

Index

- Abbas, Chaudhry Ghulam, 41, 48, 53–4,
 59, 244, 248
- Abdullah, Begum, 198
- Abdullah, Farooq, 147–8, 202, 221–3, 306,
 310
- Abdullah, Sheikh Muhammad, 3, 37–44,
 47–60, 62–5, 69*n*21, 72*n*89, 78–82,
 86–7, 89–90, 92–4, 96, 99–105,
 109–20, 130*n*198, 132, 134–7,
 140–1, 144, 146–7, 149, 153, 155,
 157–8, 161, 163–6, 172, 177*n*41,
 185–7, 189–94, 196–203, 206–7,
 212–24, 226, 236*n*161, 239, 246,
 248, 250, 253–56, 272, 295, 297–8,
 302–3, 306, 310, 319, 341*n*31, 357
- against integrationist forces, 116
- arrest, 203
- in National Conference, 143
- limiting the jurisdiction of India's central
 government, 99
- political views on partition, 62–3
- would nullify the state subject category,
 117
- Action Committee, 153–4
- Awami, 204
- Babri Masjid, 305
- Buddhist, 228
- Hindu, 209
- Muslim, 198, 202, 204
- West-Pakistani Refugees, 220
- administrative, Kashmir
- acceptability, 5, 172
- anti-corruption campaigns, 148
- complications, 92
- inefficiency, 86
- measures, 353
- officials, 87, 278
- services, 143
- zone, 107
- Afghanistan, 246, 304, 327–8, 339, 358
- agrarian reforms, 104–11, 140, 163, 224
- deep resentment in Jammu, 109
- empowered a section of the Kashmiri
 peasantry, 107
- exempted fruit farms, 108
- manipulated revenue records, 108
- no compensation, 106
- abli-i-tiqadis*, 163
- Ahmad, Bashir-ud-din Mahmud, 40
- Ahmadiyyas, 40, 42
- Ahrars, 40
- Akal Takht, 313
- Akali Dal, 112
- Akbar, Sofi, 193
- Aksai Chin, 203
- Al-Fatah, 211, 214, 217, 258, 302
- commitment towards Palestinian
 national movement, 274
- on guerilla warfare in Kashmir, 212
- Algeria, 19, 189, 202–3, 208, 239, 254,
 258, 274
- Algerian National Liberation Front, 254
- Ali, Agha Shahid, 2–3, 20*n*1, 324, 360
- alienation
- from India, 2–3, 294
- from National Conference, 301
- of Kashmiri Muslims, 28, 212, 294, 301,
 311

- Aligarh Muslim University, 37
 All India Kashmir Muslim Committee, 40–1
 All India Kashmir Muslim Conference, 31, 33, 40
 All India States People's Conference, 47
 All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, 242
 All State Kashmiri Pandit Conference, 59
 Allah Tigers, 326
 Al-Qaeda, 331
 Al-Umar, 326
 Amarnath Shrine Board, 335
 Amnesty International, 16, 317
 Anantnag, 58, 162–3, 215–16, 303, 306–7, 333
 Anantnag Degree College, 216
 Andrabi, Jalil, 329
 Anglo-Sikh wars of 1846, 27
 Anjuman-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam, 155
 Anjumun-i-Kashmir-Mussalmanan-i-Lahore, 31
 Anjumun-i-Nusrat-ul-Islam, 33
 Ansari, Abdul Khaliq, 250, 253–4, 262, 271, 273, 285*n*77
 Ansari, Maulvi Abbas, 307
 Arab–Israeli War of 1973, 299
 Arafat, Yasser, 274
 Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act (AFSPA), 281, 316, 332–4
 Article (Indian Constitution)
 35A, 8, 103, 226, 338–9, 356–7
 249, 306
 275, 138
 306A, 100
 356, 145, 201
 370, 11, 100–1, 103, 137, 148, 166, 172, 201, 215, 218, 220–2, 224–5, 306, 308, 351
 371, 11
 371A, 11, 22*n*26
 Arunachal Pradesh, 12, 172, 338–9
 Ashai, G. M., 114
 Ashraf, K. M., 45
 Assam, 15, 172, 221, 319
 Audit Report of 1962, 144
 Auquaf-i-Islamia, 155
 Awami League, 260–1
 Awami Mahaz, 216
 Awami National Conference, 307
 Awami Raj, 80, 89, 120
 Awami Socialist Conference, 191
 Ayyangar Committee Report (1967), 141, 177*n*46
 Ayyangar, N. Gopalaswami, 100, 141, 144
aazadi (*azadi*), 256, 278–9, 311–20, 323–31, 337
 counter-narrative of, 320–4
 demand by Kashmiris, 2, 4
 digital and creative roots of, 331–9
 Islamization of, 324–31
 Azad Kashmir, 188, 214, 221, 229, 239–40, 250–1, 253–4, 256, 259, 263, 267–9, 277–80, 352
 accommodation and resistance in, 240–9
 as a base camp, 268
 dominated by Pakistani nationalist politics, 253
 feelings of political suppression, 246
 for guerilla training, 256
 involved in fractious internal politics, 248
 legislative assembly, 272, 279
 Pakistan and, relationship between, 271–3
 provisional government, 242
 puppet regimes, 281
 and self-determination promise, 252
 Azad Kashmir Army, 241
 Azad Kashmir movement, 95, 241–2
 Azad Muslim Conference, 42, 202
 Azad, Abdul Ahad, 61
 Azad, Maulana Abdul Kalam, 119
 Aziz, Mir Abdul, 245
 Babri Masjid Action Committee, 305
 backward classes, 166, 168, 182*n*160

- Baghdad Pact, 187
 Bakshi Brothers Corporation, 141
 Bakshi, Rashid 153
 Bakshi, Shakeel, 307
 Bakula, Kushok, 110
 Baluchistan, 246, 273
 Balawaristan National Front (BNF), 279
 Baltistan, 6, 243, 249, 254, 259, 275, 279–80, 290*n*193, 352
 Bandung, 189
 Bangladesh, 146, 260, 269, 271–2, 338–9
 Baramulla, 204, 215, 255, 277, 299, 334
 Basic Democracy (BD) system, 248–9
 Basic Principles Committee, 101, 118
 Basit, Abdul, 256–7
 Batamaloo, 204, 313
 Bazaz, Prem Nath, 43, 45–6, 51, 53, 57, 62, 94, 169, 187–8, 192, 208, 234*n*101, 102, 246
 Bedi, B. P. L., 45, 81
 Bedi, Freda, 45
 Beg, Mirza Afzal, 102, 193, 215, 218
 belonging(s), 8, 18, 31, 35, 65, 77–9, 85–6, 90–1, 97–8, 102, 104, 111, 120, 167, 241, 324, 353
 community, 14
 to different sub-regions, 41
 to either India or Pakistan, 64, 120
 to the homeland, 353
 political, 5, 17
 religious, 7, 355
 with the undivided territory of Jammu and Kashmir, 8, 241
 Berlin Wall, 304
 Bhan, D. N., 187
 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 228, 315, 338
 Ekta Yatra in 1991, 325
 victory in 2019 general elections, 356
 Bhat, M. S., 160
 Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 261, 265, 299, 272
 Big Landed Estate Abolition Act, 106
biradari, 241, 244, 250–2
 Birmingham, 245, 251, 263–4, 274
 British paramountcy, 6, 60–1
bodhisattva, 26
 border(s), 5–6, 10–13, 35, 40, 65, 67, 97–8, 199, 203, 205, 220, 229, 238, 242–3, 253, 272, 277–8, 317–18, 326, 330, 349–50, 358
 artificial, 2–3, 78, 83
 with China, 243
 within their homeland, 252
 in the Kashmiri psyche, 349
 of the nation-states, 3
 to reconnect communities, 83
 Brinckman, Arthur, 30
 Britain, 13, 17, 41, 99, 146, 229, 239–40, 245, 251–2, 263–6, 270–1, 273–6, 281
 Buddhist, 4, 19, 26, 47, 95, 110, 224, 227–8
 Budgam, 204, 299
 Bukhari, Maulana Qasim, 155
 bureaucracy, 108, 250, 259–60
 administrative, 245
 central, 170
 corrupt, 29
 Hindu, 28
 Pakistani, 12, 96, 229, 239, 243
 Burma Ordinance of 1818, 40
 business groups, 38, 47, 307, 319
 Butt, Maqbool, 238, 254–5, 259, 261, 263, 269, 276, 286*n*104, 286*n*105, 287*n*117
 Cabinet Mission, 58, 185
 capitalism, 57–8, 263–7, 270, 295, 301
 cease-fire line, 248, 254
 central assistance
 Kashmir received a larger share, 138
 drove economic growth, 139
 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), 210–11
 centralization, 12–14, 93, 115, 133, 148, 166, 171, 187, 192, 217–25, 294, 304, 351

- Chavan, Y. B., 169
 Chenab river, 12
 China, 11, 42, 243, 357–8
 challenged India's sovereignty in Aksai
 Chin region, 203
 China–Pakistan Economic Corridor
 (CPEC), 290*n*193
 Char-i-Sharif shrine, 328
 citizen(s), 102, 104, 112, 135, 151, 158,
 167–8, 170, 206, 219, 244
 Kashmiri, 8, 16, 312, 314, 334, 340,
 354
 Indian, 17, 84, 91, 103, 154, 219–21,
 311, 335, 340
 Pakistani, 221, 269
 Indian Muslims, 93, 339
 Citizenship Amendment Act (2019), 339
 civil liberties, 82, 95, 112, 144, 186, 191–2,
 194, 205–7, 211, 226, 248, 258,
 309, 311, 314, 351, 353–4
 Civil Service Recruitment Board, 35
 Cold War, 94, 187, 192, 203, 264, 277,
 281, 300, 303, 351
 collaborators, 5, 18, 134–48, 154, 167, 172,
 357
 commercialization of agriculture, 157–74
 Committee for Initiative on Kashmir
 (1991), 327
 Committee on Economic Reforms report
 (1998), 173
 communalism, 44, 51–2, 57–8, 62, 116,
 197, 206
 communism, 19, 43, 67, 264–5, 327
 communists influence on Kashmir, 55–60
 Comparative statistics of the central
 assistance (as percentage of total
 outlay), 138
 coercive state machinery, 354
 Constituent Assembly (Indian), 11
 adopted Hindi as official language, 92
 debate on princely states, 100
 constituent assembly of Jammu and
 Kashmir, 11, 65, 92, 100–3, 106,
 109, 112, 114, 118, 137–8, 187,
 193, 195, 199, 201, 220, 357
 corruption, 34, 105, 136, 141–5, 147–8,
 165–6, 169, 172, 174, 209, 219,
 224, 249, 257, 294, 300, 313, 329
 counterinsurgency, 324–31
 Criminal Procedure Code, 333
 Cuba, 208, 257, 266, 277
 culture of immunity extended to state
 institutions, 331
 Cyprus, 189
 Dal Lake, 148
 Debt Reconciliation Board, 107
 decolonization, 10–11, 18, 20*n*3, 25, 77–
 90, 240, 266, 282
 Delhi Agreement of 1952, 103–4
 Delhi Development Authority, 305
 demography, 9, 91, 221, 226, 339
 Devanagari–Persian script controversy, 52–3,
 92
 Dhar, D. P., 205
 diaspora, 326
 Mirpuri migrants, 251
 Pakistan–Kashmir United Forum, 271
 shared experiences of racial
 discrimination, 251
 Directive Principles of State Policy, 92
 Distressed Debtors Relief Act of 1950, 107
 Dixon, Sir Owen, 118, 247
 Dogra maharaja, 6–8, 28, 34–44, 47–8,
 52–3, 58–9, 64–6, 78–9, 81, 89, 93,
 101–2, 105, 108–10, 113, 125*n*93,
 132, 134, 136, 144, 185, 188–90,
 195–7, 201, 206, 219, 227, 240–2,
 247, 249, 254, 256, 294, 309, 350,
 352
 darbars (or court sessions), 34
 forced labor, 28, 313
 maharaja, 6–8, 28, 34, 41, 66, 78–9,
 102, 125*n*93, 219, 241
 religious discrimination, 28, 36, 275,
 308

- misgovernance in Kashmir, 30
 The Treaty of Amritsar, 27, 59
 dominance, 28, 110, 115, 133, 158, 201,
 217, 228, 250, 264
- economic emancipation, 56, 95, 174, 246
 education, 102, 143, 148–9, 151–2, 157,
 164, 166–7, 175, 189, 278, 295
 among Muslims, 155, 209
 to gain social advancement, 163
 at all levels a priority, 137
 Sharp Education Commission, 33
 educational enrollments, in Jammu and
 Kashmir, 170–1
 Egypt, 45, 300, 336
 elections, 9, 41, 47, 101, 109, 159, 163,
 195–6, 200–1, 212, 214, 216, 218,
 222, 229, 245, 260, 268, 297, 302–3,
 306–7, 310, 329, 331, 338, 351, 356
 as a contest between Islam and
 secularism, 308
 in Jammu and Kashmir, 330
 rigged, 9, 186–7, 312, 351
 Enemy Agents Act, 205
 English East India Company, 6
 En-lai, Chou, 203
 exodus of the Kashmiri Pandit community,
 320
- famine of 1877–8, 29
 Fani, Pitambar Nath Dhar, 187
 Farooq, Mirwaiz, 202, 216, 222
 Farooqi, Mufti, 318, 321
 fascism, 57
 Fauq, Muhammad-ud-din, 31–3, 35
 financial integration, 14, 103–4, 137–9,
 141, 149
 folk tales (*kath*), 29
 folk theatre (*band-pathar*), 29
 Forest Department, 142–3
 Fotedar, Shiv Narayan, 59
 Franchise Commission, 42–3
 Free Thinkers Association, 55
- Front de Libération Nationale (Algerian
 revolutionary group), 255
 fundamental rights, 16, 103–4, 108, 190,
 206, 312, 340, 354, 359
- gaba* (rug), 215
 Gajendragadkar Commission, 168–9,
 182*n*161, 183*n*162, 183*n*163,
 236*n*178, 236*n*179, 237*n*192
 Gandhi, Indira, 146, 206, 214, 219, 221–3,
 298
 Gandhi, Mohandas, 79, 105, 111, 123*n*55
 Gandhi, Rajiv, 306
 Ganga hijacking case, 259, 261, 268, 271,
 273
 Gawkadal, 39, 313, 315
 German reunification (1990), 22*n*25
 Gilgit, 6, 243, 249, 254, 259, 275, 279–80,
 290*n*193, 352
 Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self-
 Governance Order, 280
 Gilkar, G. N., 247
 Glancy Commission (1931), 41, 43
 global resurgence of Islam, 299–300
 government employees, in Jammu and
 Kashmir, 171
 Graham, Frank P., 93, 247
 Great Depression of 1930s, 39, 46
 grievances, 17, 30, 33, 38, 54, 143, 169,
 209, 211, 228, 281, 310, 311, 355
 against the Indian state, 336
 among Mirpuris, 251
 cultural, 67
 economic, 136, 165
 of East Pakistan, 269
 stemmed from the corruption, 169
 valley dominated administration, 227
 with the National Conference, 145, 147
- Habibullah, Wajahat, 321
 HAJY group, 312–13
 Hamdani, Mirwaiz Ghulam Nabi, 42, 190
 Hamdani, Sayyid Ali, 32

- Handoo, Parmeshwari, 209–10
 Handwara, 85, 277, 317
haq (rights), 10, 19, 194, 352
 Harkat-ul-Jihad-e-Islami (HuJI), 328
 Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), 328
 Hashmi, Mahmood, 80
 Hassan al-Banna, 300
 Hazratbal mosque, 50, 89–90, 153–4, 196, 198
 Hazratbal Robbery Case, 212
 Henderson, Loy, 117
 Hereditary State Subject Act, 21*n*14
 Hindu Mahasabha, 112
 Hindu nationalism, 51, 94, 114, 186–7, 190, 237*n*188, 355
 Hindutva, 227, 237*n*188, 356–7
 Hizbul Mujahideen (HM), 325–9
 Holy Relic Agitation, 154–5, 198, 202
 Home Guard, 80
 homeland, 2, 5–9, 11–12, 19–20, 23*n*30, 25, 29–32, 44, 62, 80, 98–9, 110, 153, 185, 203, 207, 221, 239–40, 245, 247, 251–3, 263–6, 270–1, 282, 300, 320–4, 349–350, 353–4, 357, 360
 humanism, 26, 49, 57, 95, 190
 human rights, 15–16, 20, 82, 277, 279, 281, 292–3, 303, 309, 316, 318–19, 325–6, 329, 331–4, 337, 354, 359
 Human Rights Watch, 278–9
 identity, 3, 5–10, 11–19, 32, 35, 78, 84, 91, 326, 328, 332, 339–40, 350–1, 353
 among Azad Kashmiris, 253
 among the migrants, 252
 cultural, 17, 91–2, 94, 150, 156, 175, 228, 293, 340, 355, 357
 Islamic, 156, 299, 326
 Kashmiri, 6–7, 13, 31–2, 35, 78, 166, 211, 217, 223, 241, 253, 271, 306, 337, 350, 353
 of Indian Muslims, 92, 156
 of Ladakhis, 228
 of the National Conference, 221
 political, 7–9, 17, 102–3, 153, 241, 282, 293, 302, 350, 354, 357
 regional, 96, 293
 ideology of, 49, 51, 85, 96, 155–7, 162, 194–5, 219, 270, 273, 276–7, 293
 Islamists, 13, 15, 19, 149, 158
 National Conference, 82
 revolutionary, 270
 a self-sustained struggle, 277
 socialist, 18, 264–5, 295
 Illahi, Roushan (known as M. C. Kash), 337
 Imroz, Parvez, 333
 Iran, 32, 300
 India-administered Kashmir, 12, 16, 81, 84, 96–7, 102–3, 120, 187, 208, 229, 238–9, 243–4, 246, 248, 253, 255, 275–9, 281–2, 303–4, 326, 334, 351, 358
 Indian Airlines Corporation, 169
 Indian Maintenance of Public Order Act, 214
 Indian National Congress, 40, 46, 48, 53, 78, 217
 Indian Union, 8, 61, 64, 99–101, 110–11, 113, 144, 152, 198, 310, 351, 357
 India–Pakistan–Kashmir confederation, 202
 India–Pakistan war
 1965, 204–5, 212, 252, 256, 265
 1971, 146, 214
 Indira–Abdullah Accord of 1975, 215, 222, 298
 Indus Waters Treaty of 1960, 173–4
 Inqilabi, Azam, 331–2
insaaf (justice), 10, 19, 194, 223, 352
 insurgency, 2, 13, 15, 19–20, 22*n*28, 171, 252–3, 277–8, 292–3, 311–20, 331–2, 336, 339
 integrate, 3, 13, 61, 91, 94, 111–14, 117, 133–34, 174, 184, 187, 198, 201, 224–5, 243, 246, 251, 293, 355
 Azad Kashmir, 243, 246
 culturally and emotionally, 226, 250

- financially, 133
 Gilgit Baltistan, 280
 Kashmiri Muslims, 3, 292
 only Jammu and Ladakh, 113
 with India, 61, 228
 within British society, 251
 Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), 165
 intelligence, 3, 13, 32, 79, 81–3, 93, 101, 114, 119, 135, 140, 154, 159, 198, 205, 243, 253, 258–9, 260–1, 263
 agencies in the Valley, 310
 created rifts among militant groups, 327
 Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), 276–7, 312, 327–8
 networks, 276
 Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau, 310
 Intensive Agricultural Area Programme (IAAP), 159
 internal legitimacy flows from sovereignty in the people, concept of, 15
 International Marxist Group (IMG), Britain, 264, 266
 International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice, 332–3
 Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), 276–7, 312, 327–8
 Iqbal, Muhammad, 31–2, 37
 Ishaq, Munshi Muhammad, 89, 193, 204
 Islam role in Kashmiri resistance, 13–19, 294–311
 Islamia High School, 33
 Islamic Caliphate, 13
 Islamic resurgence, 294–311
 Islamic Student League (ISL), 307
 Islami-Jami'at-i-Tulaba (or Islamic Union of Students), 301
 Islamist, 4, 13, 19, 149, 157–8, 165, 214, 279, 281, 293, 295–6, 299, 301, 305, 355
 fundamentalism, 323
 groups, 15–16, 18, 134, 265, 279, 293, 295, 299, 305, 326, 358
 insurgency, 339
 separatists, 324
 sponsored by Pakistan, 292
 state, 296
 student movements, 301
 terrorism, 4, 16, 281, 331, 355
 Ithad-ul-Muslimeen, 306–7
izzat (human dignity), 10, 19, 194, 223, 352
 Jacquemont, Victor, 27
jagir, 66, 108–9
jagirdar (landlord), 56, 255
jagirdari land grant system, 104, 109
 Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), 328
 Jamaat-i-Islami, 155–7, 163, 214, 216, 295, 297, 299–300, 306, 325, 340n10
 prioritizing Muslim law, 298
 reservations about “secularism,” 296
 strategic alliance with the Congress, 298
 to dislodge the power base of the National Conference, 295
 Jama Masjid, 33, 38, 42, 136, 216, 300
 Jammu and Kashmir Agrarian Reforms of 1972, 161–2
 Jammu and Kashmir Civil Service Rules of 1956, 168
 Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Area Act of 1990, 315–16
 Jammu and Kashmir Ingress Control Act 1948, 84
 Jammu and Kashmir Kissan Conference, 58
 Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), 222, 273–8, 312–15, 317, 320, 324–7
 an independent Kashmir, 273–8, 312
 and diplomatic effort, 276
 and religious freedom, 275–6
 and secret work with ISI, 277
 insurgents, 313–14, 320
 Jammu and Kashmir Motor Vehicles Act of 1941, 142
 Jammu and Kashmir People's League, 302

- Jammu and Kashmir Preventive Corruption Act, 143–4
- Jammu and Kashmir Preventive Detention Act, 214
- Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act (1978), 311, 315
- Jammu Autonomy Forum, 225
- Jammu Kashmir Liberation League (JKLL), 249
- Jan Sangh, 112–13, 154
- Jatto, H. N., 321
- Lower Jhelum Hydroelectric Project (LJHP), 173
- Jhelum river, 12
- Jhelum Valley Road, 30–1, 86, 145–6, 199, 245
- jihad (holy war), 4, 20, 278, 292–3, 325–6, 328
- Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 54–5, 61, 63
 indifference to the National Conference, 64
 support for the Muslim Conference, 55
- Kalhana *Rajatarangini* (River of Kings), 25–6
- Kamil, Amin, 151, 309
- Karachi, 255, 278
- Karachi agreement of 1949, 243, 254
- Karachi University, 254
- Karra, Ghulam Mohiuddin, 189–90
- Karnah, 277
- Kashmir Civil Services, 145, 167
- Kashmir Conspiracy Case, 198
- Kashmir Democratic Union (KDU), 188–90, 192
- Kashmir for Kashmiris movement, 8, 34, 102
- Kashmiri Muslims, 2–3, 6–11, 13–15, 17–20, 28, 30–40, 43–5, 50, 52, 63–5, 78–9, 86, 88, 90–9, 101–3, 106, 109–12, 114–17, 119–20, 136, 144–5, 149, 153–6, 168–70, 184–8, 190–1, 193, 197–9, 201, 204, 208–13, 215, 219, 221–4, 226, 229, 238–9, 247, 250, 253, 274, 282, 292–8, 300–2, 304–17, 319–25, 328, 330, 335–6, 339–40, 352–5, 357–9
 about India's secular credentials, 92
 as suspects to be kept under surveillance, 93
 based in Punjab, 31
 equate democracy with authoritarianism, 208
 excluded from structures of power, 144
 expressions of attachment to religious identity, 15
 insistent on the state-subject category's retention, 9
 invoked self-determination, 186
 resented New Delhi's interference, 166
 transgressed the ceasefire line, 238
- Kashmir Liberation Movement (KLM), 248
- Kashmir National Identity Campaign (KNIC), 271
- Kashmir Socialist party, 81
- Kashmir Study Centre, 338
- Kashmir Workers Association (KWA), 270–1, 273
- Kashmir Youth League, 45, 55, 206, 302
- Kashmiri Pandit Agitation, 209–11, 305
- Kashmiri Pandits, 21n14, 34, 37, 43–5, 48, 51–3, 57, 59, 81, 105–6, 169, 209–11, 320–3, 360
 disassociated from the National Conference, 53
 experience of displacement, 323
 felt excluded and threatened, 320
 in state-services, 44, 225
- Kashmiri, Mushtaq, 297
- Kashmiriyat, 5–10, 78
- Khalistan, 313
- Khamenei, Ayatollah, 300
- Khan, Amanullah, 254–5, 262, 273, 275–6, 312, 326
- Khan, Chaudhry Hamidullah, 48
- Khan, G. H., 146, 152, 170

- Khan, General Ayub, 200, 248
 Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali, 59
 Khan, Mohammad Ishaq, 20*n*6
 Khan, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim, 242–4
 Khan, Sardar Qayyum, 248
 Khan, Yahya, 261
 Khan, Zafar, 8, 21*n*16
 Khanqah-i-Mohalla, 38
 Khanyar, 40, 313
 Khomeini, Ayatollah, 300
 Khurshid, K. H., 65, 249, 256, 262
 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 78, 242, 273, 327
 Kilam, Pandit Jialal, 51
 Kissan Mazdoor Conference, 81
 Kripalani, Acharya, 115–16, 119
- Ladakh, 6, 104–13, 118, 182*n*161, 203, 224–8, 279, 308, 353, 356
 Ladakhi Buddhist Association, developed relationship with Hindu right parties in India, 228
 Lal Chowk (or the Red Square), 153, 198, 207
 Laleshwari (known as Lal Ded or Lalla), 26
 Land Commission Committee (1963), 159
 Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), 328
 Lawrence, Walter R., 21*n*7, 30
 legalistic view of sovereignty, 334–5
 line of control, 2, 11–12, 85, 146, 202, 229, 239, 248, 272, 277, 280, 311, 317–18, 326, 335, 351
 Lippman, Walter, 212
 loans from India to Jammu and Kashmir government, 87, 137, 139, 172–3, 175, 176*n*20
 Lohia, Dr. Ram Manohar, 191
 Lone, Abdul Ghani, 145
 Lower Jhelum Hydroelectric Project (LJHP), 173
 loyalty, 18, 41–2, 77–8, 90, 93, 96, 109, 111, 170, 244, 250, 253, 316, 318, 351
 of Abdullah, 114
 of Bakshi's government, 135
 of Kashmiri Hindus, 105
 of Kashmiri Muslims, 78
 to Congress, 223
 to India, 223, 351
 to the maharaja, 41
- Madhok, Balraj, 154, 226
 Maharaj Gunj market, 38
 Mahaz-i-Aazadi, 328
 Mahjoor, Ghulam Ahmad, 24, 56, 68*n*1, 77, 88–9, 98–9
 Maisuma, 39, 313
 Majid, Master Abdul, 264
 Majoritarian card to rally Hindu votes, 304
maktab, 37
 Malhotra, Jagmohan, 23*n*32, 148, 305–9, 315, 321
 Malik, Mohammed Yasin, 312
 Mangla Dam, 250–1
 Manto, Saadat Hasan, 98
 Martand, 226
marusi (ancestral) land, 107
 Masoodi, Maulana, 193
 Mawdudi, Maulana, 155, 300
 Mazdoor Sabha, 46
 Mehta, Asoka, 191
 Menon, V. P., 61
 migrations, 29, 65–6, 109, 229, 240, 251–2, 321, 354
 to Britain, 229
 in Dogra period, 29–30
 economic, 250
 of Hindus and Sikhs, 91
 to Middle East, 300
 to Pakistan, 66
 riot-driven, 91
 Milad-ul-Nabi festival, 50
 militarization of Kashmir, 15–16, 20, 281, 331–2, 336–7, 354, 359
 Million March (2014), Britain, 281
 Ministry of Kashmir Affairs (MKA), 243–4, 246–7, 249–50, 256

- Ministry of States, 61, 84–5
 Mir, Javed, 312
 Miraj-ul-Alam, 50
 Mirpur, 40, 54, 66, 240–1, 244–5, 250–2, 271
 mobilization, 6, 192–9, 336
 political, 17–18, 27, 38, 43–4, 50, 56, 189, 247, 314
 in favor of freedom, 27
 majoritarian, 222, 355
 regional, 43
 Moe-e-Muqaddas, 153
 Mohiuddin, Akhtar, 191
 Mookerjee, Syama Prasad, 112–13
 Moorcroft, William, 27
 Mother India, 10–11, 356
 Mountbatten, Lord (Governor General of India), 67, 125*n*93, 195
 special session of Chamber of Princes, 60–1
 Muhammad, Bakshi Ghulam, 82, 119, 130*n*206, 134, 141, 144, 149, 154, 187, 190
 lacked legitimacy, 134
 subdue Kashmiri discontent, 135
 to align with India, 136
mujawaza (grain procurement), 136–7
 Mullik, B. N., 93, 119
 Musharraf, Pervez, 280
 Muslim Conference, 33, 37, 41–57, 59, 64–5, 70*n*39, 80–1, 85, 136, 187, 202, 241–4, 246–50, 271
 Muslim League, 46–7, 51, 54–5, 58–9, 61–5, 95
 Muslim Mujahedeen, 326
 Muslim United Front (MUF), 306–12
 elections as a contest between Islam and secularism, 308
 resist unwarranted political interference, 306
 safeguard Kashmiri Muslim identity, 306
 Muzaffarabad, 97, 240–1, 278, 280, 312
 Nagaland, 12, 22*n*26
 Narayan, Jayaprakash, 191, 206, 213
 National Assembly, 56, 101
 National Conference, 48–9, 51–60, 62–5, 78–81, 86–8, 90, 92, 94–5, 101, 103, 106–7, 109–10, 112–16, 118–19, 134–5, 143, 145, 153, 156, 160, 162, 164–6, 185, 190, 193, 197, 201, 215, 217–18, 220–3, 226–7, 242, 247, 250, 253, 295, 299, 301, 303, 305–6, 308, 310, 319
 administrative policies, 104
 agrarian reforms in 1950s, 224
 collaborative politics, 120
 demand for autonomy, 111
 Home Guard, 80
 and minority reservations on
 administrative policies of, 104–11
 National Demand manifesto of Muslim Conference, 47–8, 51, 53
 National Front government (1989–90), 323
 National Hydel Power Corporation (NHPC), 173
 National Liberation Army, 276
 National Liberation Front (NLF), 254–5, 258–63, 268, 273–4
 activists in India-administered Kashmir, 260
 hijacked the Indian airplane *Ganga*, 260
 on the Algerian revolutionary group, 255
 to operate independently, 255
 to recruit guerillas, 255
 National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), 165
 national security, 3–4, 16, 60, 144, 203, 309, 315, 331–2, 334, 350, 354, 359
 nationalism, 13, 57, 43, 50, 52–3, 58, 62, 67, 302, 360
 Hindu, 94, 114, 186, 190, 237*n*188, 355
 militant, 225
 regional, 7

- secular, 14, 18, 45, 51, 91, 148, 150, 156, 296
- territorial, 3, 10, 13, 120, 240, 273–81, 325, 356, 359
- Western ideologies of, 25, 36
- nationalist ideology, 49–50
- nationalization of Muslims, 294
- Nawabs of Dacca, 32
- Naya Kashmir* (or New Kashmir Manifesto), 56–7, 62–3, 79, 95, 104, 133
- Nazish, Nazir, 264, 266, 270
- Neelum Valley, 278
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 11, 46–7, 54, 59–61, 63–5, 67, 79, 81, 94, 100, 103, 110, 112–13, 115, 118, 143, 186–7, 199–200, 216, 220
- and Abdullah, 64, 103, 112–13
- leading the All India States People's Conference, 47
- pledged to consult the Kashmiri people, 79
- support for Quit Kashmir, 59
- nepotism, 105, 142, 166, 169, 172, 174, 209, 219, 224, 294, 300, 313
- New Kashmiri Bookshop, 55
- negotiations, 7, 100, 103, 200, 204, 212, 215–16, 243, 247, 261
- between Pakistan's military leadership, 261
- for rights, 7, 229
- with legitimate Kashmiri leaders, 212
- with New Delhi, 215
- with the Dogra state, 6
- with the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, 243
- Nisar, Qazi, 306, 309, 326
- Noon, Firoz Khan, 248
- Noorani, A. G., 201, 219, 357
- Noor-ud-Din, Sheikh (or Nund Rishi), 26, 328
- North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), 66, 78, 246, 273, 327
- nouveau riche, 133, 141–2, 149–50, 171
- number of government employees in Jammu and Kashmir, 1978–88, 171
- online activism, tool in Kashmiri mobilization, 336
- Operation Gibraltar, 203
- Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), 299
- Pakistan People's Party (PPP), 260, 265, 272
- Pakistan-administered Kashmir, 2, 8, 12–13, 19, 80, 96–7, 187–8, 199, 208, 219–21, 229, 239–41, 245, 250, 253, 259, 261, 263, 265–8, 271, 273, 275, 312, 317, 326, 331, 351
- Pakistan Workers Association (PWA), 270
- Palestine, 19, 239, 301, 313
- Pandit, Lalita, 322
- Pandits' experience of displacement, 323
- Panun Kashmir (Our Own Kashmir) movement, 323–4
- partition of India, 3
- and sovereignty dispute, 60–7
- Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai, 61, 93, 100, 109, 114
- Pathribal Fake Encounter Case, 333
- patronage politics, 141, 143, 174, 352
- Peace Brigade, 135, 153, 191, 196–7
- peasants, 28–30, 34, 39–41, 49, 55–8, 66, 79, 81, 103, 106–8, 110, 133, 136, 140, 158, 160–1, 163, 165, 169, 193, 215, 255, 257, 265–7, 307
- People's Democratic Party (PDP), 338
- People's League, 223, 302–3
- Permanent Resettlement Bill, 220
- Persian, 52, 92
- plebiscite, 9–10, 18–19, 77, 84, 87, 90, 93, 97, 99–101, 110–14, 118, 120, 135, 153, 184–7, 190–2, 205, 211–12, 215, 218, 224, 238, 242–3, 245, 247, 269–73
- movement, 192–9, 221, 223, 239, 253, 256, 303

- politics of, 199–204
 self-determination, 281
 Plebiscite Front, 18, 140, 144–5, 163, 165,
 192–5, 198–9, 204–5, 208, 213–17,
 253–4, 258–9, 267, 271–2, 285*n*78,
 286*n*105, 297, 311, 313
 Plebiscite Front AJK (Azad Jammu and
 Kashmir), 253–4, 259
 Persian, 52, 92
pirs, 28, 169
 Political Conference, 189–90, 193, 199, 204
 political economy, 18, 120, 132, 134
 political elites, Kashmiri, 4–5
 political legitimacy, 5, 38, 172
 Poonch, 54, 66, 83, 113, 237*n*187, 240–1,
 244–5, 277
 Poonch Revolt, 241–2, 250
 popular sovereignty, 15, 56, 120
pradhanmantri, 155
 Praja Parishad, 81, 93–4, 109, 115, 118,
 128*n*163, 190
 and autonomy of Kashmir and plebiscite,
 111–14
 organize a *satyagraha*, 112
 support from Hindu rightist parties, 112
 Praja Socialist Party (PSP), 191–2
 Prasad, Dr. Rajendra, 112
 Prevention of Unlawful Activities Bill, 205
 Preventive Detention Act, 205, 214
 Preventive Detention Law (1955), 190
 princely states of Jammu and Kashmir, 3,
 5–6, 8, 18, 24–5, 27, 30, 32–3, 40,
 47, 49, 54, 59–61, 65–6, 77, 99–
 100, 102, 104, 146, 190, 196, 199,
 224, 239–41, 279, 294, 349–50, 352
 Prophet Solomon, 5
 protest music, 337
 Public Safety Act of 2009, 336
 Public Safety Ordinance Act, 119, 219
 Public Service Commission, 167
 Public Works Department (PWD), 142,
 177*n*41
 Punjab, 25, 27, 30–1, 33, 35, 40–1, 44, 53,
 59, 65–6, 71*n*67, 86, 112, 145, 158,
 174, 221, 248, 250–1, 313, 319
 1891 census report, 29
 East, 86
 West, 83, 85, 87, 91, 226
 Punjabi Hindus, 34, 38, 52, 102
 Puri, Balraj, 143, 225, 321
 Qadir, Abdul, 38
 Qasim, Syed Mir, 161
 Quit Kashmir movement, 58–9, 101, 189
 Quran, 36–7, 49, 155, 196–7, 310, 326
 Qureshi, Fazal Haq, 211
 Radhakrishnan, Dr. S., 199
 radical humanism, 57
 Radio Kashmir, 118
rahdari system, 29
 Raina, Niranjan Nath, 55
 Ranbirsinghpura, 116
rashtrapati, 154
 Rashtriya Rifles (RR), 329, 333
 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), 65,
 91, 104, 111, 123*n*55, 228, 296,
 338, 356
 Rawalpindi, 85–6, 145–6, 243, 246, 249,
 278
rayat-nama, 102
Raza-Pathar, 29
 Reading Room Party, 35, 37–8
 revenue, 27–30, 37, 42, 86–7, 108, 137–40,
 146–7, 160–1, 164–5, 173, 255
 corporate tax, 147
 for debt payments, 173
 of former N.W.F.P., 246
 from land grants, 28
 increase, and balance the budget, 86
 refugees, 7, 65, 83, 91, 93, 96, 117, 188,
 220–1, 226, 239, 245, 274, 277–8,
 309, 320–1, 323, 338–9
 Chakma Buddhists, 338–9
 Kashmiri Hindus (Pandits), 34, 105
 Kashmiri Muslim, 7

390 *Index*

- West-Pakistan, 220
 regional dissidence, 19, 147, 166, 217–24, 304
 Rehmani, Farooq, 223, 302
 religious bigotry, 61
 religious minorities, 104, 197, 339
Report of the Basic Principles Committee, 101
 Rishis, 158
 definition of freedom, 26–7
 Roy, M. N., 74*n*143, 190
 rural, 49–50, 55–6, 58, 106–8, 132, 137, 168, 175, 226, 257, 274, 300, 306, 323, 325, 339
 constituencies, 162
 development projects, 158
 elites, 133, 149, 169, 157–4
 middle class, 163
 orchardists, 162
 poverty, 158, 164
 –urban tensions, 18, 157–65, 174
 Russia, 56, 62, 189, 300

 Sadar-i-Riyasat, 103, 145
 Sadiq, G. M., 46, 126*n*103, 130*n*198, 144–5, 201, 205, 209
 discretionary powers, 209
 emotional integration, 144
 extended Article 356, 201
sadr-i-riyasat (governor), 154
 Sajad, Malik, 337–8
 Sanatan Dharma Young Men's Association, 43
 Sarabhai, Mridula, 143, 193
sarmayadars (moneylenders), 107–8
sarpanches (village officials), 108
 Sathu, J. N., 187
 satiric ballads (*ladishas*), 29
 Savarkar, V. D., 237*n*188
 Sayeed, Mufti, 314
 secularism, 13–15, 18, 25, 47, 50, 82, 91–3, 105, 115–16, 134, 148–57, 166, 175, 192, 197, 209, 282, 296–7, 301–2, 306, 308, 323, 351, 355
 self-determination, notion of, 10, 13, 15, 19, 33, 113–14, 133, 140, 144, 146, 155, 175, 184, 194–9, 202, 204, 222–3, 239–40, 245, 249, 251–4, 257–8, 260, 267–8, 270–3, 275, 279, 281–2, 293, 296, 298, 301, 303, 306, 320, 325, 330, 332, 339, 351–3
 Chinese support for, 203
 evolution of, 185–93
 exercise in parts, 12
 in Jammu and Ladakh, 224–8
 Kashmiri expressions of, 9, 55–60, 63–4, 79, 90, 93–5, 98, 165, 229, 248, 302, 320, 328
 Kashmiri Muslims invoke, 13, 320
 and student activism, 204–17
 UN promise of, 111, 185
 Shah Hamdan shrine, Srinagar, 2
 Shah, G. M., 147, 223–4, 304–5, 307
 Shah, Mirwaiz Rasool, 33
 Shah, Mirwaiz Yusuf, 41–2, 54, 202
 Shah, Shabir, 303, 311
 Shakur, Tupac (2Pac), 337
 Shamim, Shamim Ahmed, 158, 167, 180*n*108, 206–7, 211, 296
 Sharp Education Commission, 33
 Sheikh, Hamid, 312
 Sher-i-Kashmir (Lion of Kashmir), 120
 Shia, 307
 Shia–Sunni unity, 300
 Sikh conquest of 1819, 27
 Sikkim, 12, 22*n*26
 Sikri Commission of 1979, 228
 Simla Agreement of 1972, 272–3
 Singh, Karan, 119
 Singh, Maharaja Gulab, 21*n*14, 102
 Singh, Maharaja Hari, 21*n*14, 61, 67, 107
 Singh, Maharaja Pratap, 52
 Sino-Pakistani alliance, 203
 social justice, 10, 13, 44, 46, 56, 60–1, 79, 95, 144, 175, 191, 250, 294, 350
 social transformations in urban Kashmir, 148–57

- social structures, 18, 31, 134, 149, 355
 socialism, 19, 25, 36, 43–4, 47, 67, 134,
 143, 263–7, 282, 301–2, 306
 Socialist Party of India, 115
 Sopore, 162–3, 193, 195, 216, 299, 317
 South-East Asia Treaty Organization
 (SEATO), 187
 Soviet Union, 187
 Soviet–Afghan war, 304
 Srinagar, 2, 28, 33, 35, 37–8, 40, 43, 46–7,
 59, 65, 80–1, 97, 101, 107, 113,
 136, 141, 149, 153, 168, 193, 202,
 204–5, 207, 209–10, 216, 222–4,
 227, 258–60, 300–3, 305, 307,
 312–15
 Reading Room party, 35
 Staff Selection Commission, 169
 state legitimacy, 15, 20
 State People’s Convention (1968), 212–14,
 226, 295
 state sovereignty, 3, 12, 16, 20, 331, 334–5,
 359
 state-subject category, 8–9, 11, 102–3, 219,
 241, 308, 335, 350, 357
 basis of political identity, 7–8
 introduced by the Dogras, 7, 219, 241,
 350
 only residents private ownership, 350
 part of the Jammu and Kashmir
 constitution, 357
 reinforced Kashmir’s unique position, 8
 stone-pelting, 336
 Student Federation, 55, 263
 Students’ Revolutionary Council, 211
 Study Circle, 55
 sub-regional tensions, 104, 224, 353
 appeasing Kashmir, 225
 autonomy for sub-regions, 225
 Durbar Move agitation, 227
 excluded Jammu from power-sharing
 arrangements, 225
 Ladakhi Buddhists distrusted, 228
 Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau, 310
 subsidy(ies), 28, 87, 133, 136–9, 141, 158,
 160, 164–5, 173–4, 196, 252, 352
 Sufi-based Islam, 156, 158, 295, 328
 support base, 15, 31, 33, 53, 55, 65, 89,
 111–12, 135–6, 141, 156, 158, 165,
 193, 200, 219, 226, 244, 270, 274,
 300–1, 307, 326, 339
 of the Plebiscite Front, 193–4
 of the Congress, 200
 of the JKLF, 326
 Supreme Court of India, 103–4, 137, 168,
 333–4, 356
Taqdeer-i-Kashmir (Fate of Kashmir)
 pamphlet, 194
 Taryaby, Younus, 264–6, 268–70
 Tashkent Agreement (1966), 204, 252
tehreek-i-aazadi, 2, 320
 Tenancy Amendment Acts (1955 and 1962),
 160
 territorial integrity, 2, 12, 15–16, 67, 114,
 152, 252, 293, 312, 314–15, 334,
 354, 359
 territoriality, 3, 19
 territorialization, 10–13
 Terrorist and Disruptive Activities
 (Prevention) Act (1987) (TADA),
 310–11, 315
 transnationalism, 5, 7–8, 10–13, 16–17, 19,
 23n30, 229, 239–41, 250–2, 263–4,
 266–8, 270–1, 273–4, 276–7, 281–
 2, 312, 339, 354
 transnational networks, 10–13
 Treaty of Amritsar, 27, 59
 tribal invasion of 1947, 60–7, 80, 104, 242
 true Muslim, definition of, 26
 Umaat-i-Islami, 306
 unemployment among Kashmiri youth,
 166–74
 United Jihad Council, 328
 United Kashmir Liberation Front (UKLF),
 264, 266–70

- United Nations, 9–10, 16, 79, 82, 93, 95–9, 114, 117, 186–7, 193, 200, 207–8, 224, 240, 243, 245, 247, 249, 253, 275, 279, 281, 314, 351
 plebiscite promise by, 77, 100, 111
 United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), 243
 United Nations Human Rights Commission, 329
 United Nations Security Council, 86, 101, 192, 242
 interpretation on India's withdrawal of plebiscite, 192
 resolution of 1948, 185, 252
 United States, 99, 117, 187, 197, 203, 252, 257, 264, 268, 275, 300, 327, 331, 337, 358
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 334
 Urdu, 16, 31, 52, 59, 92, 154, 190, 251, 271, 274
 urban, valley, 18, 28–9, 33–4, 39–40, 42, 49, 53, 55, 65, 86, 111, 132–3, 136–9, 148–50, 157–9, 163–5, 168, 174–5, 193, 226, 300, 323, 339
 decadence, 150
 middle-class businessmen, 200
 poor, 34
 trading spaces, 39
 working class neighborhoods, 313
 Vaishnavi, Pandit Raghunath, 190, 199
 Vakil, Molvi Muhammad Abdullah, 35
 valorization of armed resistance, 320
 Vietnam, 19, 239, 266, 268, 277
 Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), 304
 Wahhabi Islam in Kashmir, 328
 Wani, Ashfaq Majid, 312
 Wani, Nazir Ahmad, 211
 War Council, 198
wazir-i-azam (chief minister), 154
 Wilson, Woodrow, 9
 Women's College, 216
 World Braille Day, 336
 World War
 First, 9, 34, 66
 Second, 55, 66, 269
 women, 39, 149–50, 159, 204, 297, 302, 317, 326, 338
 battalion of, 80
 at a disadvantage, 338
 imposed on, 298
 from Maisuma and Gawkadal, 39
 molestation of, 315
 of the Neelum Valley, 278
 protested against, 315
 rights of, 56
 Yachu, Sham Lal, 190
 Yatu, Abdul Salam, 58
 Young Men's Muslim Association (YMMA), 35, 41
 Youth League, 45, 55, 206, 302
 Yuvak Sabha, 48
 Roti Agitation, 43
 Zaghloul, Saad, 45
 Zahid, Mohammad, 349
 Zain-ul-abidin, Sultan (known as Bud Shah or great king), 31–2
 Zarif, Zarif Ahmad, 292
 Zehgeer, Ghulam Rasool, 211