

28/7/83

PH (Fancy)
320
M 71 K



Text of the broadcast made by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Prime
Jammu & Kashmir State, on August 9, 1953 from Radio Kashmir,



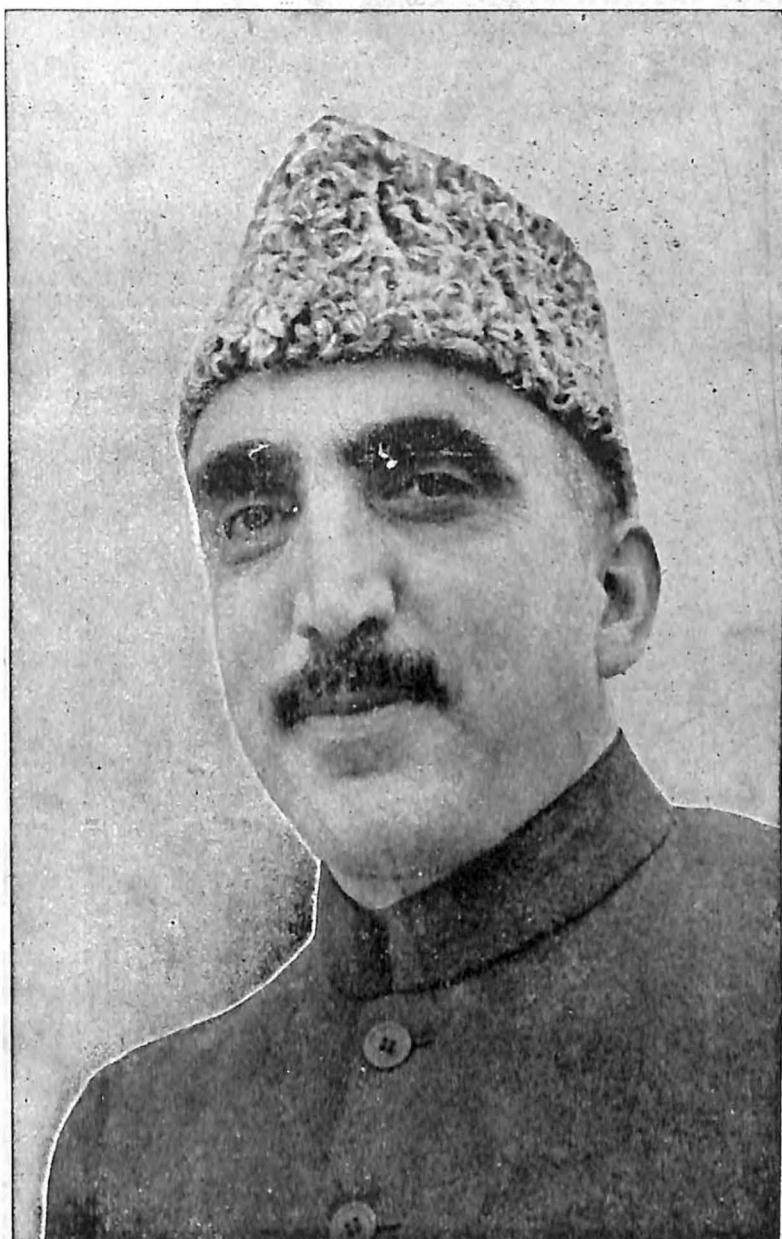
Library

IIAS, Shimla

PH 320 M 71 K



00011459



BAKHSHI GHULAM MOHAMMAD

Prime Minister, Jammu & Kashmir.

*TODAY A MOMENTOUS DECISION HAS BEEN TAKEN WHICH
WILL DETERMINE THE COURSE OF OUR NATIONAL HISTORY.*

As you are aware, during the last few months, the entire State had been forced into a grave political and economic crisis, which threatened to disintegrate it and disrupt the unity of its people. The compelling necessity of averting a national disaster has impelled me and my colleagues to accept, in a spirit of humility and duty, the responsibility of Government. It has been a very painful decision for us to part from our erstwhile colleagues with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder for the freedom and honour of the country. In times of historic crisis, when the fate of millions is at stake, personal relations and affections have to be subordinated to the paramount interests of the country. In the course of our joint struggle for liberty what kept us together was the community of ideals and principles. These principles formed the bed-rock of the democratic movement in our State. But of late, we were extremely shocked and grieved to see that our former colleagues were not only repudiating these vital principles but were attempting to destroy all vestiges of democratic functioning in all spheres of administration and organization.

BETRAYAL OF PRINCIPLES

We know that many friends will be perplexed by the trend of events; and the parting of the ways between us and our colleagues will be as painful to them as it has been to us. They must, however, realize that all along these long and arduous years of trials and tribulations, we have been united by our devotion to certain common purposes, affecting the destiny of our people. But recent developments have made it abundantly clear to all of us that a betrayal of the country's interests and the traditions of our democratic struggle was in the offing, which

would inevitably have led to grave consequences. None of us could afford to watch complacently the repetition of events which uprooted the lives of millions of people in the Indian sub-continent in 1947. We felt strongly that silence and inaction on our part would surely bring about chaos and anarchy in every part of the State. It was, therefore, after careful deliberation and serious thought that we decided to avert this explosive situation at the risk of breaking our personal relations.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES

Certain recent developments have made it possible for disruptive forces to make desperate attempts at the disintegration of the State. The activities and utterances of some of our erstwhile colleagues make it clear that they have been thinking in terms of carving out a portion of the State from the wreckage as an "Independent State". These moves have naturally the connivance and support of interested foreign powers who have all along been resisting the exercise of the right of the people of the State to freedom and self-determination.

ATTEMPTS AT DISRUPTION

The present situation threatens to open up explosive possibilities for the future of the people of Jammu and Kashmir unless the designs of these forces and their foreign supporters are foiled in time. The democratic movement in the State has been consistently fighting for the realization of an autonomous status for the State within the Indian Union. But efforts are now afoot so as to bring about conditions in which this objective will perish. There are elements at work today for the merger of the State with Pakistan or India and in the midst of ensuing confusion, some opportunist elements are dangling the alluring picture of an "Independent State" before the people.

It is clear that in the interests of the unity and integrity of the State none of these alternatives is going to be helpful for the people of this State. Any attempt to secure the merger of the State with Pakistan will

result in its dissolution as an entity and the idea of an independent position carries with it deep implications of political and economic dependence on foreign charity. The slogan of "independence" is highly misleading and there should be no doubt as to the motive for sponsoring such an idea in the context of international developments in Asia and other parts of the world.

DANGER OF ANOTHER KOREA

An "independent" Kashmir under the influence of an imperialist power will be a grave threat to freedom and independence of Indian and Pakistani people. In view of the geographical position of the State, such independence is bound to involve us in a bitter and violent international controversy and another Korea may be staged here as a result of the armed conflict between interested power.

WHY LIMITED ACCESSION ?

Let us objectively understand how our accession to India in terms of the Instrument of Accession and the Delhi Agreements affects the substance of our independence, material interests and national honour. We have transferred only Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications to the Union of India and the limit of the ancillary and (implied) powers has been defined in the Delhi Agreement. In the context of the international situation today, many countries especially the Asian-Arab group at the United Nations look to the foreign policy of India as the way out of the prevailing strife and tension. The interests and honour of our State are safe in association with such a foreign policy and its further progressive orientation with the rapid development of the democratic forces in India. The Defence forces of India are meant for protecting the country against foreign aggression. The experience of the people of our State during the last six years of emergency and strain bear ample testimony to the correct role of the Indian Army. In view of the State's special position, the armed forces of India are meant only for the defence of the State against foreign aggression. They are not to interfere in the autonomous administration of the State. Can there be a better

position of security or a more honourable status for a small State like Kashmir with its poor resources, backward economy and complex geographical situation? We must not forget that huge expenditure of the Indian Army in the State has been a source of employment and income to a large number of our people. Without this expenditure, our economy would have been under a terrible strain. The Indian Army has not been an army of occupation feeding on the people. On the contrary their economic help, exemplary conduct and humanitarian work have been appreciated by all sections of our people.

Another subject which we have transferred to the Union Government is Communications, i.e., Posts and Telegraphs, Aviation and National Highways. It does not require much reasoning to understand that the technological and financial implications of such services put them beyond the means and capacity of administration by local and State authorities. They are becoming more and more subjects of international administration under inter-governmental agreements and conventions. If we have some grievances about the representation of certain sections of our nationals in the departments administering such services, they can be easily redressed and any possible mistakes of policy rectified. Such small matters can not be the valid reasons for destroying the edifice we have built with our blood and sweat. If with such excuses we seek to go adrift from our anchorage, we shall be guilty of the greatest act of folly against our substantial and major interests.

DELHI AGREEMENT

The Delhi Agreement seeks to establish a common citizenship between India and the State, governed by a common system of Fundamental Rights, but subject to the concessions to the State that she may make special provisions in respect of her agrarian and economic reforms. It preserves the rights of her permanent residents in matters pertaining to employment, acquisition of property and pursuit of local trades and professions. In every sense we gain from such a relationship. We secure an autonomy in our economic policy which is unknown in any other Federal State and yet we get all the benefits of common Indian

citizenship.

The Delhi Agreement does not impose any financial integration on us. It is for us to decide in our own interests, whether, how and when the Customs duties should be abolished. Who does not want the abolition of the Customs duties for giving relief to our poor consumers? We have to see how the loss of revenue and other possible economic difficulties consequent upon the removal of the customs barrier can be met and our budgetary position stabilized without reducing the standards of the Government's beneficent activities. Obviously, such of the financial arrangements which help us immediately as well as in the long run are in the best interests of the common people of the State. Our policy ought to be to introduce such financial arrangements gradually and with discrimination so that their benefits are maximized and disadvantages minimized. The guiding principle in such matters ought to be the interests of the masses rather than considerations of false prestige.

Irrespective of the Constitutional relations and formal agreements, the Government of India have been generous to us with financial help during the last six years within the capacity of their own limited resources. It would be uncharitable to forget the unstinted financial aid given to us during the Emergency years 1947—48. They have advanced us other loans from time to time to balance our budgets. We have found an honourable place in the Five year Plan of India and we have been allotted about Rs. 13 crores for our plans including the Community Development Projects. We cannot honestly grudge the demand that our system of financial procedures, audit and accounts must ensure that the available funds are well spent and that checks and balances are introduced to prevent wasteful expenditure.

If like the agrarian reforms, our development plans and community projects have not roused the enthusiasm of the common people, something must be wrong with our system and we must try to rectify that with courage and determination. Instead of finding

the scapegoat in the political uncertainty or the stingy Indian Exchequer and playing to the tune of foreign interests, we must do a certain amount of self questioning and find out what is wrong with our economic policies. What are the social objectives of our economic plans and what stands in the way of their realization? We cannot afford to be complacent with our achievements in certain directions, but to overcome the economic and political crisis and to inspire confidence in the masses, we must admit our failures also.

INDISSOLUBLE LINKS WITH INDIA

The secular and democratic traditions and ideology of our national movement have established indissoluble links with the democratic movement in India. We can be the best friends of the forty million Muslims in India. The reactionary communal forces in India are instigated by the same imperialist influences which seek to create the illusion of an "independent" Kashmir. It is obvious that the communal elements in India are much weaker today than they were in 1947, when the glorious example set by the National Conference and its leadership in Kashmir gave a death blow to the morale of such evil forces. We cannot forget how the Jammu people welcomed and hailed our leaders in 1947-49 and felt ashamed of the misdeeds of the communal elements there. The testimony of history is that we cannot fight reaction through further reaction.

NO MORE FOREIGN INTERVENTION

We are, therefore, convinced that the external affiliation of our State can be determined only on the basis of the character of our political movement. Today impatient voices have been raised to the effect that external conflict about Kashmir should be resolved here and now. We concede that the parties concerned should lose no time in arriving at an amicable settlement of the Kashmir dispute without, of course, seeking foreign intervention. But it needs to be reiterated that an honourable settlement can be possible only on the basis of recognition

of the right of the people of the State to pursue political, social and economic ideals for which they have been fighting for the last two decades.

TASK OF CONSTITUTION MAKING

At present mischievous and subtle attempts are being made to repudiate these democratic ideals in the name of ending "the present uncertainty" in regard to the future of the State. We would like to make it clear that the future of the State is inherently linked with its political aspirations and democratic traditions. The primary task before the people of Jammu and Kashmir is to evolve a suitable constitutional pattern incorporating these ideals and traditions. We regret to note that so far we have failed to achieve this objective. We are, however, greatly perturbed that this basic task which would secure to the people of the State their rights and privileges has been ignored.

INDO-PAK AMITY

We welcome the recent developments in the relations between India and Pakistan. There is no doubt that these reflect the desire of the peace-loving people of India and Pakistan to come closer to each other for the common good of both the countries. We pray that the two countries which have much in common should achieve good-will, amity and friendship among their peoples. At the same time, we are aware that the recent activities of the agents of interested powers inside the State may wreck the chances of an amicable settlement between them.

If these attempts succeed, the conditions of chaos and disorder that are sure to prevail in the State will touch off a chain of unfortunate events in the Indian sub continent leading to a repetition of the grim tragedies of 1947. Any communal retrogression in Kashmir will inflict a great blow to the democratic movements in India as well as in Pakistan. Our aim is to unite the people of India and Pakistan under democratic auspices, which can be assured only by the existing relationship of

Kashmir with India. It will be a great folly to indulge in the delusion that through an "independent" Kashmir or the breaking of her present ties with India, India and Pakistan will be brought nearer. It will perpetuate their animosities and give a fillip to the reactionary and communal forces in the entire sub-continent.

These dangers must be realized by all peace-loving people in India and Pakistan. Those who are consciously or unconsciously bringing about such conditions are, therefore, actually sabotaging the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the people of India and Pakistan for closer association and cordial relationship.

ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE CRISIS

It has, however, to be recognized that the key to the present crisis lies in the deep-rooted economic discontent of the masses of the State. This crisis cannot be overcome by the termination of the State's association with India or by a merger of the State with Pakistan. Nor can it be avoided by an alignment with a foreign power. In the history of a people there are no short-cuts to success.

During the last five years, serious shortcomings in the handling of the economy of our State have led to some violent dislocations in a number of trades and professions resulting in unemployment and underemployment, economic maladjustments and a heavy fall in the living standards of the people. Along with this, the standards of efficiency and ethics of the administration as a whole have deteriorated greatly.

This has considerably shaken the faith of the people in the competence and ability of the Government to solve their basic economic problems. There is urgent need, therefore, of paying immediate attention to economic reconstruction of the State.

NEED FOR UNITY

We, therefore, call upon all patriotic and peace-loving people of the State to unite themselves in this task so as to avert the present crisis. At no time in the history of the State has there been a greater need for unity among its different sections and units than today when we are face to face with the prospect of disintegration and a fresh period of servitude.

The main foundation of our policy has to be built on our solemn resolution to give ourselves a progressive and enlightened constitution as the beacon-light of a democratic government. This is vitally linked with our aspirations for preserving our autonomy within the Indian Republic.

PLEDGE TO THE PEOPLE

We should re-affirm our pledge to build anew the economic and social life of the people of the State in accordance with our genius, traditions and resources with the help of and in partnership with the people of India and those other States who are friendly towards us. In this pattern, we envisage greater unity of Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir. The rights and privileges that we secure for the State as a whole have to be shared in equal measure by the people of its different parts. We are aware that some of these peoples have their various local grievances in the matter of language, services, education, lands, etc. A genuinely democratic set-up has to satisfy the demands of each one of the constituent units of the State with due regard to its basic unity and integrity. Greater opportunities of cultural development should be made available to these units. Such an approach alone can checkmate the designs of reactionary and communal forces who have succeeded in exploiting the genuine grievances of the people for the purpose of dividing their ranks and thus breaking up their essential unity.

CLEAN ADMINISTRATION

Along with this, there is the paramount need of weeding out corrupt and unpatriotic elements from the administration so as to make it an effective weapon in the execution of ameliorative measures calculated to raise the standard of living of the people. Power must not be allowed to get concentrated in a clique for their self-aggrandisement. We are aware that there is urgent need for a strict watch of the public expenditure so as to avoid wastage and haphazard planning. This expenditure must be regulated in a manner that priority is given to urgent items relating to daily life of the people.

Above all, we recognize the urgent need of solving the problems of the vast masses of the rural population who have so far been deprived of reaping the full benefits of our land-laws. We must look into the needs of the artisans and the educated youth who suffer from the ills of unemployment and under-employment.

The failure of many of our policies and ameliorative measures can be attributed to the prevalence of corrupt practices. We shall enact appropriate legislation to suppress corruption and entrust this task to a special tribunal in whom the public have full confidence. Besides this high-power agency at the top, there will be popular committees of citizens of integrity in all towns and villages to help remove the evils of corruption from the administrative machinery at all levels.

MAJORITY SUPPORT

We believe that we command the support of the largest sections of the common people, of an overwhelming majority in the National Conference Organization and also a majority in the Constituent Assembly to which we are legally and constitutionally responsible. We shall approach the Legislative Assembly for a vote of confidence

at the earliest possible opportunity and in the meantime, we want to continue with a firm determination the tasks of national reconstruction in accordance with our traditions of secularism and popular democratic principles.

IMMEDIATE AMELIORATIVE MEASURES

Many of our policies will take time to materialize. We, however, want that immediate benefits should be conferred on the people. For that purpose, we propose to do the following :—

MUJAWAZA TO BE RATIONALISED

Most of our people live in villages and our agrarian reforms, though sound on principle, do not seem to have aroused the enthusiasm of the masses. The prevailing discontent about *Mujawaza* has to be removed. We have, therefore, decided that the Kandi areas shall not be assessed to *Mujawaza*. Crops other than *Shali* will be completely free from compulsory procurement. The levy of *Mujawaza* shall be rationalized. No *Mujawaza* shall be levied on small peasants, whose produce is just sufficient for their needs. Wherever *Mujawaza* is levied, the equitable distribution of the burden will be borne in mind. The *Mujawaza* procured from an area will be utilized for meeting the local needs and those of other deficit areas. In assessing the levy of *Mujawaza*, help will be taken from honest persons in the villages, who will form popular Committees for this purpose.

PRICE OF PADDY REDUCED

The *Mujawaza* price of *Shali* will be increased by Re. 1/- per *Khirwar* immediately. The price of *Shali* in the city of Srinagar will be reduced by Rs. 2/- per *Khirwar*. Due attention will be paid to provide rations in the deficit rural areas. The Government undertakes to

incur the additional burden of this radical concession to the people. We shall try to protect the interests of the producers as well the consumers.

RE-ORGANIZATION OF CO-OPERATIVES

The Co-operative Movement which might have inspired the people towards voluntary efforts for the construction of our national economy became a symbol of tyranny in the countryside. The functioning of the Co-operative stores will be thoroughly investigated and after purging them of their present corrupt elements and other evils, will be reorganized on sound lines. The Government will allow the re-opening of competitive retail shops, which can buy supplies from the free market. State trading organizations will function only for the purpose of keeping prices at a competitive level so that there is no profiteering by private traders and the adequacy of supplies is ensured throughout the year in all parts of the State.

ALTERNATIVE CREDIT AGENCIES

It is unfortunate that the land reforms and debt legislation have dried up the sources of credit. The co-operative credit Societies have failed in building an alternative agency of credit and during the current year the total advances made by them have been very meagre. In the first instance, we shall ear-mark a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs in order to organize alternative agencies of credit in rural areas and for the artisan, boatman and small shopkeeper in the towns. Co-operative debts would also be stayed in cases of genuine distress on the recommendations of the Popular Committees.

Some other beneficial measures for the rural population will be undertaken. Evictions will be stayed wherever land transfers have taken place and where lands have been distributed under Grow More Food Campaign. The arbitrary authority of Tehsildars and other Revenue Officers will be sub-ordinated in such matters.

In order to increase food production, a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs will be ear-marked for supplying better seeds and fertilizers at concession rates.

PROVIDING EMPLOYMENT

To provide employment to villagers throughout the year, cottage industries will be developed and every effort will be made to encourage and help the production of cottage products such as Chaddars, Ghabbas, etc. in different parts of the State.

TOWARDS LABOUR WELFARE

Special measures will be undertaken to look after the welfare and security of the migrant labour during winter month. Arrangements will be made to look after their problems. We however, realise that these ameliorative measures can only give immediate relief to the masses. We have to direct all our energy towards developing our rich national resources and raising industrial and agricultural production of our country. For that purpose, we purpose to appoint a Planning Commission which will go into the details of raising the productivity of the country.

CULTURAL UPLIFT

In order to raise the cultural level of the masses we will soon announce a comprehensive cultural and educational programme for the country. Certain bureaucratic tendencies in our educational system have caused great hardships to our students and teachers. The difficulties of the teachers about the revision of grades will be removed and every teacher will get a minimum salary of Rs. 50 P.M. Educational fees will be abolished in schools and colleges for those whose income is below Rs. 100 P.M. The system of co-education in schools will be abolished except where parents willingly send their children to mixed schools. Cheap text-books will be provided to the students and

arrangements will be made to supply free books in the stage of primary education in deserving cases. Every effort will be made to develop our national language particularly Kashmiri, Dogri and Ladakhi. The medium of instruction in the primary stage will be the mother tongue. The publication of suitable text books will be expedited. Academies will be established to provide scripts for languages which have no script or whose script is lost to the people. Special scholarships will be provided for the spread of education amongst backward classes, such as Kashmiri Muslims, Harijans, Sikhs, Ladakhis, Gujjars and Bakarwals.

Every effort will be made to keep the Banihal road open throughout the year and the construction of the tunnel will be expedited. This will ensure communications and flow of supplies throughout the year.

IMPLEMENTING WAZIR COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

The Government will take prompt measures to implement the recommendations of the Wazir Committee regarding rehabilitation of refugees resettlement of ex-servicemen in the Jammu Province. The Government are determined to secure equal share of its beneficent activities to the people of the various constituent units of the State. Special attention will be paid towards the development of the Ladakh districts and the Kandi area in Jammu Province. This assurance is being repeated to remove the apprehensions caused by any possible mistakes of policy on our part in the past and the mischievous activities of the disruptive elements.

NO SCOPE FOR COMMUNALISM

Although it is the policy of the Government to remove communalism from every sphere of administration and social life, it seems correct that the representation of all regions particularly

of the educationally backward sections of the community should be safeguarded.

The deteriorating health conditions of our people are a cause of great anxiety to us. We shall try our best to extend health facilities in the towns and villages of the State and infuse the spirit of service in our medical personnel. Special attention will be paid to establish maternity homes in every part of the State.

PROMOTING TRADE

The working of the Emporia will be so re-organised as to give an equal opportunity of trade to small business man and the full fruits of labour to the actual producer. Industrial Co-operatives will be organised in such a way that the producers obtain cheap credit and adequate wages without Profiteering by the intermediary agencies.

BETTER AMENITIES FOR TOURISTS

In order to encourage tourism, the permit system will be abolished. The Transport system will be so re-organized as to enable adequate scope to private enterprise and to lower the costs of service, both in goods and passenger traffic. Other measures will be taken to encourage tourist traffic and we hope it should not be difficult for us to attract a large number of visitors every year.

APPEAL TO COUNTRYMEN

To conclude, I appeal to all countrymen to stand united and face the dangers with courage and determination. Our freedom is at stake and we must wake up to this reality. All of us must cast away false sentiments and fears and save the State from wreck and ruin. We

are committed to the purposes of the "New Kashmir" programme and have given an indication of how we are going to fulfil them. Let us rededicate our lives to the service of the people and enlist the support of all sensible and patriotic people for the greater tasks that lie before us. We are at the cross-roads of our destiny and I appeal to all countrymen, young and old, men and women, to be prepared for the struggles ahead of us. We are not alone in our struggle. We have the overwhelming support of the large sections of people in different parts of the State and of the progressive people of India and the freedom lovers of the world at large.

We firmly pledge that we shall not allow the dangerous designs of any foreign powers towards our State to succeed and thus prevent it from becoming a cock-pit of intrigues against our neighbouring and other countries. We want peace for ourselves too in order to uplift the lot of our unfortunate backward countrymen and enable them to realize their ideals and aspirations. We feel sure that with the co-operation of the forces of love and peace in India we shall not fail you, our countymen, in the trust and confidence you repose in us.



