visited my room, but I was out walking at the time, causing him to wait briefly before leaving. Soon after, two women from the Red Cross Society came to visit me and asked about the situation in the jail. At first, police and jail officials were present and spoke briefly. I then excused myself to observe the situation, but the women returned. After two days, the High Court nullified the PSA and ordered my immediate release. In the evening, around 7:00 PM, Riyaz Bedar came along with a huge contingent of police, escorted me to my residence in Hyderpora. The government's policy is to prevent people from gathering around people like us to avoid processions/Protest. After being under house arrest for 95 days, I was taken by the police and released at 9:00 PM at my residence. I prayed with my colleagues in the office and during my house arrest, it was a norm to explain Holy Quranic teachings after Morning Prayer and a few questions, which I answered.

With regard to the withdrawal of Indian security forces on 19th October, a plan was discussed that I would hold an important press conference at 11 am in Ahadoos Hotel. We were aware that police may create obstacles hence we did not announce about this press conference. To avoid any obstruction by the government I left one day before for my first destination around 10.30 am, where I was supposed to get in a different vehicle. The vehicles could not reach there, so the organisers arranged an auto rickshaw. In this arrangement was God's help and

guidance hidden. If we had come in a car to hold the press conference, the Police which was present at the venue would not have allowed our car to get inside. Our auto went through the police barricade right in the compound of Ahadoos. As the media personnel surrounded me, we swiftly made our way inside the hotel before the police could react. In the crowded press conference, I revealed that the Indian occupational forces have seized a staggering 27, 62,140 Kanals of land, constructing ammunition depots, barracks, and residences. This occupation mirrors that of Israel, which has forcefully taken over Palestinian land, building settlements and displacing the local population. After the press conference, when I came out, the youth raised slogans. The police arrested activists and took them to Kothi Bagh Police Station. I also went to Kothi Bagh Police Station. When I met those who were arrested, I told the police officers that until these young people are not released, I would not go. What crime have they committed? Why have you arrested them and brought them here? The in-charge expressed helplessly that they were following orders of the higher officials. I wanted to meet the SP, but he did not show up. I spoke to the Police Station in-charge, another SP, and told him that these young men had not committed any crime and that he could not arrest them. The SP assured me that the youths would be released. He promised me and assured me that after fulfilling some required formalities, the youth will be released. After his assurance, I returned home at 5:00 PM. But soon after I was informed that these young men were shifted to the Central Jail. The promise of the SP had after all been a lie.

On Friday, the 23rd of October, it was decided that a series of programs would be held to demand the "withdrawal of the security forces from Jammu and Kashmir." In this regard, the first program was organised in Shopian. To make it successful, my participation was important. As we feared that the police might erect barricades and close routes, I decided to go to Shopian from Masarat Alam's residence. The one suggestion was to stay in Tral overnight and then go

from there to Shopian. But I thought this was not suitable. I knew the government would close all roads leading to Shopian; hence reaching Shopian from Tral was almost impossible. Therefore, I decided to go straight to Shopian instead of staying anywhere overnight. From Pulwama, I changed the route. I left the easy and comfortable road, took the longer but difficult road, and got to Shopian late at night. I sought refuge at my friend's home, where he generously extended his hospitality. The bitter cold in Shopian was a source of discomfort, but after our morning prayers, we moved to another location. Even there, the family welcomed us with warmth and respect. May Allah bless them for their adherence to Islam. These individuals are invaluable assets to the cause of freedom, and their unwavering support is truly commendable.

On 22nd October, the entire district of Shopian was cordoned off. All the roads of the villages leading to the district headquarters of Shopian and all the roads from other districts leading to Shopian were closed. The police were unaware that I was already present in the Shopian district by the grace of God. My arrival and movements were kept confidential, which was successful. A committee was formed to investigate the murder of Nelofar and Asiya. The elders and youth worked diligently to make the Shopian program successful, and their cooperation and support were valuable in keeping it a secret.

After third stopover, I made my way to a nearby Friday mosque. The atmosphere was charged with slogans like "Allah is Great," and the commotion among the people was palpable. Mubashir Ahsan Wani, the Imam and khateeb of the mosque, passionately emphasized the importance of maintaining the sacredness and respect of the mosque in his sermon, which focused on the Holy Pilgrimage of Hajj. After his sermon, he entrusted me with leading the Friday prayer, which I did. Following the prayer, we proceeded in a procession from the

mosque to the protest gathering venue adjacent to Jamia Mosque. Controlling such a mammoth gathering was challenging. The Members of Majlis-e-Mushawarat were seated on the stage.

I began my speech with the tragic incident of rape and murder of Nelofer and Asiya. After this tragic episode, people showed their supported by observing a bandh for ten days in in the entire valley. I endorsed the role of Majlis-e-Mushawarat, in which they had announced the bandh for forty-eight days and their demand was that the rapist and murderer be identified and punished. But thus far, they are not identified. I told categorically that in rape and murder, the members of the police, CRPF and the regular army are involved. And the government has given them shelter. Otherwise, the murderers would have been identified long ago. The Majlis-e-Mushawarat cooperated with the CBI so that there would be no obstacle in the investigation.

To have twenty-seven lakhs, sixty two thousand one hundred and forty (27,62,140) Kanals of land under the control of occupational forces is a signal of great danger. If we do not unit and resist this, the future generations will never forgive us. Rather they will curse us that their forefathers had not done anything against this occupation. In Shopian, five thousand two hundred Kanals of forest land is dedicated for the use of the Army. Three to four lakh trees were chopped off, which is worth sixty crores (6,00,000,000). The leaders who want to give honourable positions to the Kashmiri Nation are working with the Indian State to execute these dirty objectives.

The People's Movement of 2010

Chapter 69

After an eye operation, I reached Srinagar and started my regular activities. The first program was in Shalimar Mosque, where I delivered a sermon highlighting why the Muslim Nation has

declined. Since the day, the Muslim Nations accepted the un-Islamic and misguided discourse of separation of "State and religion" secularism, the decline started. Islam is a perfect religion. We individually and collectively accept it and bring changes in our life according to it. After we offered prayers in a procession, we came to the bus stand where a brief protest was underway in which the youth were present in good numbers. This is a good aspect of our protest that there is more youth participation. I prayed for perseverance, permanence and protection from the enemies. In Kakapora Pulwama, a program on the life of the Prophet (Seerat) was organised. The police had cordoned off the area. But by the grace of God, I reached there around midday prayers (zohar). Our leaders had set the stage on a massive ground. During my speech, I spoke about the current situation. As the police had set up a barricade in Pattan, I altered my route the following day and travelled via Sumbal Sonawari to reach Sopore. From Sopore, I proceeded to Doru to offer condolences to the family of Late Abdul Summad Bhat. Afterward, I made my way to Watergam, where a public gathering on the life of the Prophet (Seerat) was organized. From there, we marched in a procession to the designated venue for the gathering.

After the District head spoke, it was time for my speech. Attention was drawn towards the life of the Prophet. In the war of Trench (Khandaq), the treachery of the traitors was pointed out, and the sincerity of the people was mentioned too. People were informed about the results of the adverse effects of cultural imperialism in every aspect of life. People, especially the youth, were informed about the attempts of fake religious persons or seculars to weaken the foundation of Islam. At the gathering, the youth were present in good numbers. After this, I went to Dangiwacha, where Pir Abdul Rasheed had passed away in February. His father, Peerzada Ghulam Hassan Shah, was a respected personality. From there, we went to the residence of Dr Abdul Qayoom Faktoo. Late Moulana Saddudin Sahib had also passed away.

I went to Baramulla to offer condolences to his daughter. After Baramulla, I went to Sopore to the grieving parents of Martyr Saleem, expressed my condolence and sympathy and prayed for the departed soul. Then I reached Hyderpora after evening prayers. Thanks be to God.

On the 17th of May, a program was organised in Kupwara. Because of police barricades, I left one day before, reached Kulangam and stayed overnight at the residence of Abdul Razak Mazari. The next day, around midnight, we left for Kupwara in a Tata Sumo. Although it was raining heavily and the police were on the road they fortunately did not create any trouble. I offered my prayers in the Jamia Mosque. The program started in the mosque because going to Chowk was not possible as it was raining. In my speech, I pointed out the cunning of the enemy forces. God warns people through this verse. "*And they worked out their plot and whatever they plot is before Allah, even though their plot is such as would move the mountains*' (Al-Hujrat:46), concerning (Ibrahim), it has been said that that the plot of anti-Islamic forces counter the truth (Haq)[15], and their plots are so strong that even mountains can move, but so does God counter such plans, but the Muslims should not remain absent-minded and must obtain guidance from the teachings of the Holy Quran and remain protected from the adverse influence of anti-Islamic forces. After this, the audience was reminded of the Indian occupation. The Indian occupation is the main cause for violence and enormous brutality people face within the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir. We left for Batergam. In Trehgam we visited Habibullah Wani. He was seriously injured in an accident. He was treated for a long time in the hospital and was now at home. A huge gathering of youth was waiting at his residence. They raised slogans for Islam and freedom. They insisted that a program must be organised in Trehgam. I suggested to the District head that next Friday a program must be

[15] Haq: it is an Arabic word for "Truth" In Islamic context, it is also interpreted as right and reality. Al-Haq. 'the truth', is one of the names of Allah in Quran. It is often used to refer to God as the 'Ultimate Reality in Islam.

organised here. Then we went to offer condolences to the deceased family of Mohammad Ramzan B at Shamnag, when he had passed away. He was a member of JIJ&K. He was a man of great character and was associated with the Islamic movement. May God grant him salvation and Heaven. From there we went to Kralpora, where the youth pressed upon me to speak at Kralpora Chowk. They were told that to get liberated from slavery, we must nurture a strong sense of 'self' (*Khudi*).[16] In the light of Surah Toba, the youth were advised to support truth and what is right. After I saw the sentiments of the youth of the Kralpora village, I became sure that God willing, sooner or later the oppressed nation would be liberated from the occupation of the Indian state. The struggle has reached the youth, and the sentiment and desires they were expressing are a welcoming aspect of the resistance. If God's help and guidance are present and the nation is united and focused, there remains no need to be discouraged and disappointed.

We left Kralpora and reached Rawathpora. There too, it was heavily raining, yet people gathered and expressed wholeheartedly their association with the resistance movement. I spoke briefly and later offered my condolences to two families. Then via Vailgam, we reached Handwara. The intensity of the rain was increasing. The question and answer session was held on the first floor of the Jama Mosque, where people had gathered. This went on for a very long time. Here too, the youth came out and raised slogans, and through the echoes of the slogan there was commotion in the entire town. Thanks be to God.

Later, we returned to Kulangam and stayed overnight at Abdul Razak's residence. The next morning we left Kulangam around 10:00 AM. At Choral, we went to the residence of Abdullah

[16] Khudi: Khudi is a Persian word which means self or ego, and it is a concept of selfhood introduced by the famous poet, philosopher, and scholar Allama Iqbal. In his philosophy, Khudi is the central and essential aspect of the human self, which is characterized by an individual's will, creativity, and self-awareness. The concept of Khudi emphasizes the importance of self-realization and self-actualization as a means to attain one's full potential and become a complete human being.

Wani, who had been taken to Srinagar for an operation. Then I left for Zalora and offered condolences to Master Ghulam Ali Tali and a few other family members. A young man from here was martyred when the call for Muzaffarabad *Chalo* was given on 11 August 2008. Until then, I could not go there. He left behind his wife, daughter and elderly parents. May God have mercy on them. I requested the locals to help them, for it was their responsibility. That should never be overlooked. The moment we reached there, young boys and girls gathered. Before I left, I spoke to them as well. I reminded them that the Zalora locality has benefited from Islamic teaching for fifty years. It is the responsibility of the old and young to protect this treasure and never allow anyone to harm it. I had information that from this village, the non-locals are registered in the census. In this regard, I told people to be cautious, that through census, the ratio of Muslims is decreased, and such plans [registering non-locals as voters] are implemented. According to the President of RSS, the sole resolution to the Kashmir issue is to make Jammu and Kashmir primarily inhabited by Hindus, as the Muslim population is perceived to be disloyal to the Indian state.' The National Conference (NC), Congress, and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), who are seen as subservient to New Delhi, are helping communalists carry out their agendas. I urged young and elderly people to protest against the registration of non-locals in the census forms. Their protest should be registered in newspapers to make it clear that people are protesting against the registration of non-locals in the census. Apart from one million regular armies, BSF, CRPF, Armed Police, VDC and non-locals coming from other states, including Bihar, attempts are made to register them in the census. Through this Muslim majority is changed into a minority. Such shady plans are implemented. The recent reservation Bill, which has been passed, is the 8% reservation given to Schedule Caste (SC); these schedule castes are neither in Kashmir Valley nor can be segregated from Hinduism. They are part of Hinduism. Hindus are taking their share and then are taking the 8% of SC reservation as well. To give reservations in Muslim-majority districts is a condemnable

attempt to change the demographic of Jammu and Kashmir. Sayyid Abdul A'ls Maudoodi (who is considered a well-wisher of the Muslim nation and oppressed Kashmiris) said fifty years ago that the India State would not accept the Muslim-majority state of Jammu and Kashmir. Hindus will be brought here and made permanent residents of this state. The Muslim majority of Jammu and Kashmir, like Muslims of Gujrat, will be subjected to communal violence, murdered and killed. The rest will be forcefully sent across the border. The Indian state is implementing this plan at supersonic speed. Our local politicians are stooges of their masters in this disgusting conspiracy.

I came out in the afternoon, and young men had gathered in front of the house and encircled me. I went to offer prayers at the shrine of Hazrat Shaikh Noor-ud-Noorani. The huge contingent of youth and other people were present at the Friday mosque. The Mirwaiz of Charar-e-Sharief was reciting praise, and after some time, I was invited to speak. After thanking God, I recited the verse of Surah Younis 62-63 "*Oh, surely the friends of Allah have nothing to fear, nor shall they grieve the ones who believe and are god-fearing."* Under the light of this verse, I said that Muslims must try to understand saints and prophets under the light of the Holy Quranic teaching. Muslims do not attribute the status and position prescribed by the Holy Quran to the prophets and saints. Muslims have changed Holy Quranic criterion and have tried to understand Prophets and Saints in their own way. This is wrong. God has referred to faith and piety in the characteristics and attributes of prophets and saints. Accepting faith is not enough. But attempts must be made to have a faith free from doubts and suspicions. I recited verse 14 from Surah Al-Hujrat and pointed towards the real faith. Atheism damages faith the most, the verses of Surah Al-Nisa were given as a reference. It has divided the Muslim Nation into different schools of thoughts and groups. By doing so, it has made the Muslim nation bait for the anti-Islamic forces. People were given an invitation towards three objectives of *Tehreek*-

e-Hurriyat: Islam, Freedom and Unity of Muslims. After my prayers, I delivered my speech in Urdu in front of a huge gathering; all these problems were highlighted. For all the martyrs, prayers were offered. Because of the military occupation, the lives of indigenous people have become miserable. Therefore, demands such as the complete withdrawal of security forces, the release of prisoners, revocation of PSA and other draconian laws such as AFSA and its special powers were condemned and it was repeated that such laws be withdrawn. The reservation bill and census, too, were discussed in my speech. The Indian State is using law to do injustice to Kashmiris and therefore justice is not being served. The Indian State implicates our innocent youth and forcefully sends them into incarceration to rot there. Decades later, the courts declare them innocent. That is how the Indian judiciary and its legal system get unmasked.

Following my speech, I departed and arrived at Hyderapora, where I was placed under house arrest by the police. The following day, when I attempted to leave my residence, I was surrounded and detained by the police. When I was stopped by the media on the main road, I explained that I had been placed under house arrest initially and subsequently arrested by the police, who were taking me to an unknown location. However, government officials assert that the security measures were in place only for the airport road and that I was not under house arrest. This is a blatant lie that serves the interests of the government, which thrives on deceit, illusion, and craftiness.

On 29th of May 2010, renegades kidnapped three men from Nadihal Baramulla and took them to Kupwara and handed them over to the army, where they were killed in cold-blood. These innocent men were martyred. They were buried in Kalaroos. When their pictures were published in the newspapers, the parents identified them and demanded the bodies be handed over to them. The DC Kupwara ordered the dead bodies to be exhumed from the graveyard of

Kalaroos. When the dead bodies reached Nadihal, I received a telephone call from there. I was told that the stooges of the National Conference had come, and they were pressuring family members to bury the dead bodies, and that there should not be any procession. These stooges had told family members that they [family] will be given compensation in cash and a government job as well. But people took the dead bodies and protested. The so-called Chief Minister announced an investigation into the matter which meant nothing as always. They [all Chief Ministers] always do so on such occasions. They hoodwink people and assist the army in these ethnic cleansing and anti-Muslimism plots. These beasts are given a free hand to play with the lives of Muslims. Tabindah Gani, Butpora, Langate, Jigarpora, Kunan and Poshpora, Shopian and other hundreds are examples of such incidents in which people were deceived on the pretext I was informed that Indian collaborators or operatives abduct young men and receive a sum of one lakh from the army. The army subsequently executes these individuals in cold blood and declares them militants. The army is rewarded with a sum of five lakhs (5,00,000) and promotions from the government. The pro-India political parties and National Conference are equally complicit in this despicable operation of announcing an investigation that was later forgotten. In my recent visit to Kupwara, I was informed that Indian collaborators or operatives abduct young men and receive a sum of one lakh from the army. The army subsequently executes these individuals in cold blood and declares them militants. The army is rewarded with a sum of five lakhs (5,00,000) and promotions from the government. The pro-India political parties and National Conference are equally complicit in this despicable operation.

On Sonia Gandhi's visit to Jammu, we [Tehreek-e-Hurriyat] gave a call for complete shutdown. On that day, in the afternoon, the DSP Budgam and SHO Humhama came to visit me. They told me that they have been ordered by higher officials to take me to the Central Jail. I got my

essentials and left. When we reached Central Jail, the SHO went to meet the SP and left me to wait for an hour or so. Then the police officials made me sit in the room of Mohammad Ayoob Bhat, Superintendent Jail till evening. During this time, I met those who were also being incarcerated there.

After evening prayers, the police vehicle came. Because of my health issues, sitting in a heavy vehicle was not possible. The SP provided his vehicle, and I was taken to the SKIMS. The jail authorities did not want to keep me there. Therefore, they shifted me to SKIMS. I offered morning prayers with two soldiers and went for a morning walk. Thank God.

Many people visited me in jail. Shaikh Mohammad Hussain, the head of JIJ&K, was admitted to ward no. 3. The members of JIJ&K came to visit both of us. May God greatly reward them.

After the afternoon prayers (*Asir*), the members of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat got bail papers from Tehsildar. Before I left, I visited three patients: Shaikh Mohammad Hassan, Head JIJ&K, Haji Mohammad Akbar Sofi, alias Bisati, of Sopore and Mian Abdul Raheem, father of Abdul Qayoom, President Bar Association.

In Machil, three young men of Nadihal were martyred in a fake encounter: Ahmad Khan s/o Ghulam Mohammad Khan; Shaheed Riyaz Ahmad Lone s/o Mohammad Yusuf Lone; and Shaheed Mohammad Shafi Lone s/o Abdul Rasheed Lone. And a fourth boy is still missing and might be martyred. Where is he buried? I went first to his residence. He is an orphan named Tanveer Ahmad Najar, s/o Mohammad Ramzan Najar, a student in the 9th class at Government Nadihal High School. This young boy has been missing since June 2007. His relatives, brothers and sisters are still worried and crying. It is most likely that he, too, was

kidnapped by the renegades and sold to the Indian Army. He may also have been martyred in fake encounters. Drunk on power, the occupational forces, their agents, administration, and police together target, kill and subjugate oppressed nations.

On 4th June, I had a program to address the Jama Mosque of Nowshera. I left Hyderpora a day before, on a Thursday evening. There has been a practice of the police to deprive me of offering Friday prayers. However, by the grace of God, I got to the mosque around 12:20, and some young men welcomed me at the entrance. I recited this verse from the Surah Al-Hujaraat: 13 "*Human beings, we created you all from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Verily the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most God-fearing of you. Surely Allah is all-knowing and All-aware."* Under the light of this verse, it is not enough to claim Islam unless it is believed wholeheartedly and expressed through our deeds. After Islam is accepted, there should not be any doubt of its divinity, perfection and compositeness. This is the perfect religion because of its supremacy. Its supremacy lies in its adherence to peace, justice, honesty, modesty and morality. There has been no criterion to elect the leaders of the Muslim nation. Every leader reads the Holy Quran but does not follow the teachings of the Holy Quran in every aspect of his/her life. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, too, reads the Holy Quran on stage, but he is most responsible for pushing us under the occupation of the Indian State. Likewise, we are still being cheated and deceived. We are deceived by secular democracy, Kashmiriyat and slogans of meaningless 'freedom.'[17] Although it was raining, we had a protest gathering in the mosque compound after prayers, and a huge crowd was present. Thanks be to God.

[17] It suggests that for those who believe that Islamic law should be the basis for governance that the contemporary freedom as it exists in such contexts may be seen as meaningless or lacking in true significance, as it does not reflect their desired system of governance and religious values.

When I came back home, the police put me under house arrest again. The next day, I got information about the demise of Muhammad Akbar Bisati. I wanted to attend his funeral, but I was arrested at the gate and taken to the Humhama Police Station. At 10:00 AM, the DSP announced that I was to be taken to the Central Jail. The concerned doctor wrote in his report that Geelani be taken to SKIMS. Hence, I was sent to SKIMS. When we reached Nowshera, a group of young men pelted stones on the vehicle. The windshield was broken into pieces. The driver jumped out of the vehicle and ran away along with the key of the vehicle. The other officer wanted to drive, but could not as there was no key. I got down from the vehicle, and the young men saw me and came running towards me, raised slogans, arranged another vehicle and took me to SKIMS. After two days, the court granted me bail and I returned from SKIMS to my home.

On 19th June, I finished my engagements in Sopore and left for Kupwara. The District leaders had organised a program in Sialkot village of Kupwara. During the program, I got the news that Muhammad Rafeeq Bangroo, who was critical and admitted to the hospital, achieved martyrdom. His body was handed over to his family, and two local leaders of the National Conference played abominable tactics through local police and forced the parents of the victim to bury him in his ancestral graveyard. He was not allowed to be taken to the martyr's graveyard in *Eidgah*. His poor parents did this under pressure. The people severely reacted and protested against the government workers' abominable tactics and political strategies. Everyone came onto the roads and protested, and people and security forces clashed everywhere, resulting in the martyrdom of Javaid Ahmad. Alongside this, two dozen people were injured, and more than a hundred people were arrested and put behind bars in police stations and the Central Jail. Entire Kashmir was protesting. It was said that for my arrest, the search began from June 19th onwards. The police had gone to Abdul Razak Marzari's residence where I often stayed

whenever I visited Kupwara. But today, I reached Sialkot Kupwara directly. Mohammad Ashraf Sahrai had left Srinagar from Sopore. He reached Sialkot early in the morning from Srinagar. And as he had directed, the district leaders had begun the program. Before morning prayers, the police surrounded and wanted to arrest me (Geelani). To stop and disturb the gathering is the intention. Mohammad Abdullah Shaikh approached the police and informed them that following the conclusion of the program, arrests would be willingly accepted without resistance. The sacrifice and arrest are not new to us. The police officer accepted, and the program continued. But after this assurance, the police contingent was increased, and the police wanted to disrupt my speech. But organisers and participants showed courage, and around 3:00 PM, my speech started in the compound of the mosque. It was announced that the program was closed, and Mohammad Ashraf Sahrai and I were both arrested. We were brought to Srinagar. I was taken to CIK, and other friends were put in Central Jail. This was the first time I was incarcerated in CIK, and even the basic amenities such as washrooms were missing. The dinner came from my home which was allowed by the CIK officials.

On the night of 21st June, the police and Task Force raided the central office of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat (TH). SHO Humhama was with them. The office and residence were thoroughly searched. I do not know what they were searching for? The head of the family was already arrested, whom were they still looking for? I could not comprehend. The Government was constantly chasing and harassing members of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat. They presumed that the bundhs are observed and business run at the behest of Tehreek-e-Hurriyat and Hurriyat Conference. Young men were martyred almost every day in Srinagar. Therefore, people had become extremely furious against the government and the army. Their only option was to call for bandh. The people waited for the Hurriyat call of shutdown after they came to know the ground realities. The government, through their stooges, made a plan to suppress the Tehreek-

e-Hurriyat and Hurriyat Conference. This plan had to be executed, therefore, in the entire valley. The arrests of leaders and workers were carried out, so that independently they couldn't reach out to people and carry out their peaceful struggle.

On 23rd June 2010, under PSA, arrest warrants were issued followed by arrests, and I was taken to Humhama police station and then to Cheshma Shahi, where SHO Nishat and other police officers and officials of Central Jail had already reached. And they briefed me about the grounds for detentions which were many pages long, and dozens of cases were registered against me. The main point was that I called the Jammu and Kashmir dispute and advised people to get freedom from Indian occupation; the people adhere to my call for protest, and observe bandh at my behest.

After my arrest, I was in Cheshma Shahi and the others were in Central Jail. Masarat Alam Bhat, Gen. Secretary of Hurriyat Conference, went underground and started handing out protest-calendars from a secret place. He gave a recorded video message to security forces. In that message, he said, "We do not have animosity with them [security forces]; we are not happy if you are injured; hence they must avoid shooting at us [Kashmiris]." This message was sent through a CD and made public. During this time, he dodged security forces many times and addressed many gatherings in mosques late at night. The youth got new invigoration and passion and said yes to the resistance, and made the administration helpless. Because Srinagar city was most affected by shutdowns/bandhs and deaths, people from the rural areas started sending food to the city. The Langar [community food stalls] was established in many places, especially in hospitals. Uninterrupted rallies and protests continued, and slogans like 'Go India, Go back" became very popular. The slogans were written on public places, such as markets, roads, walls and almost everywhere. One more slogan which became very popular was '*Rugdo*

Rugdo, Bharat *Rugdo*.' Through these slogans, people expressed their anger day and night on roads. Although I insisted and appealed to the youth that we do not want Bharat to be crushed but rather want our genuine 'right' from them, and God willing, we will get that right as well. Police and security agencies were on the lookout for Masarat Alam Bhat, and police intensified raids to arrest him. The cash award of Rs 10 lakhs was also announced. Finally, he was arrested at a relative's house in October 2010. Even now, in 2014, he is being incarcerated and is facing torture. He was released in-between, but he reached home for an hour and was re-arrested. The court has suspended PSA seven times and ordered his release, but again a fake PSA charge was put forth against him, and he is still confined to jail today. Everyone who is incarcerated, face torture for years. To our brave heroes and freedom fighters, I offer my tribute. And Pray to God that He grants them courage to remain determined in their stance and may God grant them freedom from jail soon. Ameen.

In the afternoon of 21st July, members of the civil society, Admiral. Nair, Dr Radha Kumar and Dr Amitabh Mattoo, came to visit me. They enquired about the current situation in Kashmir and expressed their serious concern. I told them a peaceful movement is going on against the military occupation of the Indian State. But the Indian State is using enormous power to crush it. The movement for the complete withdrawal of security forces was initiated in 2009. The programs were held at District headquarters, and public meetings were held too. The peaceful rallies and agitations were suppressed by the Police and CRPF, which resulted in the death of seventeen youngsters. About dialogue, [with Indian state] I told them that Indian leadership must accept that Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory. Secondly, they should begin the withdrawal of security forces. Thirdly, they should withdraw all draconian laws such as AFSPA, PSA and other acts and fourthly, release all political prisoners. Then only the tripartite dialogue with the Indian State can begin. Dr Radha Kumar was busy taking notes. In between,

the circumstances of Pakistan, too, were mentioned. I told them that Pakistan had become a colony of the USA.

Admiral Nair mentioned Muslims in India. I told him that the Dispute with Jammu and Kashmir is unique. It has nothing to do with the Muslims in India. They [Muslims] decided their future to be part of India at the time of partition. They are Indian citizens. It is the responsibility of the state and the majority community to assure their safety of life, property and faith. It has not happened for sixty-three years. To connect Indian Muslims with the political dispute in Kashmir is imperialistic thinking, and it is a cunning trick to continue military occupation in the disputed region. The Indian State has made many promises to the people of Jammu and Kashmir and has accepted the eighteen resolutions of the United Nations. The majority of the people are demanding the implementation of that; therefore, we are fighting for our rights. We have no animosity toward the Indian State and its people. The visitors took notes in their diaries.

After I was shifted to SKIMS from Cheshma Shahi, the government officials got papers to get my signature to release me on parole. I refused to be released on parole and told them that I would not leave the prison unless the others were also released.

On the same evening, the chief minister's representative, Devender Singh Rana, came to meet me without any prior notice or permission. He spoke to me for almost one and a half hours and told me that the government would not interfere in any peaceful agitation as long as peace is not derailed. Because of the assurance of the government that they would not interfere with peaceful protest, I decided to call a public gathering on 3rd August 2010 in *Eidgah* to inform people about the present situation and chalk out a plan for the future as well. But these leftovers of the Chanakya politics and slaves of New Delhi, when can they keep their promise? Maqsood-

ul-Zaman notified me on August 3rd that I had been placed under arrest, and as a result, I would not be able to attend the Eidgah. A sizable group of people had congregated outside the hospital and were growing restless, urging me to join them for the program. I made an attempt to leave, but the police returned me to my room.

My health deteriorated, and because of the *Eidgah* program, security personnel and officials were present in my room. I was feeling very tired and giddy. The doctors checked me many times. Later at night, I began feeling better. And that, I spent the night peacefully, thanks be to God. The next day I was released, and Maqsood-ul-Zaman, the SP took me to Hyderpora, to my residence. Media personnel were already present there.

The next day I called a press conference and briefed the press on whatever had happened since the 20th of June until the release from SKIMS. I appealed that arson, destruction, and demolition must be avoided. And I sincerely appealed that commotion and confusion are not part of our resistance. While addressing the youth, I said I am more anxious to receive freedom than them. But it is not possible without moral values and principles. We are oppressed, not the oppressor. I appealed to the people to be peaceful, but the stooges of the government, through the media, propagated that there was a change in Geelani's stance. I replied that my stance is based on truth, and there is no question of it ever changing. This is only a strategy to create and spread misunderstanding and confusion that brings disruption. I said this explicitly: If entire India is given to me as my property, I cannot even imagine being unfaithful to the holy blood of martyrs.

The so-called Chief Minister called two thousand more troops. The valley already has a heavy contingent of Army, CRPF and other security forces, and despite that he ordered more forces

indicating that the Indian State was planning a massive war. I repeated the demand for the release of the incarcerated and condemned these unjustified restrictions. When BBC correspondents asked me if I have any message for the angry youth, I replied that they are all our children and they are our front line in this resistance. They don't pelt stones as a hobby. Only after the police shoot at blank range, manhandle people, make unjustified arrests, and when the security forces use infinite force that the youth are left with no other option but to retaliate by pelting stones. In the meantime, I got information that a teenage boy, Javaid Iqbal Jan, succumbed to injuries in SKIMS and achieved martyrdom. Lakhs of people participated in his funeral prayers, and I also addressed the gathering. May God have mercy on us.

After the arrest on the 20th of June, the 6th of August was the first Friday when I went to offer prayer in a nearby mosque in Hyderpora. I told people in the mosque that, in the current scenario, the biggest problem of Muslims is that Muslims are physiologically and physically drifting away from Holy Quranic teaching. Unless this distance is removed, the situation of Muslims cannot improve.

Not Accession but Military Occupation

Chapter 70

On 31st August 2010, in a press conference, I proposed a five point formula to the Indian State for the commencement of a meaningful dialogue: firstly, Indian Nation State must accept that Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory; secondly, under the supervision of the United Nations Organisation, the Security forces should withdraw from Jammu and Kashmir; thirdly, cases should be filed against those who have killed innocent people, and they should be punished; fourthly, killing of innocent people must stop; and lastly, unconditionally, all prisoners should be released, all draconian laws should be removed and all those under house

arrest must be released. These demands will create an atmosphere for dialogue, and after that only the real issue can be addressed. That is how this proposal had been brought forward. If the Indian Nation-State had been sincere and indicated interest in resolving the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, they would not have remained silent; it would not have sent a parliamentary delegation to Kashmir just to examine the situation. I refused to speak to this Parliamentary delegation. My point of view was explicit. Until the Government positively responds to my proposal, I cannot have any dialogue with them. But some members just came to my home, and I cannot stop anyone from visiting me at my home. I spoke to them with the same five-point formula and demanded that they acknowledge it. They replied that the Indian State might not explicitly accept Jammu and Kashmir as a disputed territory. For the rest of the four points, they will try their best to get it accepted by the Indian State. I told them categorically that if the first condition is not accepted, the rest of the conditions may not be helpful to move forward in the problems. The delegation returned and brought out an eight point formula, but that did not give any assurance of resolving the dispute Jammu and Kashmir. This was a conventional attempt to subvert the movement. The Indian Nation State has used similar modes of operandi. Whenever people forcefully demanded their right to referendum and came onto the streets, the Indian State used the methods of State terrorism to suppress that demand. On the other side, the Indian Nation-State pretends to be interested in dialogue and hoodwinks the world. On this occasion, they behaved in the same way. When the Parliamentarian delegation came, a strict curfew was imposed and an innocent was shot and killed. Tear gas, lathi charge, and then the unending cycle of arrests continued. These are methods of Indian imperialism whose aim is to make people tired, and discouraged, to break their will and make them bow in front of this brutally oppressive regime.

Omar Abdullah, on the floor of the [J&K] Assembly, said, "Jammu and Kashmir is an international dispute; it has been forcefully acceded to India, not merged with it". On the one hand, he said it is an International dispute, and on the other hand, he says it was acceded and this is contradictory. The majority of the population of Jammu and Kashmir questions this itself. Alastair Lamb, in his book, [*The Myth of Indian Claim to Jammu and Kashmir*] writes that the signature of Maharaja Hari Singh on the accession treaty is incorrect and unnatural: he calls it "The myth of Indian claim to Jammu and Kashmir." On the 6th of September, police and CRPF shot at the protesting crowd and killed four young people. *"Verily we belong to Allah and, verily to Him do we return."* The brave young men of Palhalan have set a record in offering sacrifices. They protest every day and strive to fulfil the role of the freedom fighter. May God accept their sacrifices and their role as the first line of resistance, and through their sacrifices, may we be successful in our holy mission. Ameen. The government, keeping in mind my participation in a post-bloody incident in Palhalan, put me under house arrest. That is why I could not go there.

Cultural and Environmental Imperialism

Chapter 72

In 2008, in a public rally, I had said that we are not against the Hindu 'Yatra' and will never be as it is a religious pilgrimage of our Hindu brothers. We cannot even imagine thinking against it. But this pilgrimage '*Yatra*' is turned into cultural imperialism, and in this '*Yatra,*' political colours overshadow the religious. The Pilgrimage should be organised for limited people and a short duration of time. If in Uttarakhand, to save ecology, the number of pilgrims are reduced then why is the same method not practised in Kashmir? Detailed report was published on 2nd of August 2012 in Greater Kashmir. We will present the report and leave it to the readers to draw their own conclusions. It is essential to note that the Supreme Court has

opined that Kashmir is being environmentally targeted under the guise of the pilgrimage "Yatra". Furthermore, it has been stated that this initiative is being taken in support of the soldiers who are engaged in fighting their adversaries on the border. (Press Information Bureau, 2008)[18]. The report of Press Information Bureau, 2008 was published in Greater Kashmir, on 2nd of August 2012.

Cultural Invasion

Indian Government and its political leadership, with a compressive plan, is massively attempting to Indianise the faith, beliefs, tradition, and lifestyle of the majority community in Jammu and Kashmir. Education, media, cultural programs, travel and tourism, and visits to

[18] Limit the Number: That is how we can save our ecology from destruction ENVIRONMENT. "Amarnath pilgrimage [Yatra] is again in news but this time not for transfer of forest land but for alarming increase of casualties during the Yatra. The yatra is getting bigger which has also resulted in environmental disaster. There is a ray of hope as the Supreme Court has taken note of casualties – and raised a question about the huge number of people visiting the cave shrine concerns with regard to environmental disaster were expressed by the people when 800 Kanals of land were transferred to the Shrine Board illegally in 2008. Here is a passage from my forthcoming 400-page book on Amarnath Land Row which shook Kashmir. It is no exaggeration to express that the people of Kashmir are facing ecological terrorism worst kind anywhere in the world, endangering the water source of the valley. Environmentalists alarm a forecast of Kashmir becoming "a desert" if things go in this way. Amarnath pilgrims started coming in large numbers in the 1990s during militancy in Kashmir. It was when right wing Hindus in the country wanted to exhibit a show of strength vis-à-vis militancy in Kashmir in the shape of a bigger Yatra. Since 1996, the government did not implement strictly the recommendations of Natish Sengupta Committee and Mukerji Committee, suggesting limiting the number of Yatris and fixing quota of Yatri to the States. Two committees were formed by the then National Conference government in 1996. The fact is that all the State governments from 1996 remained criminally silent on it with exception of a feeble assertion by the ex-Chief Minister Mufti Muhammad Sayeed in 2003, but he had to bow before centre's intervention. And now Kashmir is continuously facing ecological terrorism. When we make a comparison between the expansion of Amarnath Yatra in Kashmir with that of Yatras to Kilash Manserovar and Gangotri in Uttarakhand, the double standard of Sangh Parivar is evident. Kashmir cried against this ecological terrorism but they had to face bullets when they raised their voice against this vandalism. More than 66 precious lives were lost and more than 2000 were injured in 2008 when they demanded revocation of illegal transfer of the forest land to the Amarnath Shrine Board. But they were dubbed as communalists, separatists and Kashmir was blockaded, and people made Nik Hunt, a freelance journalist from the United Kingdom travelled to the Lidder valley in Pahalgam in July, 2008, to cover the Amarnath pilgrimage for the Guardian newspaper of UK. He believes that the Amarnath land row is an environmental issue that is being deliberately politicised by groups seeking to use it for their own ends. As an eye witness of this pilgrimage Nick Hunt pointed out. It was almost the same period during 2008 when the Sangh Parivar was crying in Kashmir for continuation of bigger Amarnath Yatra, it was because the Bharatiya Janata Party Government in Uttarakhand limited the number of pilgrims visiting Gangotri and Goumukh to 150 persons per day so as to protect the fragile ecology of the area. In Gangotri (Uttarakhand) also the glacier was affected by human intervention and that was also melting at a very fast rate. But the Government of Uttarakhand took the decision that they will allow only 150 persons to go there in a day. They have to return and they cannot camp there. Not only the government restricted the overall number of yatris for the seasonal period, the government boasted of taking this nature-friendly step through newspapers and editorials in Kashmir newspapers, which points at the double standards when it comes to dealing with Kashmir."

other states are attempts to wipe out the cultural and traditional indigenous practices of the people. In educational institutes, mostly dance and musical programs are held instead of education. Boys and girls mingle freely and sit together, half-naked girls dance in front of young boys and men, and they are offered good marks in the examination. In the Universities in Kashmir drugs and liqueur is made accessible to students by the state. In other universities, such programs are also organised and apart from that, '*Jana Gana Mana'*[19] is sung, and Muslims are advised to stand up as a mark of respect to this song. If the Governor or minister is presiding over the function, in that case who can choose not to get up? This is against the spirit and the teaching of Islam. The other comprehensive plan is to divide the people of Kashmir based on different schools of thought, and the Government supports those who intensify such division. These are not base accusations. This is observed as a ground reality by all of us. Those who expose such practices of cultural imperialism are incarcerated. For Muslims, the *Holy Quran* is the source of teaching and those who preach the teaching of the Holy Quran and the Prophet's *Sunnah* are put under house arrest and are not even allowed to offer Friday prayers. Why is it so? This is one way to impose cultural imperialism. The Mosques and pulpit are taken over and controlled by the secular, and on pulpits, they promote and focus on issues which are least important to the current political scenario. The teaching of the Holy Quran and *Sunnah* is the spring, centre and source for all believers, and it is not allowed to be propagated among the common man as desired by its spirit. The people are busy with debates, spirituality, Sufism, Kashmiriyat and culture but are unaware of the true spirit of Islam. These are sugar-coated pills which are given to simple people who love and respect their Sufis and saints. This can be said without any hesitation that all Sufis and saints in spirit and in deeds have advised people to follow the Holy Quran and *Sunnah.* All those who do not

[19] Jana Gana Mana is a national anthem of the Indian state, Geelani opposes Indian occupation hence opposes this song to be sung in the educational institutions.

practise the teachings of the Holy Quran and the *sunnah* easily become victims of deception and are deceived.

What could be better advice than this: Muslims should not follow Islamic culture, conventions and Islamic teaching without the interpretation of the Prophet? The other path leads to hell, which will trouble our dear Prophet when his followers are burning in hell. Our so-called leaders are not physically enslaved, but their minds are enslaved. To the people, they are saying that leaders fighting against the Indian occupation in Kashmir are exploiting the youth. In reality, they are deceiving youth and taking them away from their religion and culture.

On the one hand, they say that the new generation should not be deprived of education; that bandhs and protests should not be called because they affect education and on the other hand, they keep students busy with music and dance. On the parents' day celebration, such obscene programs are organised that the parents are shocked. In educational institutions, the focus should be only on education, writing, understanding, learning and query. But our immodest officials lure them towards dance and music. When students have been busy with such amusements, how can they be interested in education after that?

Attempts are made to turn the majority population of Jammu and Kashmir into a minority. People from other states are encouraged to marry girls of Jammu and Kashmir, and a 'State Subject Certificate'[20] is issued to them, and Rs. 50,000 is given to single Kashmiri men to marry a woman from outside Jammu and Kashmir. During Hari Singh's rule, the indigenous people had protection laws which forbade outsiders from buying land in Jammu and Kashmir.

[20] State subject is a domicile certificate issued to the permanent resident of Jammu and Kashmir.

The non-state subjects were not allowed to build and own homes in Jammu and Kashmir. But the power hungry are conspiring and attempting to weaken this special clause.

Alongside this, their culture is enforced in our homes. Those who claim to control corruption are immersed in corruption themselves. In the name of fashion, women are lured towards obscenity. TV programs are mostly based on obscenity and immorality. These programs have become so familiar at home that no other program is watched. To stop this institutionalised cultural imperialism, I sincerely appeal to people and suggest that in every locality counselling (Islahee) committee should be formed. Here, the God-fearing, kind, and people who fear the hereafter should become members. We must start building barricades in our own homes against this cultural invasion, otherwise this cultural flood will snatch away our treasure of religion, faith, Islam, honour, morality, piety, belief in the hereafter, respect for elders and affection for the younger; everything will be snatched away. Our life will be engulfed in the polytheistic culture and pleasure. As the prophet says: "Whoever follows the nation he belongs to them." I appeal to every Muslim in Jammu and Kashmir to not neglect the teachings of the Prophet and support those who want to stop this cultural imperialism. If you cannot support it for any reason, do not oppose those who are fighting this cultural invasion as well.

Measures to Counter this Cultural Imperialism

Most of the people living in Jammu and Kashmir are Muslims. We have our own unique culture, traditions, lifestyle, faith, belief and human values, which our elders have nurtured through their hard work and through continuous struggle. The foundation of this is in the Holy Quran, which was revealed during the fasting month of Ramzan and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. This civilization and culture is a very rich treasure of Muslims. Therefore, whenever any Muslim group or country came under attack from imperialistic forces, the champions of secular

imperialism first targeted this treasure. Muslims partly ruled Spain for eight hundred years[21]. The Muslim rule got over because of internal unrest and external conspiracies. The education is the only assurance to protect the civilization and culture of any nation. When the British[22] [Not the British rather Northern Catholic Kingdom or Crusade] took over, they introduced their education and all other sources to enforce their religion and culture to wipe out the Islamic values and cultural identity. Today in Spain, the biggest mosque in Spain (Mosque cathedral of Cordoba*)* where eight thousand (800) people can pray at a time, its walls are carvings for the Minaret Call. Allama Iqbal, with tearful eyes, has said.

Within Jammu and Kashmir, the occupational forces have the same plan, to target the culture of the majority community and to get rid of their educational system, their moral and human values. Materialism is considered the ultimate goal of human life. And the philosophy that "Baber, enjoy your entire life, your will never get this world again", (*Baber be Aish Kosh, ki alam dobarah neesth*)[23], is enforced in lives. As a result, human values and spirituality is dying every day.

During the recent budget session, the so-called Muslim Finance Minister boasted that the state had earned revenue through the liquor tax of twenty crores; this had been only ten crores the previous financial year. Which means the sale of liquor has doubled. Liquor is the mother of all evils, and if you make it available everywhere, then the doors of all evil will open. In *Eidgahs* and parks, young boys and girls are given complete freedom, and the police on duty are given instructions not to enquire who is doing what. What is the nature of the relationship?

[21]The Muslim partly ruled Spain from 711-1492, on certain parts it was as long as 28 years but Muslim never ruled entire Spain for 800. Rather ruled part of it.
[22] Not the British rather the Northern Kingdom of the Catholics overthrew Muslim rule.
[23] It is stanza of a Persian poetry, which means that, one does not get life and this world again, therefore must live it fully.

The young boys and girls are holding hands and walking. The parents are not worried about it. The teachers do not give any importance to the protection of morality. The morality of this society is dying, and we are tolerating it. In such a situation, our treasure is getting looted, and our identity is diminishing. The biggest tragedy in this situation is that we are unaware of it.

Who will teach an enslaved nation that the real treasure of the nation is not flyovers, high-rise buildings and material luxuries? The real treasure is religion, culture, morality, honour, humanity, brotherhood, piety, concern, encouragement and justice. When these values are wiped out, your palaces, bank balances, and suitable positions cannot stop you from getting buried under the onslaught of atheistic cultures. And the future generation will not even remember what their past was.

Allama Iqbal wrote a letter in 1933 to Zahir Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, and advised him not to allow western culture in Afghanistan. Because in every era, this secular culture has been at loggerheads with the people of truth. This secular culture is an old dacoit. Its travesty is explicit, and as a result, the 'black stain on the rose is removed.' Which is its identity, and it (Muslim Nation) keeps lamenting that where has it vanished and who has snatched it.

Muslims, protectors of Islamic culture and its traditions are confused between ideology and implementation. They are caught between different schools of thoughts, country, colour, race, ethnicity and caste. The so-called secular ideology is exploiting Muslims for their own objectives, and through them, they [secular forces] are wiping out the features of Islamic civilization. In the name of mysticism, spirituality, in the name of Music vulgarity, in the name of Kashmiriyat, hero-worship, idol worship of shrines, they [Muslims] are being pushed away

from their real sources of guidance: the Holy Quran and *Sunnah*. When a Muslim is away from their real teaching, he only destroys the imprints of Islamic civilization, values and features.

Not only in Jammu and Kashmir but throughout the world, in order to protect the features of Islamic civilization and culture, we must leave our differences aside and collectively get back to the teaching of the Holy Quran and *Sunnah*. This is the only remedy against the expanding cultural imperialism and oppression. I appeal to the oppressed people of Jammu and Kashmir to bring awareness and accountability and to hereafter stay united, unidirectional and focused to stop the political and cultural onslaught of the Indian State. This is the only assurance to be successful in this world and hereafter. The Idols of the ignorance era are presented in different forms, and Muslims become their followers; hence, in such circumstances, awareness should be our slogan:

The modern era has covered idols in a new garb;

I will not be away from Islam. Because its foundation is solid.

The Martyrdom of Mohammad Afzal Guru

Chapter 80

This blood, shed by the innocent, will not go in vain,

But how blessed are those drops that flow only for the sake of God.

The resistance of Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir against the oppression and occupation of the Indian State is a bright chapter of our history, and those people who sacrificed their lives during this resistance, lit the candle of hope. All those who became victims of the oppression of the Indian State and sacrificed their lives are like a candle challenging the darkness. Regarding this, the most recent example is Mohammad Afzal Guru. He was brutally hanged in

Tihar Jail on 9th February 2013. This act did not only expose the so-called largest democracy and its justice system but put forth the worst example of state terrorism in front of the entire world. This is proof of its moral and political decadence and a symbol of the failure of the Kashmir Policy.

The Context of the Martyrdom

There is no doubt that this was a shady political conspiracy. This cannot damage Kashmir's Freedom Movement; rather, this martyrdom will renew the Kashmir movement and will give it new strength. The conspiracy was hatched against an innocent person who was implicated as a terrorist. He was incarcerated for thirteen years and waited for his execution. Not only was the due process not followed, the laws were also broken; he was not allowed to meet his wife or children prior to his execution. His family wasn't even informed of his hanging beforehand.

What kind of democracy is this, and what sort of upcoming world power is this which is afraid of the dead bodies of Martyrs? Neither Mohammad Maqbool Bhat's body nor Afzal Guru's body was handed over to the family members.

The intentions and the message of Indian leadership for the people of Kashmir is crystal clear in this: the fear of the martyr's body is evident and has been explained. But, the writer of a piece published in the English daily, *The Guardian*, is of the opinion that the two empty graves in the 'Martyrs Graveyard' in Kashmir are meant for these two martyrs whose remains are still awaited. And now these graves will only become tombs of resistance. These empty and open graves are symbols of resistance and a reminder of the ongoing freedom struggle. On this path to freedom, there is a continuous call for more sacrifices from Muslims. And this is an expression of desire and determination that one day, God willing, the Muslims of Jammu and

Kashmir will be liberated from the oppression of the Indian State and will decide their own future. And then they will bury those two dead bodies to the waiting empty graves, which they have been deprived of today. That day is not far when these two empty graves will welcome their residents.

The Murder of Justice

The Supreme Court, in their decision, accepted three facts:

1. There is no circumstantial evidence or proof that Mohammad Afzal Guru is involved in this case.
2. There is no proof that he was associated with any terrorist organisation.
3. The material of secondary evidence which police/investigation agencies have submitted to court is not transparent, rather is full of contradictions at every level.

After accepting these facts, the Court still endorsed capital punishment which is a blot on the Indian judiciary. Given below is the verdict of the Supreme Court, which should be viewed as the murder of Justice and as judicial terrorism.

> He was not among those terrorists who attacked Parliament nor was he among those who fired at security forces. Out of those six, three were killed. And there is no witness who can prove his criminal conspiracy, but this incident has shaken the nation. The consciousness of the nation will be satisfied only after Afzal Guru is hanged.

Therefore, one person has to be hanged so that the so-called “collective consciousness” will be satisfied. What else could be an example of a more ugly and reprehensible Judicial Murder than this?

The Uncomfortable question of World Consciousness

We are not saying that do not hang Afzal Guru. What we are saying is that his version of the story must be heard. Which has not happened thus far. His wife Tabassum says, "I am requesting, please hear us too. Then you can decide whether justice has happened or not. Our story is like that of thousands of Kashmiris who face this brutality." (Hamid Naqvi: Dawn 2nd of October, 2006)

According to Praful Bidwai, executing someone based on the uncertain evidence presented by the investigation agencies would go against one's conscience. Therefore, as the President has the power and rationale to do so, he must prevent this wrongful execution. This statement was published in Front Line on October 20th, 2006.

"It takes only ten minutes to hang somebody but in its aftermath the situation can be critical, dangerous and everlasting. And those who are thirsty for his blood are not friends but enemies of India." (Ashok Mitra: Telegraph 10th November 2006)

The Supreme Court believes that such terrorist acts endanger the country's unity and sovereignty and only capital punishment would compensate for the loss of the country. I disagree with that. I think for such acts of terrorism, the verdict must be based on proof. Not to make anyone a sacrificial goat. (Sonia Jabbar: Hindustan Times of 17th October 2006)

The Capital punishment of Afzal Guru will have an everlasting effect. (A. G. Noorani: Hindustan Times 24th October 2006)

> During a visit to Tihar Jail, I [Indira Jai Singh] had the opportunity to meet Afzal Guru. Despite his circumstances, he appeared calm and composed, and we engaged in conversation. Afzal said, he was an ordinary person, who ran small businesses and provided tuition classes for children. In response, I mentioned that his brother had labelled him a terrorist who deserved to be hanged. Afzal Guru simply laughed it off and explained that his brother had been under pressure from the police and STF while in custody. As our conversation continued, I showed Afzal Guru a writ petition and asked if he had anything to add. He questioned why he had been given capital punishment and other ten years of imprisonment who had been accused of the same crime. He then went on to explain that others had better advocate and that was the reason for the difference the sentences. (Indira Jai Singh)

> The one thing that is evident is that power politics is like a game of chess. In which every political party is willing to jump into any pit of immorality to defeat their opponents. This is a message of the occupational forces to unarmed Kashmiris. Bend down or the gallows are not far. This dark shadow can snatch milk from the lips of children and medicine from the elderly. India has accepted that even dead Kashmir is dangerous for its power. Hence, the dead body has to be arrested as well. (Mirza Waheed, 15th of February, 2013)

The Indian Government secretly on 9th February of 2013, at 8:00 AM, hanged Mohamad Afzal Guru in Tihar Jail. *"Verily we belong to Allah and, verily to Him do we return."* His family, wife Tabassum and his only son Galib Guru were neither given prior information nor were they allowed to meet him for the last time. This is the legal responsibility of the government. He was alleged to be part of a conspiracy of the parliament attack. His wife had appealed to the

President of India but he rejected the appeal. After this the law permitted him to appeal to the Apex Court. He was deprived of this opportunity as well. He was buried next to Mohammad Maqbool Bhat who was hanged on 11th February 1984. His family and the people of Jammu and Kashmir demanded the return of the body. But the Home Minister of India refused this demand as well.

On the 9th of February, I was staying with my family in Maliyah Nagar, New Delhi. In Kashmir, the people were shell-shocked when they saw the massive mobilisation of security forces. In certain places, the rumour was that Geelani is very sick and he is not able to talk. From Srinagar, many people called me up to enquire about my health and expressed their concern. After some time the news broke out that Afzal Guru had been hanged and this mobilisation of security forces was to suppress the expected reaction. In the meantime, Iftekhar Geelani and Dr. Nayeem arrived as well. It was decided that we must go to Tihar Jail and ask for the dead body and then leave from there to Srinagar. We were just looking for tickets. There was a huge knock at the door and without any permission, the Delhi Police, in civil clothes, along with two female constables, came inside and arrested me. They took my phone and advised that we speak in Hindi only. The Delhi Police continued this obstinacy and torture for the entire day. In the evening, they were told to go outside as it was difficult to accommodate so many people in a two bedroom flat. It did not look decent but the police are morally corrupt already and when it comes to Kashmiri Muslims they crush the law under their feet. The police force could have stayed outside. We did not have any other exit. But this xenophobic police wanted to trouble us, therefore just stayed inside. In the tiny room where all my family members were there. I felt strongly that it was extremely rude behaviour of the police to sit inside and sit there forcefully; as time passed, this realisation increased. We repeatedly told them to sit outside. I told them no law permits them to intrude on our privacy. But the realisation of being helpless,

suppressed, victim and of slavery was on my mind. For an entire family, this unpleasant situation lasted for thirty-two hours. The police was guarding the entire road by home to the main road. No one was allowed to come and no one was allowed to go out. They had taken our phones, hence there was no possibility of contacting anyone in Srinagar. This situation lasted for nineteen days. Ghulam Nabi Ratun Puri, Rajaya Sabha Member came to visit on the 24th and we exchanged greetings on the staircase. He was surrounded by a police escort. He was not allowed to come inside the house. On his second visit, he got permission from senior officers and spoke while a police officer was present. Dr Sameer Koul too came to visit me. He is a good friend and visits often. On 27th February, after nineteen days we got relieved and free from this troublesome situation. Thanks be to God. During this period in Srinagar, curfew and many incidents took place in which protesters were shot at. The entire state was hijacked and people were not even allowed to mourn the death of Afzal Guru.

Joint Consultative Committee (JCC)

In the meantime, the pro-freedom organisation formed the Joint Consultative Committee (JCC). Their one-point agenda was to demand the mortal remains of the two martyrs back from Tihar Jail. MMM proposed a protest calendar, which included bandh and protests. The people supported this protest calendar as they loved their martyrs infinitely and respected them. Where rulers are stubborn, and their stooges are worse, where bullets and oppression shuts every democratic and peaceful voice, these protests of the oppressed voices are not understood by them dozen of mourners of Afzal Guru were shot at and martyred. After this, Sushil Kumar Shinday, Home Minister of India, arrogantly said that the state would not return the remains of Mohmmad Afzal Guru and Mohammad Maqbool Bhat to their respective families and the Kashmiri Nation.

The Tragedy of the Gool Gulab Garh

Chapter 82

As per the media report, on the 18th of July 2013, around 10 PM, when *tarawih*[24] prayers were going on, four soldiers entered the mosque in an inebriated state (where three were in uniform and one in civil clothes) and started questioning Abdul Lateef (s/o Abdul Rasheed resident of Darum), the mosque Imam and head of the local Islamic seminary objected to their entry into the mosque while they were still wearing their shoes, as this is unacceptable in the etiquette followed in any mosque. For this, they manhandled him, hit him with gun butts, tore the Holy Holy Quran, and left. This scene was seen and filmed by a truck driver and sent to some people, and later many gathered there and protested for the entire night. In the morning, around 6:00 AM, there was a massive gathering. They raised slogans and were walking towards the BSF camp when the BSF soldiers shot at them, in which six got critically injured. They were taken to Rambun hospital, and two were shifted to Srinagar. Meanwhile, Sham Vinod Meena, DC Ramban and Javaid Mattoo, S. P. Ramban, reached the venue and assured the people that there would be an investigation into this incident. The protesting people demanded the arrest of culprits who had desecrated the mosque. When people raised the slogan again, the BSF shot at the crowd at 10.30 AM and murdered four people, and more than two dozen were injured. The eye witnesses say that the BSF shot at the protesting crowd directly while DC was present nearby. The sixteen injured were taken by road and by helicopter to the Jammu Medical College. Many among them were critical. Among the martyrs were Abdul Lateef, Imam of the mosque, Lecturer Manzoor Ahmad Khan, s/o Abdul Rahman Khan, resident of Moilah Gol, Javaid Ahmad Manhas, s/o Abdul Sattar Manhas, resident of More Bheem, Dasagol, Farooq Ahmad Baig, s/o Ghulam Ahmad, resident of Sulbailah.

[24] Special prayers offered by Muslim after the evening prayers, during fasting month of Ramadan.

Unravelling the Jammu and Kashmir Conundrum through Historical Facts

Chapter 93

The last ruler of Jammu and Kashmir was the last Dogra, Hari Singh. The Indian National Congress and the National Conference had established contact with him before the Partition. Both political parties colluded, and hence Hari Singh came into an alliance with the Indian State. The conspiracy was hatched and accomplished through the 'Radcliffe award' during the Partition. India annexed the Gurdaspur district to straighten the way to snatch away Kashmir. Hence, the temporal annexation was conditioned by the Indian Nation-State with a referendum. Not only to the masses but to the entire world, it has been said that the final decision will be taken by the people independently. There will be no malpractice or deception in this process. In this regard, a few passages from Rt. Hon, Sir Fredric Bennet's book, *Kashmir Today* will guide us on the Kashmir dispute, the promises of the Indian leaders and the United Nations resolution.

If relevant paragraphs to Kashmir are carefully read, one can understand that the Indian state has digressed from its promises on national as well as international forums. The Indian state, only by the might of its military, is controlling these disputed regions. In this regard, the United Nations has failed to pressurise the Indian State to implement UNO's resolution with regard to dispute of Jammu and Kashmir, and powerful countries could not convince the Indian State to keep its promise as well. As a result, since 1947, the majority of the people from Jammu and Kashmir, have adopted the path of sacrifice and have offered great sacrifices.

In these circumstances, neither the so-called secularism could bring any shift in the Indian State's stance, nor did the American "New World Order" bring forth any solution. The failure of the international bodies, our helplessness and their bias is as explicit as the brightness of the day. Where will this desperate humanity go? Where will victims and helpless people go

whose fundamental rights are snatched by force? What will they do? Which path will they adopt? How will they get liberated from this situation which has been enforced on them by the military might of the occupational forces?

Is Kashmir Problem an Internal Issue?

Is the 'Kashmir Dispute' only an internal issue? To those people or groups who speak and spread such rumours, I submit to them, for their scrutiny, these aforementioned issues under the light of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. The basic objective of the Holy Quran is that Islam is the perfect way of life. Through this fundamental stance, it is incumbent upon them to work for Islam's supremacy and to establish Islamic governance. One must have this assurance that this land belongs to them and they can rule it as well. The autocratic rulers will never allow us to implement and establish an Islamic system. The constitution and law of the occupational forces is enforced but what is the real position under the light of historical facts? If the occupation is established by force, then Islam demands that the occupier must be told that their authority is unconstitutional, immoral and the resistance against them is our right. Then the different cycles of struggle are decided. In this context we read the history of Jammu and Kashmir as having fought against this occupation at every level, in every era. This is a different issue that the top leadership of this holy resistance were deceived and forced to bow down. After this, only an armed struggle commenced, then the everlasting sacrifices were offered, and there is no village, city or town left, no person or family who is not affected by this bloody resistance. I want to make it clear that 'armed struggle is not our hobby'. This is the sacrifice of our dear youth; in such combat, the weak have to pay a greater price. But, ultimately, the truth will prevail and be victorious. In history, power has never defeated Truth, and Truth has prevailed and held its head high because it is the natural law. We, with the help of God's

revelation, are fighting against a power like India. We firmly believe that sooner or later, we will get freedom from the slavery of India. Allah willing.

After September 11th, 2001, the circumstances changed. 'Uncle Sam'[25] ordered everyone to become their soldiers and to use arms and ammunition as desired by the USA. The USA will also direct the direction of warplanes. According to this new definition, any dissent against its will can be considered 'Terrorism.' To suppress dissent, the occupational forces will be given all kinds of assistance. Since the United Nations is their baby, the decrees will be pronounced through UNO too. After this new 'World Order,' the occupational forces became stronger and more brutal in strengthening their occupation. As per this new 'decree,' many heads of the state, ignored their self-respect and honour, allowing their land to be used against their neighbours' destruction so that they could get appreciation from the USA. Having supported the brutality of the USA, the entire nation [of Pakistan] has been suffering for a decade and half.

Because of this new law, throughout the world, all fascists and vicious rulers and dictators got complete freedom to be more brutal. Indian Imperialism, through its deception and Machiavellian Politics, dishonoured its constitution and law to suppress our rightful demand, which is based on facts. The Indian State attempted to convince the entire world that India, too, is a victim of terrorism. Despite that, our struggle continued, and it will continue, Allah willing. As I have mentioned earlier, if the Indian Nation-State leaves aside its stubbornness and accepts the 'Truth,' then the combat approach can be abandoned. But when peaceful and political means are controlled, then combat is enforced and remains the last resort. But if human rights and moral virtues are not respected, it does not take much time for it to turn into a 'riot.' So, it

[25] Uncle Sam is referred to the United State of America (USA)

becomes important for those who are willing to sacrifice their lives for this movement to be stained with human rights violations at any point in time and stain their moral values and destroy their world and hereafter. If human and moral virtues are not respected, the fear is that the individual and collective sacrifices may go in vain. If God does not grant us His guidance and support towards this noble aim, the struggle might not be successful. Moreover, the primary aim of the struggle is to establish the supremacy of Islam. If people begin to question the tenets of Islam, it would result in an irreparable loss that cannot be compensated, even if liberation is attained.

Therefore, to achieve the objective, sincerity and unity is the only criteria, we have to keep the struggle as 'holy' and 'united' as possible. So that the support and assistance of the oppressed community can be gained. And we have to keep aside the physical desires, complications, detestations and enmities. To target anyone because of political, religious, race, caste, and regional differences can become a reason which will destroy the movement. And those who are involved in it cannot be sincere and honest towards the struggle, even though they may claim so.

Is Kashmir Dispute only a political Dispute?

This is often heard and discussed: is the 'Kashmir Dispute' only a political dispute? Not only among the common people but among intellectuals as well (such as Ghulam Muhammad Bhat, the former of the JIJ&K) this question has been predominant. The same JIJ&K is considered as the nursery of the resistance. I do not doubt the intentions of such people. I am sure he meant that the 'Kashmir Dispute' has nothing to do with Islam. I, too, think it is a political and human issue. But it has everlasting consequences. Because of this dispute, our religion is impacted; hence, it becomes a religious issue, and because our economy gets affected, it

becomes an economical issue. Our culture is snatched, and then it becomes a cultural issue too; forcefully, our land is taken away from us, and we are compelled to migrate. Which part of our life is not affected by this dispute? On our water bodies, large hydro-electrical projects are constructed and electricity generated, but electricity is supplied to mainland India, and we are forced into darkness. The imperialist and their stooges are giving this justification that they are increasing revenue by selling liquor, hence making it available everywhere. Although the members of J&K Assembly from Jammu supported a ban on liquor, the Assembly members from Kashmir, all Muslims, maintained a criminal silence. And then these people paint shrines and deceive people. Through a well-planned strategy, the younger generation is pushed into the curse of drug addiction. In the name of 'Kashmiriyat' the educational institutions are made the centres of dancing and singing. The boys and girls are made to dance to the beat of drums. For months together, the girls are sent outside Kashmir to visit different cities and states under the supervision of the army. One shocking piece of news has come to light that most of these girls, on their return, have to go through an abortion. Recently, BBC reported that during the festival of Holi, Rs. sixty crores of liquor were sold in New Delhi alone. Throughout the world, 30% of liquor is consumed in India. This is an important component of India's revenue.

How has the Kashmir issue remained a political one? Because of this dispute, what have we not suffered? Is it not our individual and collective, religious and moral responsibility, to raise our voices against such oppression and brutality? If this resistance can be justified by religion, then those who consider it to be only a political dispute are those who believe in segregation of state from religion [secularism]. They may be the so-called religious leaders and players of political chess, but for me, politics is religion and religion is politics. Because since I became mature, this is my belief that Islam is a perfect way of life. It guides all spheres of life; a religion

that guides people on the etiquette of even entering a home, how can it neglect such an important aspect like politics?

"If religion's lost, and Freedom's crown's achieved,

In such a twilight, Muslim's plight is grieved!"

(Unknown)

Only Two Paths!

In my opinion there are two ways to get liberated from such a painful, tragic and cruel military occupation. One way is we, the oppressed, helpless and weak, bow in front of blind power, surrender our rights, continue to live under this oppression as slaves and be content. But, how can we survive with our faith and communities' identity in such a situation? We have been having this practical experience for sixty-seven years. The occupational forces who rule by power slowly and steadily snatch away the right to life from the oppressed nation. If you do not believe, see the situation of the Palestinians. See the plight of Gujrati Muslims, how they were burnt alive in their own homes and forced to migrate. This transpires because of the collusion among those in power, police from the majority and the administration.

The second option is to continue our struggle, which is based on truth. At the individual level, there can be some aberrations of weakness, bowing down, and people changing loyalties in lieu of economic benefit. But as a community, we should not think about surrendering. The hypocrites will become stooges of the occupational forces and oppressors will try to sabotage the holy freedom struggle. In the past it has happened and will continue to happen. The prophets were mountains of prominence and determination, during their own era. If the majority of the people are filled with belief and unity and if they are determined, firm and show patience, then circumstances can and will change. The powerful people do not have a certificate to hold power

forever. Their power gets buried under the weight of the brutality which they execute. In history such examples are present and will continue to be so. Hafeez Marathi has put this in a couplet:

"Do not let your pride bring you down, Time has thrown down greater ones than you."

For the oppressed, the Holy Quran and Sunnah have advised the second path. Prophets, saints and holy men of God have shown us the second path. Our ancestors and men of great repute have taught us the same. Honour, decorum and faith demand that we follow the same path, which is victorious.

The righteous are advised to stand firm in difficulties and in trying circumstances. And further advised not to worry and not to be afraid of brutality unleashed upon them by oppressive forces. The Holy Quran has repeatedly advised believers about this. But in the Holy Quranic Surah Room, in its last verse, God advises his dear Prophet, Pbuh, thus:

> "*Therefore, (O Prophet), have patience. Surely Allah`s promise is true. Let those who lack certainty not cause you to be unsteady*" (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 30: 60)
>
> Commentary: That is, "Let not the enemies find you so weak as to suppress you by their uproar, nor to subdue you by their campaign of slander-mongering, nor to dishearten you by their jesting, taunts and derision, nor frighten you by their threats, show of power and persecution, nor allure you by offering baits, nor make you affect a compromise with them based on their appeals in the name of national interests. Instead of this, they should find you so sagacious in the awareness of your objective, so firm in faith and conviction, so resolute in determination, and so strong that they should neither be able to subdue you by threats nor purchase you nor lure you away by temptation, nor strike any bargain with you in the matter of the faith. This whole theme has been compressed

> in a short sentence by Allah, saying: "Let not those who lack faith find your light." Now, this is borne out by the firm evidence of history that the Prophet (peace be upon him) proved to be as invincible and indomitable as Allah wanted His last Prophet to be. Anyone who tried his strength with him in any field and sphere was routed, and eventually, the Prophet (peace be upon him) succeeded in bringing about the desired revolution despite every kind of opposition and resistance put up by the whole of polytheistic and unbelieving Arabia." (*Towards Understanding the Quran*, 767-768)

From the holy Holy Quran this is the logistics for the true seekers. With the help of this the true seeker can successfully face challenges, ups and downs in life and will succeed. We, equipped with patience and endurance, will make the tactics of the enemy, cruel and occupiers useless. With this logistic the seeker will not stop, bend, or be bought. With this logistics the true seeker can make his belief and faith strong. With the treasure of determination and endurance, will succeed in achieving the holy objective. The endurance and steadfastness is the only counter to the dirty attacks and deception of the enemy.

Conclusion

SA Geelani (1929-2021), the strongest voice of Kashmir, was called and still remembered as the "Bub" or Father of the Kashmir. Hence, the significance of his three-volume autobiography *Wular Kinare* (2011, 2012, 2015) cannot be gainsaid. And my endeavour has been to translate selected chapters of his autobiography into English for non-Urdu readers, thereby promoting cross-cultural understanding by bridging gaps between different linguistic and cultural communities and fostering empathy and appreciation for diverse perspectives. Though I have already translated all the three volumes, comprising about 1945 pages in 293 chapters, including four prefaces by the author and three by the publishers, into English, in this thesis I have included only 46 chapters, including three prefaces, for the sake of brevity. I also hope to publish my translations in its entirety as well as in a selection soon.

Given that Geelani's autobiography is laced with ample quotations from Arabic, Persian, Punjabi, ranging from the Quran, Allama Iqbal, Maudoodi (or Maududi), and many others, the translation was not at all an easy task. Though immensely happy in accomplishing the task, I am also unhappy that I could not pause to explore many of the vistas opened by Geelani. For example, I would have loved to explore the imprint of Iqbal's poetry or the issue of secularism or the numerous unsung heroes in Geelani's autobiography, which I hope to pursue at a later stage. But I also take comfort in the thought that my translation endeavour would provide opportunities for in-depth analyses and scholarly exploration of various aspects of SA Geelani's work, allowing for a deeper understanding of his perspectives, literary techniques, and themes.

The translation of *Wular Kinare* opens and offers a compelling and challenging perspective to non-Kashmiris about the ongoing Jammu and Kashmir conflict as outlined by one of the most astute and active minds of our times. Hence, this translation provides an opportunity for both internal reflection and global consideration. Although SA Geelani is no longer with us, his ideology continues to resonate with millions, making and marking a way forward to an amicable resolution, even as we experiment with various articles, amendments, and abrogations.

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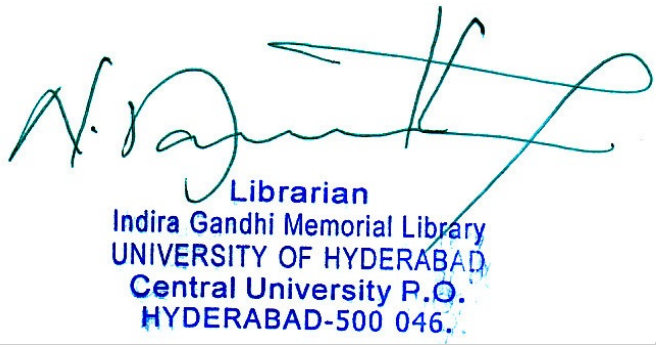
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by Zamir Ahmad Butt



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Autobiographical Translation: Issues of Ideological Equivalency and Functional Equivalency

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Abstract:

This article examines the challenges of translating autobiographical texts from narratological perspectives, using examples from the experience of the translator while translating *Wular Kinare* (2015), the autobiography of Sayed Ali Geelani, from Urdu into English. The translator experienced two types of challenges in translating the autobiography, issues of ideological equivalency and functional equivalency. The ideological affiliations of the author, political contexts of the text and the cultural manifestations in the language of the autobiography bothered the translator. The author, who stood for the separation of the Kashmir Valley, headed the resistive movements against the Indian rule in the Kashmir Valley, and being a strong proponent of an Islamic state, has integrated many politico-religious ideologies in his autobiography. Understanding this complex consolidation of ideologies in the text and performing a faithful translation is a herculean task for the translator. Beyond this, the translator also confronted several textual challenges, functional complexities and the writing style in the process of translation.

Keywords: autobiography, Kashmir, translation, ideological equivalency, functional equivalency.

Introduction

Translating autobiography is a complex process that involves a lot of challenges as it is a personal narrative that narrates the subjective experiences of a person (Ingraham 55). Translating the autobiographies of persons who had been engaged in complex political affairs is an even more complex process as their narrative may contain a lot of ideologies and political convictions

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Portrayal of Kashmir in Bollywood: The Real and the Cinematic Space

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Abstract- The Hindi films, produced between 1960 and 1990, have considerably employed the Kashmir Valley as a cinematic space for the expression of a new youthful modernity for the urban Indians spectators. The cinematic space created in these films, through the romantic stories and use of colour technology, portrayed Kashmir as a normal space. The pleasure presented in these Hindi films ironically veiled the atmosphere of the deep gloom of the political tension within Kashmir. By taking four representative samples from Hindi films, produced between 1960 and 1990, which used the Kashmir Valley as backdrop for narrating the story, this paper examines how the films have concealed the cold feet in Kashmir. The paper claims that the portrayal of the unwarranted beauty of the Kashmir Valley in the films is certainly questionable as Kashmir these films do not represent the 'real' place and people and argues that there is a disconnect between the film narratives and the real Kashmiri culture and ethos.

Keywords – Bollywood, Kashmir, Hindi films, Indian Cinema

I. INTRODUCTION

The Kashmir Valley has been a favourable cinematic space for Hindi filmmakers from the early days of Bollywood. In the first decades of independence, from the 1950s through the 1980s, Kashmir was a prime shooting destination for Indian filmmakers of so-called Bollywood films (Akhtar 2). Several filmmakers, from the inception of Bollywood, have employed the image of Kashmir for enacting romance, escapism and fantastic complications in their film narratives. Simple boy and girl romances, the narration of missing children, disguises, or mistaken identities were the repeated formulas in Hindi films that used the image of Kashmir Valley in their setting. This cinematic formula trapped the Kashmir Valley in cinematic excess which enhanced the nostalgia of the non-Kashmiris about the romanticised images of Kashmir.

Bollywood cinema remarkably cultivated people's perceptions of identity, belonging, and the "other" (Rajadhyaksha and Willemen10). Being Bollywood cinema a very significant medium that represents Indian culture, it influences and captures the minds and emotions of Indians. Bollywood cinema has a long history and a deep influence in Indian culture (Akhtar 2). Therefore, the portrayal of Indian history as well as different aspects of Indian society and issues of popular interest often influence the public and create cinematic images as a real picture of the society that the cinema portrays. When the spectators leave the cinema hall, they leave with a permanent impression of images of people and circumstances" in the real world that movie-goers lack the proper context to understand (Kaul, 44). It is in this background the representation of certain sections of the society, especially Kashmir and its populace in a particular 'frame of cinema matters. The Hindi cinema represented the Islamicated cultures of Kashmir in Bollywood creates a lot of confusion and misperceptions about the region, its people and culture.

Bollywood has been an important genre for the articulation of Muslim cultures even during the period of silent cinema in India. However, the Muslim 'social' genre in Hindi film, which emerged in the early 1940s with *Najma* (1943), enriched the tradition of *mushaira*[1], *qawwali*[2] and *dastangowi*[3] in Indian films. The films of this genre were culturally potent and provided an aesthetically rich reservoir of images to represent Muslim communities. Gradually, these genres concentrated and were distilled into iconographic and narrative idioms shaped by the requirements of popular Hindi cinema. From the emergence of Bollywood, especially after the 1960s, Hindi

[1] The Mushaira is a poetry symposium at which poets recite their compositions.
[2] Qawwali is a form of Sufi devotional music popular in South Asia, particularly, in areas with a strong Muslim presence.
[3] Dastangoi or the art of story-telling in Urdu dating back to medieval Iran, where dastangos or narrators used to recite tales around camp fires. The famous dasngoi is Shahnama.

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