



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CREATIVE RESEARCH THOUGHTS (IJCRT)

An International Open Access, Peer-reviewed, Refereed Journal

Clinching facts of Indian Independence (relating to the people of Jammu & Kashmir state)

Sumer Khajuria

Advocate

Ward No 2 Indira Nagar

Udhampur

Role of Subhas Chandra Bose

Subhash Chandra Bose who arrived in German in April 1941, where the German leadership offered unexpected support and ambivalent sympathy for the cause of India's Independence, contrasting starkly with its attitude towards other colonized peoples and ethnic communities¹. In November 1941, with German funds, a free India Centre was set up in Berlin and soon a free India Radio also set up on which Bose used to broadcast mightily. A strong 3000 free India Legion comprising Indians captured by Ervin Rommel's Africa corps was also formed to aid in a possible future German land and freedom of India². From the very start of the World War II the Japanese Intelligence services noted from speaking about the captured Indian soldiers by Germany that Bose was held extremely high regards on a nationalist and considered by the Indian soldiers to be the right person to be leading a rebel army³.

In a series of meeting between the Indian National Army leaders and Japanese in 1943, it was decided to cede the leadership of IIL and the Indian National Army also called as Azad Hind Fouz formed in 1942 with Mohan Singh as its commander in Chief, be handed over to Subhash Chander Bose as its commander in Chief. In January 1943, the Japanese invited Bose to lead the Indian Nationalist movement in East India⁴. He accepted and left Germany on 8th February. After a three month journey by Submarine and short stop at Singapore, he reached Tokyo on 11th May 1943. In Tokyo he met Hideki Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister and the Japanese High commad. He then arrived in Singapore in July 1943, where he made number of broadcasts to Indians in South

East Aisa exhorting them to join in fight for India's independence⁵. On July 4, 1943 i.e. 2 days after reaching Singapore, Subhash Chandra Bose assumed the leadership of the IIL and the Indian National Army in a ceremony at Cathay Building. Bose's influence was notable. His appeal reinvigorated the INA, which had previously consisted mainly of prisoners of War ; it also attracted Indian expatriates in South Asia. He famously proclaimed that "Give me blood ! I will give you freedom".

Local civilians joined Indian National Army, doubling its strength. They included barristers, traders and plantation as well as Khudawadi Sindhi Sawarkars who were working as Shopkeepers, despite many had no military experience. The first Indian National Army is considered to have comprised about 40,000 troops of whom about 4000 withdrew when it was disbanded in December 1942. The Indian National Army started with 12,000 troops. Further recruitment of former Indian Army personnel about eight to ten thousands. Belle estimated almost 20 thousand were local Malayan Indians while another 20 thousand were ex-British Indian Army member who volunteered for the Indian National Army. The Indian National Army was a believer in women power thus Rani of Jhansi Regiment was formed as all-women soldiers under Azad Hind Fauz. The women were given training like night marches, bayonet charges, tactical combat, weapon skills and made ready for battle. Its notable commander was Lakshmi Swaminathan, Janaki Devar and its main role was of Guerrilla infantry and Nursing Corps. She was also Minister of Women's Affairs in Azad Hind Government. She was born of 24th October 1914 in Pattambi, Malabar District of Present Kerala State and expired on 23rd July 2012 at the age of 97 at Kanpur Uttar Pradesh. She was awarded Padam Vibhushan in 1998, and honorary doctorate Degree bestowed by University fo Calicut in 2010. The women soldiers hailed from Malaya and Burma.

The exceptional courage. Determination and sacrifice, the Azad Hind Fouz Showed, reached the people of India and the nation witnessed a surging wave of revolution. The impact of Azad Hind Fouz, on Indian revolution was not military but seeded the spirit of courage and determination in Indians Fouz made by the British government to realize the great patriotism of Indians, who would not follow the service to foreign reign.

It was the grandest day of October 21, 1943, when Subhas Chandra Bose proclaimed formation of Provisional Government of Free India (PGFI) i.e. "Arzi Hakumat -e-Azad Hind" or in short Azad Hind Government, an Indian Government in exile while starting its functions from Singapore with 11 Ministers and eight representatives from Indian National Army. The said Azad Hind Government had its own currency, court, civil code, and national anthem "Subh Subh chain". The Indian National Army had motto "Itihad, Itmad aur Qurbani" (Unity faith and sacrifice) and its national greeting "Jai Hindi" said Provisional Government of Free India had also recognition of nine Axis-aligned countries ; Japan, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma, Thailand, Phillipines,

Manchukuo (Manchuria) and the Republic of China (Wang Jingwai regime). It received a note of congratulations from the Prime Minister of Ireland, Ermon de Valera.

We feel proud to be the natives of Jammu region of Jammu and Kashmir state because of the bolded ancestors hailing from this great land of warriors and heroes, in thousands courage in participating in the Azad Hind Fouz, escreditd for the foundation of the freedom of India, declared by Neta Ji Subhas Chandra on July 21, 1943, though formal transfer of power took place on 15th August, 1947.

Although the bravely role of Azad Hind Fouz was widely commemorated by the Indian National Congress immediatly aftermath of formal transfer of power took place on 15th August 1947, but members of Azad Hind Fouz were denied “Freedom Fighter” status by the Government of India unlike those in Gandhian movement⁷. Nevertheless, the army remains a popular and passionate topic in Indian culture and politics⁸.

The shocking state of mind further creeps when the political effects of the Azad Hind Fouz trials were enormous and were felt around India as late as 1948, much to the charging of the Congress Government in Independence India⁹, on the pretext that pro-INA sympathies could help alternate source of power¹⁰. The Red Fort trial from historic records of the period leading up to Indian historic Independence in 1947, have come in criticism¹¹. Indian activists like Samar Guha historians like Kapil Kumar as well as Indian parliamentarian allege that official histories of the Indian movement largely omit events surrounding the Indian National Army, especially the Red Fort Trials and the Bombay mutiny, and ignore their significance in rejuvenating the independence movement and guiding British devisions to relinquish the Raj¹². A history of the army written by Indian historian Pratul Chandra Gupta in 1950s at the request of the Indian Government was subsequently classified and not released until 2006¹³. The circumstances surrounding the death and funeral of Ram Singh Thakuri, the composer of the Indian National Army’s anthem “Quanis Tranga” Kadam Kadam BadaYA Ja”. These have been compounded by number of conspiracy – theories and news reports in the past on agreement between the Indian political leadership to hand over its leader Subhas Chandra Bose as a war criminal if he was found alive¹⁴. The Indian Government refused to declassify secret documents on Netaji and INA held in Indian archives for almost sixty years citing concerns of India’s relations with foreign countries. This decision was revisited in October 2015 by Narinder Modi Government. However some files are said to have been destroyed altogether. All this is worth reference because large number Soldiers of Azad Hind Fouz were the son of J&K Soil.

Post Independence Misfortunes met with state of Jammu and Kashmir

Un-settled boundaries of J&K on 15th August

Upon passing of Indian Independence Act 1947, India was partitioned in two dominions viz Indian Dominion as well as the Pakistan Dominion with effect from 15th August 1947¹⁵ in consequence of which for the purpose of laying boundary between Indian and Pakistan Dominions, headed by Lord Radcliff with members as Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan and Justice Din Mohammad the members of West Pakistan and Justice Teja Singh and Justice Munir for East Pakistan now called Bangla desh and such commission was required to submit its report well before 15th August 1947 i.e. well before the independent dominions of India and Pakistan brought to functional¹⁶. Aftermath of such development of Indian Independence Act 1947, the then Vice Roy of India (the Governor General of India, being crown representative, Lord Louis Mount batten addressed to the special full meeting of Chamber of Princes on July 25, 1947 by which he desired to the execution of the Instrument of Accession of the respective states of the Princes of the then subsisting Princely states either with Indian Dominion or with Pakistan preferably well before 15th August 1947¹⁷. Unfortunately Maharaja Hari Singh of J&K State was not allowed to participate as a measury of British conspiracy, to mount of pressure and force Maharaja Hari Singh to accede to Pakistan being Muslim majority state instead of India.

The boundary award though was ready on 12th August 1947 but at the instance of Lord Mountbatten, the same was not allowed to be published by the Radcliff till 17th August 1947, though stood shared with Pt Nehru much earlier. Such hasty award resulted so many indescribable causes being incurable ills¹⁸.

The geographic location of Jammu and Kashmir state as stood on 15th August 1947 was as such that it was totally land locked by Pakistan on the west plains, China and Russain Turkistan on the North, Chinese Tibet on the East, Punjab on the South, North Western frontier Province on the West. The territories of Britain, China and Russia as well as of Independent Kingdom of Afghanistan were the meeting points of borders of this state of Jammu and Kashmir on Northern side¹⁹.

From the intents at glance witnessed by the Indian Independence Act 1947, the areas of Punjab plains failing Gurdaspur and Gujranwalla Districts, the only available road access to Indian Dominion through Muzafraabad or Sialkot road and rail routes including Pathankot Tehsil, the possible plains access could be created, were assigned to Pakistan²⁰. Under hatched conspiracy of Britishers was to create a pressure on Maharaja Hari Singh to forcibly accede with Pakistan.

It was strategic policy of British Government to keep the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the hands of a weak government, as could be coerced for taking future steps at the will of British Govt. On these foot steps, the accession of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan was the hatched

conspiracy, which can be evinced from the suggestions of Lord Mount batten to Maharaja by hinting that “with full authority from the Government of India, in case he (Maharaja) accedes to Pakistan, Indian Government shall maintain the friendly terms and shall have no objection²¹. Not only this, there was repeated pressure from Congress leadership on Maharaja, not to take decision on the accession of the state without obtaining the will of the people, being muslim Majority state while keeping the object of the accession policy well firmed under the Govt. of India Act 1935 as applicable from 15th August 1947²².

It cannot be hesitated to state that inabsence of proper decision of boundary between India and Pakistan till 17th August 1947, the ruler of the Jammu and Kashmir was forced to send telgrames both to the incoming Governments of India and Pakistan separately on August 12, 1947 with the intention of maintaining stand still agreements with India and Pakistan on all existing matters with outgoing British Agreement. It was suggested to continue pending settlement of details, the existing arrangements. Although the Government of Pakistan agreed to maintain stand still Agreement with J&K State by “continuing existing arrangements pending settlement of details and former execution” in response vide telegram dated 15th August 1947²³ but in contrary to it Indian Government choose to remain silent for no good reason.

Another clinching fact worth noticing is that the Government of India had imposed permit system for ingress and egress of the people of India in J&K or egress of J&K State Subjects to Indian Territory from Lakhampur or any other bordered place between J&K State and the Dominion of India, which itself speaks of the degree of recalcitrance or the indifferent attitude with Jammu and Kashmir State Subjects by creating ridiculous conditions or obtractions in the way of integrations of Jammu and Kashmir with India by way of proper instrument of accession.

In the wake of Pakistan’s invasion of Kashmir by breaking the terms of stand still Agreement dated 12th August 1947 and needing military help to save the people of Jammu and Kashmir in October 1947, the Maharaja of the State had deputed the then Deputy Prime Minister of J&K on 24th October with instrument of Accession of the Jammu and Kashmir with India as well as the personal letter of Maharaja to Pt Jawahar Lala Nehru and another to Sardar Patel while asking for military help in men, arms and ammunition. Even Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan being Prime Minister of the State had also written his letter through his Dy. Prime Minister to the said (both) to save the state from Pakistan’s unprovoked aggression, but Pt Nehru declined to accept the instrument of Accession dated 24th October 1947 as well as the military help of the state²⁴. However Sardar Patel the then Indian Home Minister being anxious with the alarming situation of J&K had deputed the Secretary of State, Government of India, V.P. Menon alongwith special plane in the evening of October 25th 1947 at Srinagar for taking the Prime Minister of J&K Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan alongwith him²⁵. It was on the night intervening between 25th and 26th October 1947, V.P.

Menon, Mehar Chand Mahajan held detailed discussion on the alarming situation of Jammu and Kashmir and fraught dangers to the person of Maharaja Hari Singh as came cross on the advice of Sardar Patel and the valuable advice conveyed by the Home Minister based on security inputs, Maharaja Hari Singh after midnight executed again the instrument of Accession of the State with Indian Dominion on the same format cast by Lord Mountbatten and executed by all princely states of India without any ifs and buts and handed over the same to Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan alongwith his personal letter to Pt Jawahar Lal Nehru for military help. Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan was further advised to handover Instrument of Accession to Pt. Nehru only if he agrees to provide military aid for saving the state from the clutches of Pakistani raides. Thus after execution of said Instrument of Accession after midnight of 25th October and 26th October Maharaja left a 2AM on 26th October 1947 for Jammu. Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan alongwith V.P. Mehjon also flew for New Delhi in the wee hours of 26th October 1947 and arrived Delhi at 8 AM where a car was waiting for them and drove for Pt. Nehru's residence at York Road. From the conversation between Justice Mahajan and Pt. Nehru, it reveals that Nehru was reluctant to provide military help. Even in hot temper Pt. Nehru in angry tone said "Mahajan,, go away" Mahajan in a very compelling circumstances, got up and was about to leave the room, but Sardar Patel came in rescue by insisting Mahajan to stay. In the meanwhile "a piece of paper was passed over to Pt. Nehru from Sheikh Abdullah watching the situation of heat conversation in a room just adjacent to drawing room. With this incident a piece of paper from Sheikh, the friend of Nehru, he (Nehru agreed to send army for J&K²⁶. Before leaving Delhi, Mehar Chand Mahajan was given in writing the conditions of providing army aid to J&K and its accession with India, i.e. the accession shall be on three subjects only viz defence, external affairs and transport. The second was that the internal administration of the state should be democratized and new constitution be framed on the lines of model already set out for the state of Mysore. The third condition was that Sheikh Abdullah should be taken in administration and made responsible for its alongwith the Prime Minister²⁷.

Although Sheikh Abdullah was taken as Head of Emergency Administration alongwith other National Conference members like Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Mirza Afzal Beg and Girdhari Lal Dogra etc. but he was not satisfied. Pt Nehru got a proclamation drafted from N. Gopaldaswami the then Union Minister without portfolio, by which Sheikh Abdullah was sought to be appointed as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir state under undue pressure and coercion, to which they ultimately succeeded in issuance of proclamation dated 5th March 1948 by dislodging and succeeding Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan²⁸. Not only this by stages, Maharaja was further exiled from the state of Jammu and Kashmir by getting Yuvraj karan Singh appointed as regent of the state on 20th June 1949²⁹ as a measure of deep conspiracy for which the people of Jammu and Kashmir instead of getting freedom or democratic set up in essence were virtually made subservants

of few Kashmiri dynastic families for which not only the State of J&K but the Indian nation as whole had to pay heavy cost. Even Pt. Nehru in the end of February 1948, by calling Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan at Delhi, the presence of Mr. Bajpai and GopalaSwami Iyenger had asked for the appointment of Sheikh Abdullah as Prime Minister of J&K by the Maharaja³⁰, despite of the fact neither he was acceptable to the people of Jammu³¹ or Ladakh³² nor by the Hindus, Sikhs and even by the large section of Muslims³³.

In crux the pro patriotic role of Maharaja Hari Singh is exhibitable from the contents of his first Round Table conference at London dated November 12th 1930 in response to the opening address of His Majesty the King Emperor, George V in London, he had said that

“----- Allied by treaty with British crown and within our territories of independent rulers, we have with a full sense of responsibility to our states and to all India. As allies of Britain, we stand solidly by British connection. As Indians are loyal to the land, when se we derive our birth and infant nature, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land’s enjoyment of position of honour and equality in the British common wealth of nations. Our desure to co-operate to the best of our ability with the sections of the conference is a genuine desire ; so too a is genuine our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation _____”³⁴.

So far as establishment of democracy in the state is concerned, the Maharaja Hari Singh was an exceptional ruler among the rulers across India having an intention of establishment a democratic institution of people named as Praja Sabha³⁵, Said legislature of the State was consisting of Council of Minister and the Assembly (Paja Sabha)³⁶. Besides this Maharaja also introduced Election Regulations and Election Rules in Svt 1990 and Svt 1991 respectively. In accordance with such constitutional provisions the Praja Sabha’s first session was also inaugurated by Maharaja himself on October 17th 1934, so that the involvement of the subjects of the state in administration could be translated to reality for well of the state³⁸. Further another constitution Act by superceding the earlier Constitution of Regulation No 1 of 1990 was enforced in Svt 1996 (1939 AD) being more comprehensive constitution Act enlarging the field of democracy³⁹. In the year 1944 A.D., His Highness had further given boost to the establishment of the Government of the people by Constitution of Council of Ministers, in inviting the penal of six members i.e. three from Kashmir including the Frontier District and three from Jammu so as to induct two more Ministers out of such panel of six persons i.e. atleast one to be considered from Muslim⁴⁰. Thus a representative of National conference namely Mirza Afzal Beg and Pt. Shiv Naraya Fotchder representative of Kashmiri Pandits, Captain Ganga Ram were appointed as Ministers in His Highness’ Govt⁴¹. To ensure continuity of development High Highness had also a committee for framing a planned budget for a period of five years under the chairmansjhip of the Prime Minister of the State, the Accountant

General of the State as its Secretary besides three non official members of Praja Sabha nominated by the Praja Sabha itself⁴².

Panchayati Raj System a kin of justice dispensation was introduced in the year 1932 by enactment of his Highness, but came in force in 1935 A.D.⁴³. Like wise cooperative system was also introduced in the year 1914 AD which afterwards was revised periodically for the well of the people of the state⁴⁴.

In contrary to the pro-people role of His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh the role of National Conference headed by Sheikh Abdullah to whom Pt Nehru considered only accepted leader to govern the state was ;

- i) He wanted the transfer of power from the Maharaja and not accession of the State with India. The issue of joining either dominion be left with National Conference independently in exclusion of Maharaja, despite being competent to do so in terms of Section 6 of the Government of India Act 1935 as made applicable from 15th August 1947⁴⁵.
- ii) Lord Mountbatten was pressuring Maharaja to accede the state with Pakistan for which he is said to had taken consent of Pt. Nehru. Mahtama Gandhi intended to take the will of the people of Kashmir before Maharaja take decision on accession⁴⁶.
- iii) Letter dated 27th October 1947, addressed by Lord Mountbatten after accepting the instrument of Accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir dated 26th October 1947, despite being his obligation under Section 5 & 6 of Government of India without ifs or buts, had created a controversy for which Indian Nation as whole and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in particular had to pay a heavy cost. By the said letter Lord Mount batten created a condition of such accession, at his own against the principles and seriously violating the express provisions of the Governing documents viz Indian Independence Act 1947, India Provisional Constitution order dated 14th August 1947 read with amended Government of India Act 1935 as brought invogue from the appointed day of 15th August 1947, that to invite Sheikh Abdullah to form interim Government and to decide the accession in according to wishes of the people after law and order of the state is brought peaceful.
- iv) The intention of Sheikh Abdullah was that Maharaja should hand over the administrative power to him at the first instance and Maharaja should remain merely a constitutional head.
- v) A trap was laid by which Maharaja was exiled permanently from Jammu and Kashmir state by getting Yuv Raj Karan Singh appointed as Regent of the state⁴⁸ with an object behind that Sheikh should have free hand to deal with the affairs of the state as his own, which proved fatal afterwards for Government of India as well.

- vi) Fraud with powers and democracy by the Government of India in 1949, in moving amendments to the rule 4 of the Indian Constituent of Assembly rules in May' 1949 proposing to rename the official title of Jammu and Kashmir as State of Kashmir besides the representation of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Constituent Assembly be made by nomination on the recommendations of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah Prime Minister instead of election by the subsisting democratic Institution called Praja Sabha ; still alive at that Moment⁴⁹.
- vii) Even fraud with the Indian Constituent Assembly of India was played by taking oath as Member of Indian Constituent Assembly on 16th June 1949, by Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah himself, Mirza Afzal Beg, Moulana Mohammed Masoodi and Moti Ram Baigra⁵⁰, even when Yuv Raj Karan Singh, the authority Competent as Regent himself was appointed on 20th June' 1949 Not only this such Members even before the date of their respective oath Mirza Afzal Beg, Moulana Mohammad Masoodi and Moti Ram Baigra are figuring in the group photo of the members of the Indian Constituent Assembly dated 7th April 1949.
- viii) Change of colours by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah with antinational conduct can be observed from hoisting of only state flag on the Secretariate building without National Flag in 1952 despite of advice of the newly appointed Sadar-i-Riyasat⁵², His (Sheikh Abdullah's) speech at Ranbir Singhpura, where he reacted violently against Jammu agitation (led by Praja Prishad) went on to accuse India being communal and virtually threatened that "the Accession of the State could not be taken as far granted" ⁵³.
- ix) Much more can be gathered from the resolution of three Cabinet Ministers of Sheikh Abdullah Government dated 8th August 1953 (viz Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Deputy Prime Minister, Girdhari Lal Dogra Finance Minister and Sham Lal Saraf Health Minister) accusing both Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg in their five page document for their conduct blatantly flouting accepted party policies,

"After convening of the Constituent Assembly, certain inescapable elaborations of the State's relationship with India were defined in the Delhi Agreement, of which you (Sheikh) were the Chief Architect on our behalf. Your stand was unanimously endorsed by the Government, National Conference, Indian Parliament and the Constituent Assembly of the State. But you have not only deliberately delayed the implementation of the agreement on these matters, which form the sheet-anchor of our policy, but purposefully and openly denounced these in public. You have thus arbitrarily sought to precipitate rupture in the relationship of state with India"

"Mr M.A. Beg has persistently been following policies of narrow sectarianism and communalism, which have seriously under-mined the oneness of the State.

Unfortunately, you (Sheikh) have been lending your support of his policies in the cabinet and his policies in public. This has generated bitter feeling of suspicion and doubt in the minds of the people of the various constituent units of the State You have connived at all these unfortunate happenings and thus strengthened and encouraged the forces of disruption. The result is that unity and secular character, the fundamental aspect of our state, stand threatened today” _____

Finally concluded that

“We have been constantly urging upon you to put an end to these unhealthy tendencies and to undertake unitedly measures for restoring the morale of the people ; In spite of our best intentions, we have failed in our efforts. It is therefore, with great pain that we have to inform you our conclusion that the Cabinet constituted as it is present and lacking as it due unity of purpose and action, has lost the confidence of the people in its ability to give them a clean, efficient and healthy administration.”

- x) The extract of the minutes of the committee’s final session held on June 9th, 1953 (i.e. eight members committee appointed by the National Conference in May’ 1953) is read as

;

As a result of discussion held in the course of various meetings, the following proposal only emerge as possible alternative for an honourable and peaceful solution of Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan ;

- a) Overall plebiscite with condition as detailed in the minutes of meeting dated 4th June’ 1953 (this apparantly was reference to Moulana Masoodi’s suggestion that choice of independence be offered in plebiscite)
- b) Independence of the Whole state.
- c) Independence of the whole state with joint control of foreign affairs.
- d) Dixon Plan with independence for the plebiscite area.

Early in August’ 1953, Sheikh called an meeting of working Committee of General Council in the third and fourth weeks in order to review the whole situation.

- xi) Upon realizing the situation of Kashmir so crept by the nefarious designs of Sheikh Abdullah capriously to be explosive and alarming in nature (going out of control as adjudged) out of the exchange of a letter dated 28th June 1953⁵⁴ from Pt. Nehru to Sheikh Abdullah and letter dated July 16, 1953 from Sheikh to Moulana Azad⁵⁵, the Private Secretary of Pt. Nehru, Mr Mathai on 31st July’ 1953 recorded Pt. Nehru’s note on Sheikh Abdullah Government read as ;

The present drift and the resulting confusion cannot be allowed to go on.

The policy of Government must be clearly stated to the public. The

members of Government should not speak in different voices. In order to remove doubt about this policy, a brief memorandum might be prepared and placed before the Cabinet. In this Government's policy should be precisely stated. Apart from other major issues also ; or ; if it is preferred the economic issues might be mentioned, the rising of prices of procurement of rice, removal of custom barriers etc, the object of all this being to lesson the burden on the common man.

The main point clarified in the memorandum should be the future of the state, which has given rise to so much argument in public recently. Members of the government should be asked to support the policy laid down in its entirety.

If, as is probable, some members of Government do not agree with this policy and this statement, the majority should nevertheless accept that policy. If the minority refuse to abide by it, the continuation of the present Government becomes impossible. The Head of the state should be informed accordingly. He should ask for the resignation of the Government, because it cannot function as a team and persue its contradictory policies. If the resignation is offered, then the Head of the State should call upon another person representing majority view to form a new Government.

It will be desirable not to allow any marked lapse of time between the demand for resignation and formation of the new Government. The Head of the state should send for all members of Government and inform them his decision and ask for resignation. Of the resignations are not forthcoming, he should have an order ready for the dismissal of the Government, because it cannot fulfil its function's properly. Immediately he should entrust the formation of the new Government to the other persons.

It would be desirable to prepare the ground for this, in so far as considered feasible, with the prominent members of the Executive of the Party.

Immediately after the formation of the Government, the Executive of the Party should meet. Both the new Government and the Party should issue statements to the public stating the facts and indicating their policy including their economic policy.

Some persons who are notorious for their corrupt activities should be apprehended and steps taken for an inquiry into those activities.

It may be desirable to arrest one or two persons who are known to be corrupt, even before the steps indicated above are taken. But this is a matter of judgement.

All necessary steps should be taken for the preservation of law and order. Any person taking a lead in creating andy disturbance should be apprehended such assistance as may be considered

necessary for the maintenances of law and order should be available. Any action taken, should be carefully calculated so as not to exceed the necessities of the situation, and the change over should be peaceful as far as possible.

Immediate first steps afterwards should be the removal of certain well known corrupt officers etc, suspension of others whose loyalty is doubted, and an appeal to the people for maintenance of peaceful condition. The broad outlines of the programme of new Government should be given and it should be stated that it would be for the people to decide ultimately what political or economic police has to be adopted – The sole test will be the good of the people and their wishes in the matter⁵⁶.

The Sheikh Abdullah instead of holding talks with his cabinet colleagues in presence of the Sadar-i-Riyasat side tracked the same for resolution of difference, but astonishingly left for Gulmarg on 8th August 1953, by landing a skatling attack on Indian Press of publishing the issue of intra differences of his cabinet by further adding that no interval solution was possible until there was some external solution acceptable to India and Pakistan⁵⁷.

- xii) These were the bunch of circumstance of vital importance, forcing the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah from his posting of Prime Ministership as well as his arrest on 8th August ' 1953⁵⁸, for national interests unless Sheikh Abdullah on exposure of his volte face could succeed in secession of the state from the Union of India, because of the selfish aim of establishment of Sheikhdome at any cost.

On 9th August 1953, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was Sworn in as the Prime Minister and Girdhari Lal Dogra as Cabinet Minister by the Sadar-i-Riyasat of the J&K State⁵⁹.

It was Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad Government in the state of Jammu and Kashmir which made it possible on 6th February'1954⁶⁰ for the ratification of accession of the state of J&K with India and become integral part thereto, the status of irrevocable in nature⁶¹.

Another sin was committed by Pt. Nehru by introduction of bill at the back of the then Home Minister Sardar Patel and Law Minister B.R. Ambedkar, but through N. GopalaSwamy the Minister without portfolio, by digging a trenched relationship between India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir by way of introduction of bill at the fag end of second reading of the proposed constitution in October' 1949 i.e. induction of new Article 306 A in the Indian Constituent Assembly assuring to be pure Temporary and transistional likely to be omitted shortly after the consideration of the Constituent Assembly of the Sate⁶² which afterwards remembered as Article 370 of the Constitution of India.

After introduction of Article 370 another conspiracy was played by Pt. Nehru in issuance of executive order at the back of Parliament of India, i.e. the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1954, by which most dangerous provision of Article 35 A was introduced in the Constitution of India⁶³. The consequential effects of such order was that the State of Jammu and Kashmir in abusing such provisions introduced the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir State, enforced from 26th January 1957 thereby enforcing State Subject Laws (Permanent Resident) rules more harshly⁶⁴ by taking away the relaxation rules available under Notification of 1932⁶⁵ available from the Non state subjects in purchase of Land and joining service of the State, by taking effect from the year 1944 A.D.⁶⁶.

By virtue of the same effected people of Jammu and Kashmir were ;

- i) All State Subject daughters marrying with non State Subject to lose their birth right of Land, Vote, and State Services
- ii) All west Pakistan Refugees having settled in Jammu and Kashmir after partition in 1947 having deprived of their right to vote, Land and State Services.
- iii) All Gorkhas in Defense Service of the State or the Indian Army having settled in 1947 but deprived of their rights of Vote, Property and State Service.
- iv) Balmiki Samaj having brought in Jammu from Punjab for carrying scavenging job in fifties by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, by depriving their family from joining any state service other than scavenger being a forced labour.
- v) In contrary to the aforesaid, Sheikh Abdullah got passed most controversial Bill "Resettlement Bill in the year 1982 by which the settled people of J&K in Pakistan could be brought back and restored their properties even after crossing the age of three generation.

Consequence of such laws

- vi) The consequence of such provisions were were that the State of J&K remained undeveloped in the field of Industrialisation, agriculture, Education and all other Sectors as compared to the States of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh.
- vii) The terrorisms of sorts was the root cause of abuse of Articles 370 ad 35A.
- viii) The benefits of central laws, the jurisdiction of Supreme Court, besides other Central Institutions were barred by abuse of the provisions of Article 370, i.e. defeating the very purpose for which such provisions could be intended for the good of the state.
- ix) Rampant Corruption and anarchy had crossed all limits.
- x) The election process in free and fair manner for the establishment of Constituent Assembly as desired under the proclamation of Regent in 1951⁶⁷ was kept at bay by

- abuse of Article 370, by outrightly rejecting nominations papers of 62 praja Parishad candidates in 951 also as figured in the Complaint of Pt. Prem Nath Dogra in 1952⁶⁸.
- xi) The vast area of Jammu and Kashmir known as POJK was finally broken in 1947 and remained in occupation of Pakistan. The liberation of large area of Mirpur, Kotli Muzaffrabad apart from areas of Gilgit was proposed by the then Lt. General Caiappa by demanding forces and other army resources but were declined by the Army Headquarter at the instance of Pt Nehru and an English origin Chief of the Army Staff holding that position⁶⁹.

Emergence of Praja Parishad on November' 1947 with its consequence results relating to Jammu and Kashmir

By the unescapable developed upon projecting Sheikh Abdullah the sole leader of the state with his sectarian background surfaced in setting up a reading room party in 1930, followed by the establishment of Muslim Conference in Srinagar, his poisoned speeches delivered alongwith one Abdul Auader an Afghani origin, the role played in 1931 riots both in Kashmir as well as in Muzaffrabad, Mirpur, Kotli and Rajouri areas thereafter uprooting, victimizing and killing Hindus and burning their properties in 1931-32 besides the holocaust of 1947 and finally the role played by Sheikh Abdullah connived with Nehru for the creation of Punjab speaking areas of the State as POJK including Galgit comprising 83,000 square kilometers as well as undermining the dignity of Dogras with hateful speeches very closely watched by the Learned personalities of Jammu, Pt. Prem nath Dogra called the session of the very eminent, prominent learned people of Jammu region to hold threadbare deliberations and after three days deliverations decided to float a new party against the Kashmiri Salogan "Aek Rehnama Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Aek Tanzeeni National Conference, Aek Jhanda Halwalla" Ultimately political party headed by a young leader of the age of 20 years was established in November' 1947. The role of duo Sheikh Nehru in digging deep trenches in the way of execution of Instrument of accession by the Maharaja Hari Singh stood also exposed which later proved to be fatal for the Indian Dominion as a whole and the people of State of J&K in particular. By this time the permit system for the ingress and egress of the people in J&K territories from Indian side was also imposed a clear divide between Indian and J&K state and its full integration.

Sheikh Abdullah being intolerant towards his adversaries, he expelled several important activists of RSS and other organizations allied thereto including Prof. Balraj Madhok S/Shri Jagdish Abrol, Kadar Nath Sahni, Kavi Raj, Vishnu Gupta and others apart from Pt. Prem Nath Dogra and his colleagues. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra was shifted to Srinagar in intense cold conditions in February 1949 by slapping "Daffa Tun" law

meaning by to put in jail without any trial. The arrest of Pandit Ji brought great resentment among the people of Jammu. In May' 1949, Praja Parishad launched a Satyagrah movement, seeking release of Pandit Ji but the atrocities of Sheikh regime full swelled many fold. Thus anger against said utmost cruel and authoritarian regime in dictatorial style was condemned by the innocent law abiding people in side and outside the state by standing firmly against the crushing policy of Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah. However upon the intervention of National leadership at Delhi, Pt. ji was released on October 1949 but this jailed term affected the health several inmates put in jail by incapacitating them for the remaining lives including one Dina Nath of Jammu and Chuni Lal Pandoh of Reasi.

However Sheikh became more cruel and harsh on the people of Jammu more particularly non Muslims by taking some unhealthy decision under communal mindset, thus Pt Prem nath was forced to officially head this momentum organization of Praja Parishad to launch further stir very firmly against autoractic rule of Sheikh Abdullah bent upon to crush Jammuties. Pt. Dorga in addressing the delegates on November 10, 1951, made scathing attack on the dubious policies of Sheikh regime, by holding responsible for the division of the state and its complicity in avoiding the liberation of areas let allowed to remain with Pakistan called the POJK as well as the National Conference path called bible of Naya Kashmir following the path of Quit Kashmir salogned in 1944 before 1947 being separatist design. The main agenda of Praja Parishad was total integration of State of Jammu and Kashmir State with India like other states with salogan "Ek Nisha, Ek Vidhan and Ek Pradhan" and condemnation of permit system imposed by Pt. Nehru as well as his appeasement policies towards Sheikh Abdullah on the one hand and vindicative mindset against the exiled Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to whom Nehru never wanted to bring back in Jammu and Kashmir. In crux the verse is "Lamhoon Nai Khatta ki, Sadion Nai Saza Pai."

Ironically Shyma Prasad Mookerjee being Minister in the Cabinet of Pt. Nehru resigned from the same on April 6 1950 for the stated reasons "arose out of the policy pursued by Nehru regarding "Indo-Pakistan" relationship, especially relating to Bengal, which were bound to fail (virtually failed) upon witnessed carvages subsequently such as the Asam mail massacre at Santahar unction of February' 1951⁷⁰. According to the admission of Government of India since February 27, 1950, not less than 41,89,847 Hindus had left East Pakistan (Now Bangladesh)⁷¹. The detailed reasons for his resignation visualized from his statement on the floor of Lok Sabha dated 19th April 1950, mainly being maltreatment with minorities in Pakistan and opposition to the Nehru-Liquat agreement April 8 1950, quoting seven reasons

being counter productive to the interests of Non muslim minorities of Pakistan. As a result the portion of Muslims by way of infiltration from Bangladesh has swelled. The portion of Muslims in West Bengal has increased from 19.46% in 1951 to 25.25% in 2001 and in Assam from 24.68% in 1950 to 30.92% in 2001⁷² and thereafter words much more.

Emergence of Jan Sangh

Ultimately on October 21, 1951 in the all India Convention held at Raghomal Arya Kanya Higher Secondary School New Delhi packed with one thousand special invites from the prominent citizens of Delhi and 500 delegates from different parts of India, Syma Pradhad Mukerjee was elected unanimously as the President of newly formed All India Bhartiya Jan Sangh with composition character for all citizens of India irrespective of cast creed or community, aimed unity by a bond of fellowship and understanding inspired by deep devotion and loyalty to the spirit of common motherland. The great task of revitalizing and reconstructing Bharat awaits us was the final salogan, thus make Bharat great and strong so as to become fit and noble instrument in preservative of its wealth and prosperity⁷³.

In opposing the intent of Sheikh Abdullah to discard Nation tricolor flag in State, on December 14, 1952. First casualty took place of one Mela Ram at Chamb followed by January 11, 1953 at kathua of Sh. Behari Lal⁷⁴.

In a maiden speech in the parliament on 21st May 1951, Dr. Mukerjee referred to the problem of Jammu and Kashmir which had begun to threatened the very integrity and unity of India. He appealed to the Prime Minister to consider the forces which were at war in Kashmir and which have been revealed by everyone to see Sheikh Abdullah's declaration that the Indian Parliament had no jurisdiction over Jammu and Kashmir. "The whole difficulty" he said "is that the Prime Minister knows more than you'. I want to know, are Kashmiris Indian first and Kashmiris next or they are Kashmiris first and Indian next or the kashmiris first, second third and not Indians at all ? This is a very important point which we have to settle"⁷⁵.

The anti-Dogra harassment by the National Conference head by Sheikh Abdullah had reached a pitch by early 1952. Students of the Government Gandhi Memorial College Jammu protested against the compulsion to salute the National Conference party flag at official function and were harshly treated, therefore the student stir came into public at large. The Sheikh Government with a motive to suppress the voice of Jammu people clamped 82 hour curfew on Jammu town and arrested Pt. Prem Nath Dogra as well. News of these goings on trickled outside the state as well, thereby making any opinion among public at large that all was not well

in Sheikh's regime in Jammu and Kashmir. However under relentless pressure of the leaders of Delhi, Sheikh Abdullah was forced to release Pt. Prem Nath Dogra. Pt. Dogra after his release came over to Delhi to apprise the matured leaders about the conduct of Sheikh and also met Dr. Mukherjee and brought all facts of the past unknown to Mukerjee, how Sheikh gained power and undue pressure on him (Pt Dogra) to join National Conference⁷⁶.

Dr. Mukerjee being convinced with the cause of Dogra and the Sheikh's diablitical design, got resolution of Bhartiya Jan Sangh, working Committee passed on June 14th, 1952 emphasizing in strong words that Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India and declared that "the decision of the State Constituent Assembly concerning the elected President and a separate flag are violation of India's sovereignty and spirit of constitution." The resolution also called upon people of India to observe June 29th, 1952 as "Kashmir Day" and to hold public meetings and demonstrations in support of stand taken by Bhartiya Jan Sangh⁷⁷.

On June 26, 1952, Dr Mukerjee made his first speech in the Lok Sabha on Kashmir exposing the role of both Pt. Nehru and Sheikh in casting provisions of elected President (Sadar-i-Riyasat), Separate flag, Article 370, based on which Sheikh wanted a separate State constitution and shattered completely the case of Sheikh Abdullah and his supporters in Central Cabinet. "You cannot have dinded loyalty" said Dr. Mukerjee nor the question of republic of Kashmir having separate flag can arise⁷⁸.

Dr Mukerjee after addressing the convention of Praja Parishad held on 9-10 August 1952, had also flown to Srinagar by special flight for holding talks with Sheikh Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Yuvraj Karan Singh⁷⁹.

Intelligence Bureau Chief B.N. Mullik, however gave strange account, indicating that Pt Nehru was perfectly aware of what Mr Abdullah was or was not and further what Praja Parishad virually was or not. According to his book "My years with Nehru : Kashmir, he was depited by Nehru in early 1953 to soften Sheikh and Praja Parishad in their respective stand. Though he succeded with Praja Parishad to tone down their agitation, but with Sheikh he drew a complete blank. His words "I was surprised to find him (Abdullah) a completely changed man from the time I met him in September 1949" "He himself would have probably liked the entire Dogra community to migrate to India and make over their lands to person of his choice⁸⁰"

Dr Mukerjee had also made his speeches in Lok Sabha on burning situation of Kashmir and misconduct of Sheikh Abdullah and duly support of Pt Nehru & others, on August 7, 1952⁸¹ (motion of reference Kashmir State) on February 17, 1953 (on motion of address by the President of India)⁸² and on situation in Jammu on March

25th, 1953⁸³ apart from chain of correspondence with Pt. Nehru and Sheikh etc but of no avail.

Martyrodom of Shyma Prasad Mukerjee

Finally it was the fateful day of 10th May 1953, at 4 p.m., Dr. Mukerjee by undertaking long journey on 8th May 1953 from Delhi reach Madhopur after addressing massive people at Amballa, Karnal via Shahabad and Nilokheri, Phagwara, Amritsar and Pathankot, on 10th May 1953 despite the Deputy Commissioner Gurdaspur had allowed to leave Mukerjee without permit by seeing him off at Madhopur but hatched conspiracy came on fore when Mukerjee's jeep arrived middle of the road bridge between Madhopur (Punjab) and Lakhanpur (Jammu and Kashmir) and arrested him (Dr Mukerjee) on the charge of "has acted, is acting or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety and peach" and that "in order to prevent him from so acting," under the order signed by Prithvinadan Singh Inspector General of Police, Jammu and Kashmir dated 10th May' 1953 and was arrested by Captain A. Azeez Superintendent of Police as per said Inspector General's direction⁸⁴. All that was conspired to deprive Mukerjee in invoking for the jurisdiction of Supreme Court under Art 32 of the Constitution of India, which was lacking in the State of Jammu and Kashmir with the abuse of Article 370. Mukerjee was further finally incarcerated by lodging him in a small cottage on the hills of Nishat bag meant for a Chowkidar far away from Srinagar, where one could reach only on foot by walking over mounting step flight of stairs and such place lacking all basic necessities of Medical and telephone etc. Dr Mukerjee was accompanied by Co-detenues Guru Dutt Vaid, President of Punjab Jan Sangh and one Tek Chand. On June 19th 1953 Pt Prem Nath Dogra was also brought there for whom a tent was pitched on the compound outside. Even Dr Mukerjee who was sitting MP of Lok Sabha and a political prisoner was illfed and illtreated by depriving all basic facilities needed for human being. Finally musterously breathed his last in 23rd June 1953 in gynaecological ward of the State Hospital where he was shifted by forced undertaking on foot journey from cottage to road site on 21st June 1953 after 11.30 a.m. despite deteoriated health condition since 19th June 7th 1953⁸⁵. In a hurry the dead body of Dr Mukerjee was flown even without informing the head of the State Yuvraj Karan Singh.

The martarydom of Dr Mukerjee could not be go in waste but his dream of Ek Nishan, Ek Vidhan and Ek Pradhan accomplished in phases with intervals, the developments to this account can be subsumed as ;

- a) The permit system was abolished on April 1st 1953 by the Government of India during the regime of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir⁸⁶.
- b) The expression Sadar-i-Riyasat (President of the State) was substituted by expression "The Governor"⁸⁷
- c) The expression "Prime Minister" (of the state) was substituted by expression "Chief Minister"⁸⁸
- d) The jurisdiction of Supreme Court was also extended in Jammu and Kashmir state⁸⁹.
- e) The operation of several central laws was also extended in the State of Jammu and Kashmir state.

Vigorous Exercises Made for abolition of Article 370 and full integration of State of J&K

- i) A motion for the abolition of Article 370 by amendment of the Constitution of India was moved by Shri Parkash Vir Shastri on 11th September 1964, on the floor of the House, and a detailed discussion took place on the same in which all the six Lok Sabha members from Jammu and Kashmir besides almost all others supported the same. The then Home Minister Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda though had assured the House that the provisions of Article 356 and 357 to the State of Jammu and Kashmir besides entries 43 and 78 of the Union List and Entries 33 and 34 of the concurrence list are also being made applicable in case of J&K State. Even the Bill of Government was also assured to be brought in the house in due course, when even speaker also conceded the views of the Lok Sabha members supporting Parkash Vir Shastri⁹⁰.
- ii) Sh. Atal Bihari Vajpayee had also moved a Bill No. 86 of 1971 on July 9, 1971 for the constitution amendment to delete Article 370 regarding Jammu and Kashmir, which generated heated debate on November 19th and December 3, 1972 and was rejected but gained the sympathy of the Lok Sabha members⁹¹.
- iii) The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) order 2019, CO. 272, by which all the provisions of the Constitution of India as amended from time to time were made applicable in case of State of Jammu and Kashmir state as well⁹².
- iv) Another order for the Declaration under Article 370 (3) of the Constitution was made whereby all the clauses of Article 370 were ordered cease to be operative with effect from 6th August 2019 except as under ; (on the recommendation of the Parliament by the President)

“370. All provisions of this Constitution as amended from time to time, without any modification or exception shall apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir not withstand if any thing contrary contained in Article 152 or 308 or any other article of this Constitution or any other provisions of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir or any other law, document, judgement, ordinance, order, by law, rule, regulation, notification, custom or usage having the force of law, in the territory of India or any other instrument, treaty or agreement as envisaged under Article 363 or otherwise⁹³”.

- v) Mission accomplishment is waiting for the liberation of POJK and COJK besides eyes on the issue of Blochistan and Liberation of Tibet.

References

- i) Low DA 2002, Britain and Indian nationalism, Cambdridhe university ISBN 978-O-521-89261-2, Page 313 ; Hay's Romain (2011) Subhas Chandra Bose in Nazi Germany : Politics, Intelligence and Propaganda 1941-43, Oxford University Page 65-67
- ii) Hay's Roamin (2011) Subhas Chandra Bose in Nazi Germany Politics, Intelligence and Propaganda 1941-43 Oxford University Page 76.
- iii) Tyoyee 2007, Subhas Chander Bose JAICO Publishing House Page 2.
- iv) “Total mobilization”, National Archieves Singapore retrieved 12 August 2011.
- v) Fay 1993, The Forgotten Army : India's Armed Struggle Indepence 1942-1945, University of Michigan Page 223.
- vi) Belle, Carl Vadivelle 2014, Tragic Orpahsn : Indian in Malasia, Institute of South East Asia studies Page 199
- vii) Cohen Stephen C (1971) The Indian Army ; Its contributions to the Development of a Natin, University of California Press, Page 132.
- viii) Toye Hugh (1959), The Springing Tiger : A study of the Indian National Army and of Netaji, Allied Pubisher (Masson, in forewood page XIV)
- ix) James Lawrence (2000) Raj : The making and unmaking of British India St. martin's Griffin Page 596-97
- x) Sarkar, Sumit (1983) Modern India 1885-1947 Macmillan Page 412.
- xi) Lok Sabha 1993 Page 609
- xii) Sandeep Unnithan “Jawahar Lal Nehru spied on Subhas Chandra Bose family for 20 years “India Today” Roy Sangata (17th April 2015) Netaji became my guiding light my only inspiration “Times of India”
- xiii) Kunju, N (1998) Free Indias Army, Problem at 50 Reliance Publishing House Page 6
- xiv) Hindustan Times January 23,1971 ; “Gandhi, others had agreed to handover Netaji”

- xv) Indian Independence Act 1947 (10 and 11 Geo, C 30) dated 18th July 1947.
- xvi) Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan's looking back Page 113-16.
- xvii) Legal Document on J&K, the contents of address of Lord Louis Mount batten to the Chamber of Princes dated July 25th, 1947, Published by the J&K Study Center, 3rd Edn December 2016 Page 29 to 34.
- xviii) Jaswant Singh Jinah, India Pakistan , Independence Chapter 9th Page 447-48.
- xix) Hand Book of Jammu and Kashmir for the year 1946-47 issued by the Govt. of India Page 1.
- xx) Indian Independence Act 1947 (10 & 11 Geo, C-30) dated 18th July with its appended schedule.
- xxi) Letter dated 16/17 August 1952 from Maharaja Hari Singh to President of India.
- xxii) Government of India Act 1935 as applicable from 15th August 1947, Section 6.
- xxiii) J&K Study Center New Delhi, Legal Documents on J&K Kashmir 3rd Edn December 2016 Page 175.
- xxiv) Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan's Looking Back Chapter Pak Invasion of Kashmir" Page 150.
- xxv) Ibid Page 150.
- xxvi) Ibid Page 151-152
- xxvii) Ibid Chapter 19 Page 154-55
- xxviii) Letter dated 16/17th August 1952 so written by Maharaja Hari Singh from Poona to Dr Rajinder Prashad the President of India, forming part of letter dated 01-03-1948 written by N. Gopala Swami written to Maharaja.
- xxix) Proclamation of Maharaja dated 20th June 1949, Published in Govt. Gazette, Karan Singh's autobiography Page 102.
- xxx) Justice Mehar chand Mahajan's Text Looking back Chapter 20 Page 171.
- xxxi) Complaint of Pt. Prem Nath Dogra to the President of India dated June 17, 1952, Published in Organiser June 30th 1952.
- xxxii) Memorandum of Ladakh submitted at the first instance to His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh in 1948 and thereafter to the Prime Minister of India.
- xxxiii) Letter dated 31st January 1948 written by Maharaja Hari Singh to Sardar Patel referred to in the autobiography of Karan Singh Chapter 7th Page 89
- xxxiv) Hand Book of Jammu And Kashmir state 3rd Edn 1946-47 Page 63 ; The text of Round Table Conference Ist Held at London on 12th Nov. 1930.
- xxxv) His Highness' Government, J&K Regulation No. 1 of Svt. 1934 came into force on the Baisakh Svt 1991 Bk, Preamble and Section 1, the first session of Praja Sabha was inaugurated by the Maharaja on October 17, 1934 A.D.

- xxxvi) Ibid Section 10
- xxxvii) Election rules Sct 1990 and Election regulation of Svt 1991
- xxxviii) Inaugural address of Maharaja Hari Singh for the Praja Sabha, 1st session dated 17th October 1934
- xxxix) J&K Constitution Act XIV of Svt 1996
- xl) Hand Book of State of J&K 1946-47 Page 37
- xli) Ibid Page 40
- xlii) Ibid
- xliii) Panchayati Raj Act of 1935
- xliv) The J&K Cooperative Societies Act Svt 1970 ; See also J&K State Administration Report for the year 1945-46
- xlv) Memorandum of Maharaja dated 16/17th August' 1952 addressed to Dr. Rajinder Prasad, President of India New Delhi
- xlvi) Ibid
- xlvii) Mehar Chand Mahajan's "Looking Back" Page 250.
- xlviii) Notification dated 26th June' 1949, J&K State Gazette.
- xlix) Indian Constituent Assembly Debates dated 27th May' 1953, Vol VIII Page 357-75.
- l) Ibid Vol VIII Page 915
- li) Group photo of Members of Indian Constituent Assembly dated 7th April 1949 being part of its debates.
- lii) Karan Singh's Autobiography Page 149-50
- liii) Ibid Page 154.
- liv) Select works Jawahar Lal Nehru Vol 22 Page 193-199
- lv) Kashmir special status (in light of agreement) All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference Srinagar 1975 Page 22-24.
- lvi) Select words jawahar Lal Nehru Vol 23 Page 303-05.
- lvii) Karan Singh, Autobiography 1931-1967 Chapter 12 Page 160.
- lviii) Ibid Pages 161 to 164.
- lix) J&K Government Gazette Vol 66 Srinagar, Sunday 25th Sawan 2010-9th August 1953 No. 17 (C.2) Extra ordinary.
- lx) The Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly Debates dated 6th February' 1953.
- lxi) The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir Section 5, 6 and Section 143.
- lxii) Indian Constituent Assembly Debate Vol X Page 422-27 dated 17th October 1949.
- lxiii) The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1954 dated 14th May'1954 dated 14th May'1954 C.O 48 dated 15th May 1954.
- lxiv) Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, Section 5

- lxv) Notification N. 13-L/1989 dated 27th June 1932.
- lxvi) Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir Section 5
- lxvii) Proclamation of the Regent of the State Yuvraj Karan Singh dated 1st May 1951 (placed in Legal Documents or Jammu and Kashmir published by the J&K study Centre New Delhi, 3rd Ed 2016 Page 68-69.
- lxviii) Memorandum of Pt Prem nath Dogra submitted to the President of India, Dr. Rajinder Prasad on June 19, 1952 ; see also organiser dated June 30, 1952.
- lix) Ministry of Defence, Govt. of India, Operations in Jammu and Kashmir 1947-1948 Page 276.
- lxx) Tathagata Roy's, A Complete biography of Dr. Syma Prasad Mukerjee Chapter 11 Page 264.
- lxxi) "Hindustan Standard" Paper dated March, 20, 1951
- lxxii) Tathagata Roy's A Complete biography of Dr Syma Prasad Mukerjee Chapter 12 Page 270-71
- lxxiii) Ibid Page 294-297.
- lxxiv) Sanjhi Lal Gupta, His Text Vish Dhara 370.
- lxxv) Tathagata Roy's A Complete biography of Dr Syma Prasad Mukerjee Chapter 13 Page 315.
- lxxvi) Ibid Chapter 14 Page 331-332
- lxxvii) Ibid 14 Page 333
- lxxviii) Parliamentary Debates, General Budget Demands for Grant Vol 2 Part II June 26, 1952 Page 2570-2583
- lxxix) Tathagata Roy's a complete biography of Dr Syma Prasad Mukherjee Chapter 14 Page 341-42
- lxxx) Ibid Page 345
- lxxxi) Parliamentary debates, Motion re Kashmir State Vol 4 Part II August 7, 1952 Paged 5885-5899
- lxxxii) Parliamentary Debates, Motion address by the President of India Vol I Part II Pages 320-22.
- lxxxiii) Parliamentary Debates, Situation on Jammu, Vol 2, Part II dated March 25, 1953 Paged 2866-2878.
- lxxxiv) Tathagata Roy's, a complete biography of Dr Syma Prasad Mukerjee Chapter 15 Page 352-356
- lxxxv) Ibid Page 360
- lxxxvi) Zahir-ud-Din's Frash Back, Kashmir story since 1846, Page 110-111
- lxxxvii) The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir (Sixth Amendment) Act 1965, Section 2.

lxxxviii) Ibid

lxxxix) The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order 1954 dated 14-05-1954 CO 48 – SRO 1610 Ministry of Law New Delhi

xc) Lok Sabha Debates XXXII Page 1277 to 13507 dated 11th September 1964, Lok Sabha Debates XXXII Page 3449 to 3478 dated 4th December 1964.

xc) N.M. Ghatate's Atal Bihari Vajpayee, a constructive Parliamentarian Page 445 to 475.

xcii) The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir Order 2019, Co. 272 dated 5th August 2019)

xciii) The notification of The President of India GSR 562 (E) dated 6th August 2019 C.O. 273 Published in Gazette of India Extraordinary Part II dated 6th August 2019.

