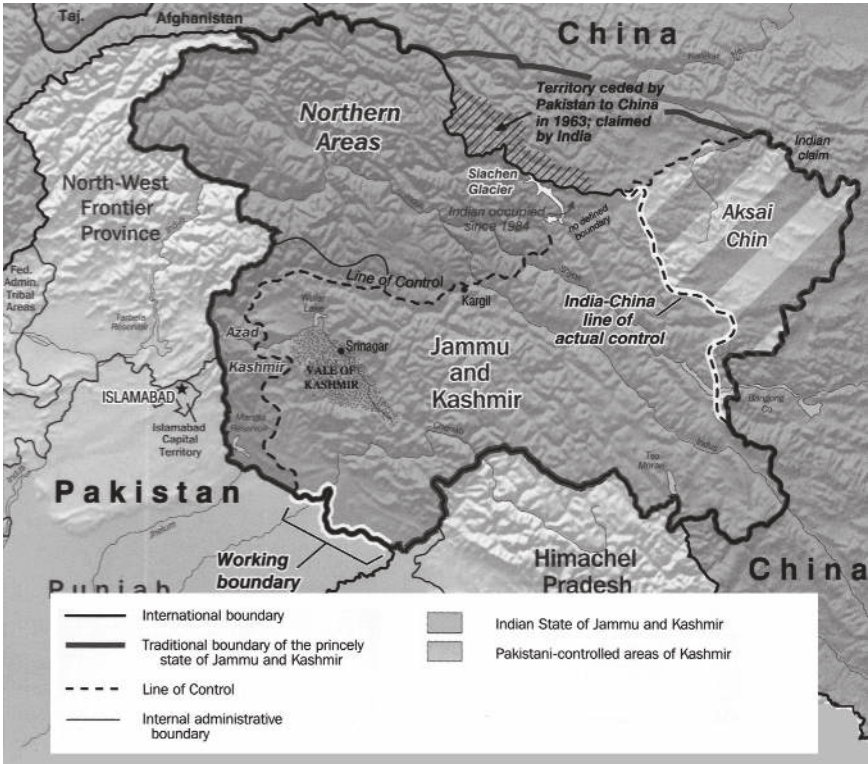


## **Kashmir in the Aftermath of Partition**

Kashmir remains one of the world's most militarized areas of dispute, having been in the grips of an armed insurgency against India since the late 1980s. In existing scholarship, ideas of territoriality, state sovereignty, and national security have dominated the discourses on the Kashmir conflict. This book, in contrast, places Kashmir and Kashmiris at the center of historical debate and investigates a broad range of sources to illuminate a century of political players and social structures on both sides of divided Kashmir and in the wider Kashmiri diaspora. In the process, it broadens the contours of Kashmir's postcolonial and resistance history, complicates the meaning of Kashmiri identity, and reveals Kashmiris' myriad imaginings of freedom. It asserts that "Kashmir" has emerged as a political imaginary in postcolonial era, a vision that grounds Kashmiris in their negotiations for rights not only in India and Pakistan, but also in global cultural and political spaces. This book further contends that the idea of territorial nationalism has failed to bring peace to the South Asian subcontinent. Instead, the trauma of partition continues to unfold in Kashmir, while Kashmiris struggle for dignity and rights.

**Shahla Hussain** teaches in the Department of History at St. John's University, USA.

Cambridge University Press  
 978-1-108-49046-7 — Kashmir in the Aftermath of Partition  
 Shahla Hussain  
 Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)



**Map of the Disputed State of Jammu and Kashmir**

Source: Based on map by US Central Intelligence Agency, 2002.

Note: In 2019 the Indian Parliament passed the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Act that stripped India-administered Kashmir of statehood and reconstituted it into two union territories: Jammu-Kashmir and Ladakh.

Map not to scale and does not represent authentic international boundaries.

# Kashmir in the Aftermath of Partition

Shahla Hussain



Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-49046-7 — Kashmir in the Aftermath of Partition  
Shahla Hussain  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom  
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi–110025, India  
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781108490467](http://www.cambridge.org/9781108490467)

© Shahla Hussain 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in India

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Hussain, Shahla, author.

Title: Kashmir in the aftermath of partition / Shahla Hussain.

Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020049895 (print) | LCCN 2020049896 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108490467 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108780995 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Jammu and Kashmir (India)--History--20th century. | Jammu and Kashmir (India)--Politics and government.

Classification: LCC DS485.K27 H876 2021 (print) | LCC DS485.K27 (ebook) | DDC 954/.604--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020049895>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020049896>

ISBN 978-1-108-49046-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

*To Ahlay*

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-49046-7 — Kashmir in the Aftermath of Partition  
Shahla Hussain  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

## Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
Introduction	1
1. Meanings of Freedom in the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir	24
2. Freedom, Loyalty, Belonging: Kashmir after Decolonization	77
3. Puppet Regimes: Collaboration and the Political Economy of Kashmiri Resistance	132
4. The Idea of Plebiscite: Discontent and Regional Dissidence	184
5. Mapping Kashmiri Imaginings of Freedom in the Inter-regional and Global Arenas	238
6. <i>Jang-i-Aazadi</i> (War for Freedom): Religion, Politics, and Resistance	292
Conclusion	349
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	361
<i>Index</i>	378

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-108-49046-7 — Kashmir in the Aftermath of Partition  
Shahla Hussain  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---



## Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to numerous people and institutions. This book is an outgrowth of my doctoral dissertation at Tufts University. I am eternally grateful for the guidance and unwavering support that I have received from my former Ph.D. advisor, Ayesha Jalal. I am thankful for many constructive comments and feedback she provided that improved the clarity of my arguments. I also want to express my thanks to Kris Manjappa, Sugata Bose, Leila Fawaz, Reed Ueda, Annette Lazzara, and Steven Marrone for their guidance and encouragement during my time at Tufts.

The research for this book was made possible by generous grants and fellowships that I received from various institutions. I am grateful to the Tufts Provost Office and Tufts Institute of Global Leadership for providing me funds to travel to India for my fieldwork. The fellowship offered by the American Institute of Pakistan Studies allowed me to do research at the British Library and the National Archives, Kew. The Summer Support for Research received from St. John's University enabled me to dedicate my time to writing and completing this book.

I am indebted to several individuals who provided access to their priceless private collections and unpublished documents. In India-administered Kashmir, I owe my gratitude to Humaira Farooq, Bhushan Bazaz, Shabir Mujahid, and Mrs. Khan. They shared their archives, without which I would not be able to formulate critical arguments of my book. In England, I benefitted from the support of Daalat Ali, who was very hospitable and introduced me to a cross-section of British Kashmiri activists. I want to thank Masoom Ali, Shams Rehman, Wahid Siddiqi, Shabir Choudhry and Nazir Tabassum for sharing their archives with me. I am deeply appreciative of Agha Shabbar in Pakistan-administered Kashmir who arranged interviews on Skype with essential members of the Kashmiri community. I wish to record my gratitude to Dr. Abdul Basit, Ambassador Arif Kamal, Justice Abdul Majeed Mallick, Farooq Rehmani, Abdul Khaliq Ansari, and Maulvi Muhammad Ahmed for sharing their insights about Kashmir's politics and history.

My sincere thanks to the staff at the Jammu Archives, National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, National Archives at Kew, and the British Library for accommodating my research requests. I am also grateful to Thomas Burbine for helping me acquire valuable documents from the Center for Research

x *Acknowledgments*

Libraries at Chicago. The staff members of the Library of Congress at Washington DC and the United Nations Archives and Record Management were very helpful during my research visits.

I am fortunate to have a supportive department at St. John's University that reduced my teaching load so that I could dedicate my time to the completion of my book. My heartfelt thanks to my colleagues in the History department at St. John's for their friendship and support. I am grateful to all the people who read parts of the manuscript and offered valuable comments, especially Nerina Rustomji and Catherine R. Osborne. At Cambridge University Press, Qudsiya Ahmed, Aniruddha De, and Anwasha Rana provided support throughout the publication process.

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to my family, especially my parents who instilled in me the value of hard work and the importance of determination. My aunt and brother provided the needed moral support. I am especially grateful to my uncle for helping me translate literary works from Kashmiri to English. I dedicate this book to my daughter, Ahlay, whose love and support motivated me to take on and complete this project.