# ABOLITION OF ARTICLE 370 OF CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Chandru S, Amity Law School, Noida

#### **ABSTRACT**

The abolition of Article 370 of the Constitution of India marks a significant milestone in the history of the nation, with far-reaching implications for the region of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) and the broader Indian polity. Enshrined as a temporary provision, Article 370 granted special autonomous status to J&K, allowing it to have its own constitution, flag, and decision-making powers in various domains, except for matters related to defense, foreign affairs, finance, and communications. However, on August 5th, 2019, the Indian government took the unprecedented step of abrogating Article 370, thereby revoking the special status accorded to J&K and bifurcating the state into two Union Territories: Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh.

This abstract provides a concise overview of the research paper's exploration of the legal, political, socio-economic, and security implications of the abrogation of Article 370. It discusses the historical context of Article 370, the legal arguments surrounding its abolition, and the political perspectives on this landmark decision. Furthermore, it analyzes the potential socio-economic consequences of the abrogation, including its impact on regional development and integration. Additionally, it delves into the security implications of the move, particularly in the context of the longstanding Kashmir conflict and India's relations with neighboring countries.

Overall, this research paper aims to offer a comprehensive understanding of the abolition of Article 370 and its multifaceted implications for J&K, India, and the broader South Asian region. Through a critical analysis of the legal, political, and socio-economic dimensions of this decision, it seeks to shed light on the complexities and challenges inherent in the process of constitutional reform and <sup>1</sup>nation-building.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kaushik, P. K. (2019). Abolition of Article 370 from Jammu and Kashmir: Benefits of the Abolition in Terms of Investment Possibility. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3436623

# Introduction<sup>2</sup>

As Mughal emperor Jahangir famously declared, Kashmir was "if there is paradise on earth, it is here, it is here." Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), nestled amidst the majestic Himalayas, has long held a unique and captivating position in the Indian narrative. Its breathtaking landscapes encompass snow-capped peaks that pierce the sky, fertile valleys bursting with life, and the glistening waters of Dal Lake reflecting the vibrant culture below. This land boasts a rich tapestry woven with threads of Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism, creating a truly unique cultural identity. Strategically located at the crossroads of Central Asia, South Asia, and China, J&K has also been a region of immense geopolitical significance throughout history, acting as a crucial link between these vast regions.

Volume VI Issue II | ISSN: 2582-8878

This unique position was further cemented by Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Drafted in the wake of partition and amidst the turmoil of independence, this article granted J&K special autonomous status. Key provisions included the right to its own constitution, a separate flag, and autonomy over internal administration. Essentially, J&K was a state within a state, with a significant degree of self-governance. This special status aimed to address the region's distinct cultural and religious identity, as well as the historical context surrounding its accession to India.

However, on August 5th, 2019, the Indian government revoked Article 370 in a move that sent shockwaves through the region and sparked international debate. This decision, seen by many as a dramatic shift in India's Kashmir policy, was accompanied by the reorganization of J&K into two Union Territories: Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh. The abrogation of Article 370 remains a contentious issue, with strong arguments on both sides.<sup>3</sup>

Proponents of the abrogation argue that it fosters greater integration with the rest of India, potentially leading to economic development and increased investment in the region. They believe this move will help address issues of discrimination faced by certain sections of J&K's population, particularly those who weren't afforded full rights under the previous arrangement. Additionally, some argue that the abrogation weakens the hand of separatist movements and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Philosophy and Conflict Studies, 39(4), 620–631. https://doi.org/10.21638/spbu17.2023.402

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Singh, M., & Jha, M. (2017, September 1). The Special Status Conundrum and the Problem of Rehabilitation in Jammu and Kashmir. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 8(5), 73–83. https://doi.org/10.1515/mjss-2017-0025

strengthens national security. Opponents, however, express deep concerns about the erosion of J&K's special identity and the potential marginalization of its people. They fear the move could exacerbate tensions and lead to further alienation, potentially destabilizing an already fragile region. Concerns are also raised about potential human rights violations and the erosion of democratic processes in the wake of the abrogation.

## **Background**

# The Tumultuous Road to Accession: Understanding J&K's Special Status

The story of J&K's accession to India in 1947 cannot be separated from the tumultuous events surrounding the partition of British India. As the British Raj prepared to withdraw, the princely states were presented with three options: join India, join Pakistan, or remain independent. Maharaja Hari Singh, the Hindu ruler of the Muslim-majority state of J&K, initially delayed his decision, hoping to maintain an independent course.

However, political turmoil erupted within the state, with some advocating for accession to Pakistan and others favoring India. Tribal incursions from Pakistan-controlled territory in October 1947 further complicated the situation.

Faced with imminent invasion, Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession on October 26th, 1947, formally joining India. This document became the cornerstone of J&K's special status within the Indian Union. It was a conditional agreement, granting India control over defense, foreign affairs, and communications, while leaving internal administration largely in the hands of the Maharaja's government. This limited India's legislative power in J&K, ensuring a degree of autonomy for the state.

However, the accession triggered the First Kashmir War as Pakistan refused to recognize it. The subsequent decades witnessed ongoing tensions and violence in the region. Recognizing the need for a political solution that addressed the unique situation of J&K, the Indian government entered negotiations with Sheikh Abdullah, a prominent Kashmiri leader and head of the National Conference party. These negotiations culminated in the inclusion of Article 370 in the Indian Constitution. This exceptional status was a way to assuage anxieties among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pye, L. W., & Schofield, V. (2000). Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan, and the Unfinished War. *Foreign Affairs*, 79(6), 190. https://doi.org/10.2307/20050024

Kashmiris, particularly the Muslim population, who feared marginalization within a predominantly Hindu India. Article 370 aimed to guarantee J&K's right to its own constitution, a separate flag, and autonomy over internal matters like legislation on permanent residency, property ownership, and fundamental rights. The rationale behind this special status was to accommodate the distinct cultural and religious identity of J&K, while still allowing it to be part of the Indian Union.

The interpretation of Article 370 has evolved over the years. Landmark judicial pronouncements like the 1954 "Kashmir Constitution Case" clarified that the Indian Parliament's legislative power in J&K was limited to areas covered by the Instrument of Accession. However, subsequent presidential orders issued under Article 370 gradually eroded some aspects of J&K's autonomy. For instance, the 1954 order extended provisions of the Indian Constitution to J&K, albeit with modifications. This ongoing negotiation and interpretation of Article 370's scope and limitations would ultimately culminate in the highly debated abrogation of 2019.

### **Arguments for Abrogation**

# **Hindrance to Integration and Development**

Article 370 created barriers to the complete integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India by granting it special autonomous status. The limitations on the central government's legislative power over crucial subjects like citizenship and property rights hindered the implementation of national policies and programs in J&K. This hindered socio-economic development and impeded the process of national integration by preventing uniform laws and regulations from being applied across the country.<sup>5</sup>

Historical Discrimination Against Non-Permanent Residents: Article 370 discriminated against non-permanent residents of Jammu and Kashmir by imposing restrictions on their property ownership and franchise rights. Historical evidence suggests that these restrictions created a sense of alienation and disenfranchisement among non-permanent residents, exacerbating communal tensions and hampering social cohesion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Tariq Ahmad. (2022, March 30). Human Rights Violations In Jammu And Kashmir And Post Abrogation of Article 370. *Legal Research Development*, 6(III), 34–41. https://doi.org/10.53724/lrd/v6n3.12

The privileging of permanent residents over non-permanent residents perpetuated inequalities and reinforced a sense of exclusion among certain segments of the population.<sup>6</sup>

Economic Development and Investment: The abrogation of Article 370 is argued to promote economic development and investment in Jammu and Kashmir by removing restrictions on investment and property ownership. By allowing businesses and investors from across India to operate freely in J&K, the region stands to benefit from increased economic activity, job creation, and infrastructural development. The removal of barriers to investment could attract both domestic and foreign investors, thereby stimulating growth and diversifying the regional economy.

Security Implications and Resolution of Kashmir Conflict From a security perspective, the abrogation of Article 370 strengthens India's position in the Kashmir conflict by undercutting the narrative of J&K's separate identity. By integrating J&K more closely with the rest of India, the move aims to project a more unified image of the country and challenge separatist sentiments propagated by Pakistan and other external actors.

The consolidation of administrative control over J&K through the reorganization into Union Territories enhances India's ability to address security challenges and counter cross-border terrorism effectively. In summary, proponents of the abrogation of Article 370 argue that it removes barriers to integration, promotes socio-economic development, addresses historical discrimination, and enhances India's security posture in the Kashmir region. These arguments form the basis of the government's rationale for the historic decision taken on August 5th, 2019.

# **Article 370 and Hindrance to Integration:**

Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, which granted special autonomous status to Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), created significant barriers to the region's complete integration with India. One key aspect was the limitation it imposed on the central government's legislative power over subjects like citizenship and property rights. These limitations hindered J&K's socio-economic development and impeded its full integration into the Indian Union.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Rather, T. (2020). Abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution of India: Socio-Economic and Political Implications on Jammu and Kashmir. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3664550

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Tariq Ahmad. (2022, March 30). Human Rights Violations In Jammu And Kashmir And Post Abrogation of Article 370. *Legal Research Development*, 6(III), 34–41. https://doi.org/10.53724/lrd/v6n3.12

Limitations on Legislative Power: Article 370 restricted the applicability of Indian laws to J&K, allowing the state to have its own constitution and decision-making powers in various domains. However, this autonomy often led to conflicting laws and regulations between J&K and the rest of India. For example, laws pertaining to citizenship and property rights were different in J&K compared to other Indian states. Such disparities created administrative complexities and hindered the implementation of uniform national policies aimed at socioeconomic development.

Impact on Socio-Economic Development: The limitations imposed by Article 370 on the central government's legislative power had tangible effects on J&K's socio-economic development. For instance, restrictive land laws made it difficult for businesses to acquire land for industrial purposes, hindering investment and job creation. Additionally, the lack of uniformity in laws related to citizenship and property rights created confusion and deterred potential investors from outside the state.

**Historical Discrimination Against Non-Permanent Residents:** Article 370 also perpetuated discrimination against non-permanent residents of J&K, further exacerbating the region's alienation and disenfranchisement. The provision privileged permanent residents over non-permanent residents, particularly in matters related to property ownership and franchise rights.<sup>8</sup>

Historical Evidence of Discrimination: Historically, laws in J&K discriminated against non-permanent residents, particularly those who were not Kashmiri Muslims. For example, non-permanent residents were prohibited from owning land in the state, thereby limiting their economic opportunities and perpetuating social inequality. Similarly, franchise rights were restricted, denying non-permanent residents' full political participation.

**Sense of Alienation and Disenfranchisement:** These discriminatory laws created a sense of alienation and disenfranchisement among non-permanent residents, fostering resentment and communal tensions. Non-permanent residents felt marginalized and excluded from the political and economic life of the state, leading to social divisions and unrest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Wani, A. A. (2014, September 29). Article 370: a constitutional history of Jammu and Kashmir. *Race & Class*, 56(2), 93–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396814542921

**Economic Perspective and Potential Development:** 

The abrogation of Article 370 is argued to have the potential to promote economic development

and investment in J&K. By removing restrictions on investment and property ownership, the

region could attract businesses and boost its economy.

Removal of Investment Restrictions: With the removal of barriers to investment, businesses

from across India can now freely operate in J&K, leading to increased economic activity, job

creation, and infrastructural development. This could contribute to the overall growth and

development of the region, bringing prosperity to its residents.

**Attracting Investment:** The removal of restrictions on property ownership and investment

could attract both domestic and foreign investors, who were previously deterred by the complex

legal framework and administrative hurdles. This influx of investment could stimulate growth

in sectors such as tourism, agriculture, and manufacturing, thereby diversifying the regional

economy and reducing dependence on traditional sectors.<sup>9</sup>

Security Argument and Resolution of Kashmir Conflict: From a security perspective, the

abrogation of Article 370 is seen as a move to strengthen India's position in the decades-long

Kashmir conflict. By integrating J&K more closely with the rest of India, the government aims

to undercut the narrative of the region's separate identity and project a more unified image of

the country.

Challenging Separatist Sentiments: The move is intended to challenge separatist sentiments

propagated by Pakistan and other external actors by demonstrating India's commitment to the

territorial integrity and sovereignty of J&K. By consolidating administrative control over the

region, India seeks to address security challenges more effectively and counter cross-border

terrorism.

**Arguments Against Abrogation:** 

**Violation of the Instrument of Accession and Trust with Kashmiri People:** 

The abrogation of Article 370 is argued to violate the Instrument of Accession and break trust

 $^9$  Wani, A. A. (2014, September 29). Article 370: a constitutional history of Jammu and Kashmir. Race &

Class, 56(2), 93–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396814542921

with the Kashmiri people. The Instrument of Accession, signed by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in 1947, laid down the terms under which J&K acceded to India. Article 370 was an

integral part of this agreement, providing special autonomous status to J&K within the Indian

Union.

**Undermining the Basis of Accession:** The abrogation of Article 370 undermines the very

agreement that formed the basis of J&K's accession to India. By unilaterally revoking this

provision, the Indian government has disregarded the terms of the Instrument of Accession and

undermined the trust and goodwill built with the Kashmiri people over the years.<sup>10</sup>

**Erosion of Autonomy and Democratic Rights:** 

The abrogation of Article 370 is also criticized for undermining J&K's autonomy and

democratic rights enshrined in the provision. Article 370 granted J&K a significant degree of

autonomy, allowing it to have its own constitution, flag, and decision-making powers in various

domains.

Centralization of Power: The move to abrogate Article 370 raises concerns about increased

central government control over J&K and the marginalization of Kashmiri voices in decision-

making processes. With the removal of special status, there is a risk of centralization of power

and the dilution of democratic principles, as decisions affecting the region could now be made

without adequate consultation or representation of Kashmiri leaders and stakeholders.

**Human Rights Concerns:**<sup>11</sup>

The abrogation of Article 370 has raised significant human rights concerns, particularly

regarding restrictions on communication and movement imposed in J&K following the

decision. The Indian government's imposition of security measures, including internet

shutdowns and curfews, has limited the ability of Kashmiri residents to access information,

communicate with others, and exercise their fundamental rights.

<sup>10</sup> Banoo, S. (2020). Abrogation of Article 370 and Cross-Border Terrorism. SSRN Electronic Journal.

https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3689922

<sup>11</sup>-, S. B. (2023, June 15). Issues of Human Rights Violations After the Abrogation of Article 370 in Jammu and Kashmir. *International Journal for Multidisciplinary Research*, *5*(3).

https://doi.org/10.36948/ijfmr.2023.v05i03.3780

**Potential for Human Rights Violations:** Such restrictions raise questions about the potential for human rights violations, including violations of the right to freedom of expression, assembly, and movement. Reports of arbitrary detentions, extrajudicial killings, and excessive use of force by security forces further compound these concerns, highlighting the need for greater transparency and accountability in the administration of justice in J&K.

#### **Destabilization and Escalation of Tensions:**

Critics argue that the abrogation of Article 370 destabilizes the region and increases tensions with Pakistan, risking escalation of violence and jeopardizing fragile peace initiatives between India and Pakistan.

**Escalation of Conflict:** By unilaterally altering the status quo in J&K, India risks provoking a strong reaction from Pakistan, potentially leading to an escalation of conflict and undermining efforts to find a peaceful resolution to the Kashmir issue. The move has already strained relations between the two countries, with Pakistan condemning the decision and vowing to support Kashmiri aspirations for self-determination.

**Jeopardizing Peace Initiatives:** The escalation of tensions between India and Pakistan following the abrogation of Article 370 jeopardizes fragile peace initiatives and undermines international efforts to promote stability and security in the region. The heightened militarization of the Line of Control and the increased risk of cross-border skirmishes further exacerbate the volatile situation, posing a threat to regional peace and security.

# **Legal Implications:**

#### **Challenges to the Abrogation:**

Various petitions were filed challenging the abrogation of Article 370 before the Supreme Court of India. These petitions raised legal arguments questioning the validity of the process followed by the government and alleging violations of constitutional provisions.

1. Process and Constitutional Violations: Petitioners argued that the abrogation of Article 370 was unconstitutional as it was done without the consent of the Jammu and Kashmir state legislature, which was dissolved at the time. They contended that such a significant constitutional amendment required the approval of the state legislature or a Constituent

Assembly, as stipulated in Article 370 itself. Additionally, petitioners raised concerns about the potential violation of fundamental rights and the erosion of federalism.

**Supreme Court Judgement:**<sup>12</sup>

In December 2023, the Supreme Court of India delivered a judgement upholding the abrogation of Article 370. The court's decision was based on a thorough analysis of constitutional

provisions, historical context, and legal precedents.

1. Interpretation of Article 370: The court interpreted Article 370 considering its temporary

nature, noting that it was intended to be a transitional provision rather than a permanent feature

of the Constitution. The court emphasized that Article 370 was not a "solemn compact" and

could be abrogated through appropriate constitutional means.

2. President's Power to Revoke: The court upheld the government's decision to revoke Article

370 through a Presidential Order, citing the President's powers under Article 370(3) to modify

or rescind the provision. The court reasoned that the abrogation was consistent with the

constitutional framework and did not require the consent of the Jammu and Kashmir state

legislature.

Response to Instrument of Accession: The court dismissed arguments regarding the violation

of the Instrument of Accession, stating that the instrument did not impose any restrictions on

the power of the President to modify or revoke Article 370. The court held that the abrogation

was a legitimate exercise of constitutional authority aimed at promoting national integration

and ensuring uniformity in the application of laws.

**Dissenting Opinions:** While the majority of the court upheld the abrogation of Article 370,

there were dissenting opinions within the court. Some dissenting judges expressed concerns

about the manner in which the abrogation was carried out and its potential implications for

federalism and minority rights. They argued for a more nuanced approach that considered the

views and interests of all stakeholders. 13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gupta, P. (2022). THE ABROGATION OF ARTICLE 370 AND ITS' CONSTITUTIONAL VALIDITY. *Dogo Rangsang Research Journal*, *12*, 16–22. https://doi.org/10.36893/drsr.2022.v12i11n01.016-022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Tariq Ahmad. (2022, March 30). Human Rights Violations In Jammu And Kashmir And Post Abrogation of Article 370. *Legal Research Development*, 6(III), 34–41. https://doi.org/10.53724/lrd/v6n3.12

# **Ongoing Legal Challenges:**

Despite the Supreme Court's judgement, there are ongoing legal challenges and debates related to the abrogation of Article 370. One significant issue is the validity of the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act, 2019, which bifurcated the state into two Union Territories. Petitions challenging the constitutionality of this act are still pending before the court, raising questions about the legal and political implications of the reorganization of Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>14</sup>

## **Potential Consequences of Abrogation:**

The abrogation of Article 370 and the subsequent reorganization of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) into two Union Territories have significant implications for the region, as well as for India as a whole. This section analyzes the potential consequences of these actions across various dimensions, including socio-economic development, political stability, security, and human rights.

## 1. Socio-Economic Impact:

**a. Economic Development:** The removal of restrictions on investment and property ownership in J&K could potentially stimulate economic growth and development in the region. Increased business activity and investment could lead to job creation, infrastructure development, and the expansion of industries such as tourism, agriculture, and manufacturing.

**b.** Infrastructure Development: The Indian government has announced plans for large-scale infrastructure projects in J&K, including the construction of roads, bridges, and other essential facilities. These projects aim to improve connectivity, enhance access to remote areas, and boost overall development in the region.

**c. Social Welfare Programs:** Efforts are underway to extend various social welfare programs and schemes to the people of J&K, ensuring that they have access to essential services such as healthcare, education, and public utilities. This could help address socio-economic disparities and improve the quality of life for residents of the region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Rather, T. (2020). Abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution of India: Socio-Economic and Political Implications on Jammu and Kashmir. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3664550

# 2. Political Stability:

**a. Integration with India:** The abrogation of Article 370 is intended to integrate J&K more closely with the rest of India, both politically and administratively. By removing the special status accorded to the region, the government aims to foster a sense of national unity and strengthen India's territorial integrity.

Volume VI Issue II | ISSN: 2582-8878

**b. Governance Reforms:** The reorganization of J&K into two Union Territories, Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh, is accompanied by administrative reforms aimed at improving governance and service delivery. Streamlining administrative processes and reducing bureaucratic inefficiencies could enhance political stability and promote effective governance in the region.<sup>15</sup>

# 3. Security Dynamics:

**a.** Counterterrorism Measures: The Indian government has emphasized the importance of the abrogation of Article 370 in its efforts to combat terrorism and insurgency in J&K. By consolidating administrative control and strengthening security measures, the government aims to curb militancy and restore peace and stability in the region.

**b. Border Security:** The abrogation of Article 370 has implications for India's border security, particularly in light of tensions with Pakistan. The Indian government's assertive stance on J&K could lead to heightened border tensions and increased military deployments along the Line of Control (LoC) and the International Border (IB).

## 4. Human Rights Considerations:

**a. Freedom of Expression:** Concerns have been raised about restrictions on communication and movement imposed in J&K following the abrogation of Article 370. Internet shutdowns, curfews, and other security measures have limited the ability of Kashmiri residents to exercise their right to freedom of expression and access information.

**b.** Civil Liberties: Reports of arbitrary detentions, extrajudicial killings, and other human rights violations in J&K have raised concerns about the erosion of civil liberties and the rule

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Tariq Ahmad. (2022, March 30). Human Rights Violations In Jammu And Kashmir And Post Abrogation of Article 370. *Legal Research Development*, 6(III), 34–41. https://doi.org/10.53724/lrd/v6n3.12

of law. Upholding human rights standards and ensuring accountability for abuses are critical to addressing these concerns and fostering a climate of trust and reconciliation in the region. <sup>16</sup>

In conclusion, while the abrogation of Article 370 holds the potential to bring about positive changes in Jammu and Kashmir, including economic development and political stability, it also raises significant challenges, particularly in terms of human rights and security. Balancing these competing interests will be crucial in charting the future course of the region and ensuring a peaceful and prosperous future for its residents.

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  Wani, A. A. (2014, September 29). Article 370: a constitutional history of Jammu and Kashmir. *Race & Class*, 56(2), 93–95. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396814542921

#### **References:**

- 1. Sharma, A. (2019). "Constitutional Perspectives on the Abrogation of Article 370." Indian Journal of Constitutional Law, 45(2), 203-220.
- 2. Bhat, M. (2020). "The Politics of Article 370: Identity, Autonomy, and Governance in Jammu and Kashmir." Economic and Political Weekly, 55(28), 39-47.
- 3. Supreme Court of India. (2023). Judgment on Writ Petitions Challenging the Abrogation of Article 370. Retrieved from https://supremecourtofindia.nic.in/
- 4. Government of India. (2019). "Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Act, 2019." Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, Section 1.
- 5. Mishra, S. K. (2021). "Security Implications of the Abrogation of Article 370: Perspectives from India and Pakistan." Journal of Strategic Studies, 20(3), 125-140.