

Kashmir Dispute between Pakistan and India: The Way Out

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Abstract

Since independence in 1947 of India and Pakistan, Kashmir has remained a bone of contention between Pakistan and India. They have fought three wars so far on the dispute and continue to be a source of irritant in their relations. It is also a flash point between the two nuclear powers of South Asia. In this article, an effort has been made to discuss some of the important problems involved in the dispute, politics of the region, history and its dynamics.

Keywords: Kashmir Dispute, India and Pakistan Relations, Great Partition.

Introduction

Kashmir, situated in a very important geo-strategic area of Asia, is a source of rivalry and conflict between Pakistan and India ever since 1947. Soviet Union and Great Britain were also rivals in 19th century for the occupation of strategically important area of Kashmir. Kashmir remained as a buffer zone between Russia and British India.¹ Till the transfer of power in India, Kashmir was a central point in the strategic policy of Great Britain, “everything that happened in the state of Jammu and Kashmir between 1846 to 1947 was, in some way, a product of this strategic policy”.² The geo-strategic importance of Kashmir remained as significant between Pakistan and India after independence.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru portrayed the strategic importance of Kashmir thus:

*“Kashmir Northern frontier ... runs in common with those of three countries’ Afghanistan, the USSR and China. Security of Kashmir...is vital to security of India, especially since part of Southern boundary of Kashmir and India is common”.*³

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan depicted a similar picture of Kashmir when he said “Accession of Kashmir to India is a threat to

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the security of Pakistan”.⁴ He is also quoted to have said “The strategic position of Kashmir is such that without it Pakistan cannot defend itself against an unscrupulous government that might come in India”.⁵

The geopolitical importance of Kashmir can also be illustrated from the following:

*“Kashmir, after 1947, became of even greater strategic value than in imperial times. Its military relevance for both India and Pakistan lay in its location and in its usefulness for each state’s defense posture. For India, control over the Kashmir Valley, in particular, became essential for the protection of remote Ladakh, next to the Chinese borderland. In a war with Pakistan too, India could be vulnerable to a fast penetration of Kashmir by Pakistani armour and tactical airpower aiming to sever the territory off from India proper. Kashmir, however, had numerous links to Pakistani territory: its partition had meant economic disruption ... and the natural access routes from Kashmir led mainly to the West Punjab”.*⁶

In fact, Kashmir is the important region where Pakistan, India, China and the former Soviet Union (Central Asia) converge. Kashmir is a strategic crossroad in the very centre of Asia. Its possession by India in entirety would cut-off Pakistan from China and its entire possession by Pakistan would leave India with no common border with the former Soviet Union.

Kashmir dispute cannot be settled by Pakistan with India through direct dealings because the regional balance of power visibly tilts towards India and without counterbalancing the predominance of India, Pakistan would lose Kashmir. Regional and Global power’s interests are also involved in Kashmir dispute.

Research Question

The article tried to answer the following Questions;

- How does the Kashmir problem effect Pak-India relations?
- What is the progress so far towards the solution of problem?
- What is the public perception about the problem?
- What can be a possible solution of the problem?

Methodology

Descriptive and analytical methods have been used for the interpretation of secondary data. Relevant literature has been reviewed for the purpose. Interviews were also conducted from

resource persons. For primary data, collected through interviews, non-probability sampling was used.

Hypothesis

Despite all the efforts undertaken so far on the Kashmir dispute, there is little prospect of its solution in the near future.

The Beginning of Kashmir Dispute

The error-full partition of the British India created a big mess of history in that the two emerging entities (India and Pakistan) inherited a mass of complex problems and among them Kashmir problem was the biggest.

About the accession of princely states, the last Viceroy of British India once said “Normally geographical situation and communal interests and so forth will be the factors to be considered”.⁷

The principle of partition for princely states was that Muslim majority areas will join Pakistan and Hindu majority areas will join India. All princely states out of 600 of British India acceded to either Pakistan or India by 15 August 1947 except three i.e. Junagedh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. In the exceptional cases of Hyderabad and Junagedh, the majority of population was Hindu and rulers were Muslims. The rulers of these two states wanted to join Pakistan but Lord Mountbatten (the Governor General of India) telegraphed to Jinnah that “Pakistan’s acceptance of Junagedh accession was in utter violation of the principles on which partition of India was agreed upon and effected”.⁸

So Pakistan followed the command of Lord Mountbatten (Governor General of India) and India forcefully annexed the states of Hyderabad and Junagedh.⁹

In the case of Kashmir, however, India under Lord Mountbatten applied a quite opposite policy when the rule was set aside and the strategically important part of Kashmir was annexed with India simply because the Hindu ruler had so desired though his kingdom had 77% Muslim population.

It was following armed hostility between the two adversaries that India took the matter to the United Nations which, through a Resolution 47, not only asked for a ceasefire but also called upon India to grant the right of self-determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their political future.¹⁰ But still to date India does not give the right of self determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir by her reluctance to hold plebiscite there and the argument put forward by India for her reluctance was this that Pakistan’s signing of defense agreements

with the US had threatened the security of India,¹¹ thus provided a ground to India for her withdrawal from the commitment of holding plebiscite.¹² Pakistan's plea on joining the US-led defense alliances was different altogether. To her, doing so could keep India away from Pakistan's throat and provide security to her political sovereignty and territorial integrity.¹³ Pakistan India fought two wars 1948 and 1965 on Kashmir and first full-scale war with India on the dispute was that of September 1965 but nothing could achieve for the solution of the Kashmir problem.

Kashmir during 1980s and 90s

About four decades of continuous exploitation by India since 1947, Kashmiri were convinced that India would never give their right of self determination through plebiscite, so in the later part of 1980s Kashmiris rose against the Indian occupation. The struggle was peaceful but India used force and brutality to suppress the movement and killed and tortured thousands of Kashmiris. As a result, Kashmiri took arms in self defense which led to an armed struggle against India.¹⁴ On the other hand, the Kashmir freedom struggle got a new momentum in 1990s with the success of mujahideen in Afghanistan's war.¹⁵ Further, the movement also got inspired with the freedom of Central Asian States following disintegration of the USSR. In this backdrop the Afghan mujahideen success against a super power was a great inspiration for Kashmiri mujahideen¹⁶ and they were also hopeful that if they continue their uprising against Indian occupation one day they will also be successful in achieving their right of self determination.

India blamed Pakistan for supporting the uprising¹⁷ to cover her own viciousness in Kashmir. In fact, the Indian allegations were a trick to mislead the international community and behind the scene continue her repression in the held Kashmir. Despite the fact that India stationed thousands of her troops and mined the whole area around Line of Control, Pakistan suggested to India to give monitoring of LoC to the UN but India refused to the proposal which showed that she falsely put allegations on Pakistan. Pakistan always supported the solution of Kashmir problem according to UN resolutions and through peaceful means. Pakistan always shows her sincerity for the solution of Kashmir problem by supporting peaceful and meaningful negotiations with India.¹⁸ However India's stickiness to the stand that Kashmir is the integral part of India and refusal to the meaningful dialogue on Kashmir problem always disrupt the solution. Whenever India agreed to negotiations on Kashmir, the objective was never to find

a settlement but to deflect international pressure by creating the facade of talks.¹⁹

In the end of the 20th century, Pak-India indulgence in Kashmir, once again, made their relations tense. In April 1999, fighting in Kargil sector of held Kashmir blocked the road of Indian supplies to the forces in Siachen. India blamed Pakistan for her direct involvement. India started immense counter attacks and also threatened Pakistan of an all out war. The crisis ended with Washington Accord in July through the US involvement. The Kargil crisis made the world realize that Kashmir can become a nuclear flash point between Pakistan and India. After Kargil war, India adopted a tough policy towards Pakistan; almost abandoned any bilateral relations with Pakistan. Since then India developed close ties with the US as a result of latter's main role in defusing the crisis in Indian held Kashmir. India also struggled to isolate Pakistan on the international level by convincing world community about Pakistan's inappropriate action in Kargil.

Figure 1: Kashmir disputed Area between India and Pakistan
Map showing Kargil sector also



Source: www.google.com/maps

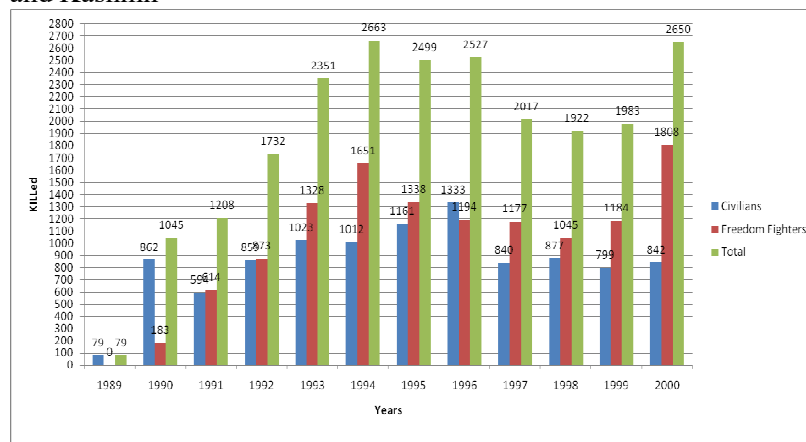
Table 1: People Killed by Indian Forces in Indian Held Jammu and Kashmir

S.No.	Years	Civilians	Freedom Fighters	Total
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1	1989	79	0	79
2	1990	862	183	1045
3	1991	594	614	1208
4	1992	859	873	1732
5	1993	1023	1328	2351
6	1994	1012	1651	2663
7	1995	1161	1338	2499
8	1996	1333	1194	2527
9	1997	840	1177	2017
10	1998	877	1045	1922
11	1999	799	1184	1983
12	2000	842	1808	2650

Source: www.satp.org

Figure 2: People Killed by Indian Forces in Indian Held Jammu and Kashmir



Source: www.satp.org

Kashmir after 9/11 (2001)

The tragic event of 9/11 gave a setback to the struggle of Kashmiris when the organizations like Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad supporting the Kashmir freedom struggle were banned by the US and other states. India always blamed Pakistan (the ISI, religious political parties and different organizations) of being supportive of the freedom fighters. India staged the drama of terrorist attack on Kashmir Assembly to defame the freedom struggle of Kashmiris²⁰ and branded freedom fighters as terrorists and as usual blamed Pakistan of supporting them.

India demanded Pakistan to take action against the organized religious groups of Lashkar e-Tayyiba (LeT)²¹ and the Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM)²². The relations between the two countries deteriorated because India stopped diplomatic relations and road and air communication with Pakistan.²³ Alongside India increased troops deployment on LoC²⁴ and border with Pakistan escalating border tension.²⁵ Pakistan replied in the same coin and the threat of nuclear war in the subcontinent increased.

To eliminate the roots of terrorism and to punish the terrorists, India was about to attack Pakistan.²⁶ Actually hardliners in India pressed their government to take punitive action against the terrorists by bombing their camps across the LoC. India might have considered an attack on terrorist camps in Pakistan, but did not take action due to two reasons:

- i. Insufficient information about the location of such camps;
- ii. The use of force could trigger a full-scale war between India and Pakistan (the two nuclear rivals).

So the intention of attack and use of force against terrorists' camps was dropped, but India continued issuing threatening statements to the extent that people had been expecting war between India and Pakistan in May 2002. But the war fever of India decreased only when Pakistan announced about its nuclear weapons use in case of India's invasion.

The tense relations between Pakistan and India were somewhat relaxed when Indian Prime Minister attended SAARC summit at Islamabad in January 2004. Sometimes it seemed that the two South Asian nuclear powers had been, getting closer to the settlement and each other's standpoints in confidence building measures (CBMs): As India agreed to negotiate Kashmir problem; and Pakistan also showed its desire to make the area a violence-free zone. The positive change in India policy gave hope to Pakistan as if solution of the problem and disputes was near.²⁷

A noticeable improvement on Kashmir was took place in 2005 between Pakistan and India when both countries agreed to open up LoC for the first time since 1947, for transportation between two Kashmirs and launched bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad.²⁸ Rebuilding connectivity between Azad and held Kashmir since the dispute of Kashmir was in fact a big development.

India expression of its readiness, in 2005, to give-up its claim on Azad Kashmir and not to change LoC was a big shift and breakthrough in the relations of India and Pakistan.²⁹ But this

strategic shift in India policy did not mean that India would not continue to insist its claims on Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas of Pakistan.

In 2006 Pakistan's president Musharraf suggested for the solution of Kashmir problem to India in the form of 'demilitarization, self-governance and joint-management of J&K by the two countries.'³⁰ India responded with the proposal of consultative mechanism between the two Kashmir. Although the Indian suggestion of 'cooperative, consultative mechanism' was short of Pakistan's proposal of 'joint management', yet it raises the hopes of the resolution of Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

Certain important developments in the matter took place in 2007 also and expectations for the peaceful settlement of dispute were on the rise when India and Pakistan reached near to a framework for settlement based on the following:

- i). LoC between two Kashmirs will not be change;
- ii). LoC will be open for transportation;
- iii). Both India and Pakistan will grant autonomy to Kashmir under their control;
- iv). The issues of trade, tourism, water resources, environment and education between the two Kashmirs will be managed through a 'Consultative Mechanism'.
- v). A gradual reduction in the strength of troops by India and Pakistan stationed in Kashmir.³¹

But the real breakthrough between India and Pakistan over Kashmir was narrowed down by the differences of the two countries over certain aspects of above provisions. Like India blamed Pakistan of not giving self-rule to the Kashmir under Pakistan's control while claiming that she has granted a considerable autonomy to the Kashmir under its control. Another difference is that India stands for giving representation to Kashmir only in consultative mechanism while Pakistan opposed and took the stand that representation should be given to Pakistan and India also in consultative mechanism. Third disagreement between the two is on the matter of demilitarization of Kashmir, Pakistan wanted significant reduction of troops while India doesn't want complete demilitarization of Kashmir.³² So due to these differences, no significant progress can be made in the solution of Kashmir problem. Further the solution of Kashmir problem halted due to the termination of negotiations by India in the backdrop

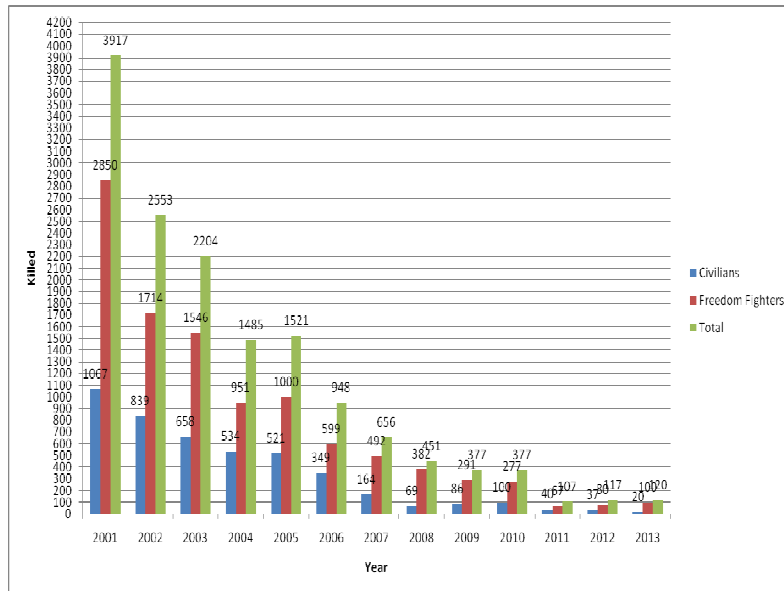
2008 terrorists attack in Mumbai in November and as usual blamed Pakistan for it.

Table 2: People Killed by Indian Forces in Indian Held Jammu and Kashmir

S.No.	Year	Civilians	Freedom Fighters	Total
1	2001	1067	2850	3917
2	2002	839	1714	2553
3	2003	658	1546	2204
4	2004	534	951	1485
5	2005	521	1000	1521
6	2006	349	599	948
7	2007	164	492	656
8	2008	69	382	451
9	2009	86	291	377
10	2010	100	277	377
11	2011	40	67	107
12	2012	37	80	117
13	2013	20	100	120

Source: www.satp.org

Figure 3: People killed by Indian Forces in Indian held Jammu and Kashmir



Source: www.satp.org

According to Indian official estimates at least 40,000 people have been killed since insurgency began in 1989, while according to unofficial estimates the figure is over 90,000 in which half are civilians

India discontinued the peace process with Pakistan and stated that it will not be resumed until Pakistan takes action against the alleged terrorists. At that time India might have forgotten the fact that Pakistan had already banned the militant groups and dismantled their networks.

These on-off relations were improved to some extent when both countries agreed to de-link the peace process from action against terrorists and way forward in relations but no significant progress was made.³³ In 2009 Indo-Pakistan peace process was stalemated again and their respective positions stiffened once again with the challenging statement of Indian Army Chief General Deepak Kapoor in which he revised the Indian military doctrine of 'two front war' against Pakistan and China.³⁴ Pakistan Army Chief also responded in a tit for tat manner which further worsened the relations and the peace process went to background. Pakistan considered this sudden change in attitude of India as she is "not sincere in resuming composite dialogue", and attempts to "normalize relations between the two countries were stalled."³⁵

Public Perception of different Proposals for the Solution of Kashmir Dispute

India's tough stand on Kashmir as it is her integral part has made the solution of the dispute impossible in near future. India is an emerging power and she will never do anything which will harm its prestige as rising power while she considered a compromise on Kashmir or concession to Pakistan in the issue as equal to its surrender and defeat.³⁶ India will never do it. India has repeated a very stereotyped statement that Kashmir is an integral part of India and remained reluctant to provide the right of self determination to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. India strengthened its claim by taking practical steps in setting up administrative setup there which give a clear message to the world community that Kashmir is an inseparable part of India and no one should intervene in India's internal matters. So the international community does not support Pakistan on the question of Kashmir now. It is hoped that if a mechanism is constructed which will be acceptable to Pakistan and Kashmiri people as well as India then peaceful settlement of Kashmir problem can be possible.³⁷

One section of scholars believes that if the existing LoC is recognized as a formal border, it will result in amicable settlement of the problem but the question is that whether the Kashmiri people as well as India and Pakistan will agree to this solution.³⁸ India do not agree to this solution because she claims to whole Kashmir and this solution make half of the Kashmir. Pakistan can't agree because Muslim majority area of Kashmir vale will be lost permanently which is not acceptable to Pakistan and Kashmiri do not agree because it is short of right of self determination for which they are struggling.³⁹ It seems like in near future, there is not to be a kind of solution which will be acceptable to all parties of the conflict and the problem will remain standstill.

According to some scholars, the struggle on government and mass level of Kashmiris is necessary for the solution of Kashmir problem. Pakistan should raise the matter of Kashmir on international fora to keep highlighting it, so the name of India as the biggest democracy of the world would be damaged and defamed in the context of human rights violations in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.⁴⁰

A nonviolent political movement was started in 1993 in Indian held Kashmir by local Kashmiris with the creation of 'all parties Hurriyat Conference' for the struggle of obtaining the right of self determination of Kashmiri people. This movement included seven parties and twenty groups of held Kashmir. The movement started mass demonstrations against Indian occupation in Kashmir but Indian forces brutal response by killing the demonstrators yielded little goals of the conference.⁴¹ The demonstrations should be made more broad-base and continuous with full local population participation then it will yield some results. Actually the trump card in problem of Kashmir is the people of Kashmir themselves, who if fully participated in peaceful, nonviolent and continuous liberation movement and declare civil disobedience to India, then a stage will come when India will surrender and will not be able to stand in front of such mass movement.⁴² The continuous mass protest and unrest by the local people in held Kashmir will make the situation more difficult for India to control and India will spend more money on security related apparatus for the control of situation which will become a burden on Indian economy because India is already spending much on its troops deployment in held Kashmir.⁴³ Economic interaction and development needs stability and peace and this unrest will totally paralyze the Kashmir economy which will be another setback for Indian economy to bear the burden of a fail economy of Kashmir.

If Kashmir's economic burden becomes a liability for India then India will be compelled to solve the problem.⁴⁴

Different types of options for the solution of Kashmir problem are on table and they are as bellow:

- i). The declaration of Kashmir as a buffer state and granting independence to it;
- ii). Holding of plebiscite in Kashmir to give right of self-determination to Kashmiris;
- iii). Granting Jammu Valley to India and Kashmir valley to Pakistan.
- iv). Withdrawal of all forces from Kashmir region by Pakistan and India and placing the territory under the UN for 5 to 10 years and after that Kashmiris to decide whether they want independence or join India or Pakistan.⁴⁵

But all the three parties to the conflict i.e. India, Pakistan and Kashmiris are not agreeing to these solutions due to one reason or another.⁴⁶ India, at international level, most effectively uses its diplomacy and very tactfully uses the relations with US for its own interests. So India is very successful in getting support of the international community on its stand on Kashmir.⁴⁷ If the problem couldn't be resolved there can be no peace in the region and not any type of regional organization can grow like SAARC etc and regional development and economic integration will be utterly difficult.⁴⁸

Conclusion

The Kashmir problem is left over by history, 68 years have passed but the problem is still unresolved. The important thing which is vital for the solution of such problem is the support from international community, which is not available to Kashmiris for their cause. The UN also did not play strong role (in the sense, only passed resolutions and did not implement it) in the solution of the problem and did not hold plebiscite for the self determination of Kashmiri people. The UN can play strong role as it played in the solution of East Timor and other problems.⁴⁹

Major Powers like US, France and Britain also changed their position from principle stand (of supporting plebiscite under the UN supervision) to indifference.⁵⁰ Super power US can play a role in the solution of Kashmir problem if it wants. Recently, Pakistan's prime minister asked the US president in November 2014 to take up Kashmir issue during his visit to India in January 2015.⁵¹ But nothing has been heard about US of taking the issue

with India during the said visit. Even Pakistan is worried about US close cooperation with India which will further disillusion the solution of Kashmir dispute because US-India close ties will create a strategic imbalance in the region as was pointed out by Pakistan foreign relations advisor (Sartaj Aziz) on 28 January 2015 that US supply of nuclear material for civil use to India (as was agreed during US president visit) “further compound the already fragile strategic stability environment” in the troubled region.⁵² As India becomes stronger, its stand will become more rigid on Kashmir which will be an obstacle to the solution of Kashmir problem. The US tilt towards India is due to India’s huge market and to use India as a deterrent against China in the region. The silence of great powers on human rights violations on the part of India in Kashmir has deadly consequences for Kashmir. US even went a step further in India’s relations and supported India in branding Kashmiri freedom fighters as terrorists after 9/11. US has two interests in doing so, first the disputed territory provide an opportunity to her to involve in the region and kept her influence. Second, the Kashmir dispute provides a market for US weapon sales to Pakistan and India. China also neutralized her stand on Kashmir because supporting Kashmir’s right of self determination will create problems for her in the provinces where separatist/secessionist movements operate. On the other side the live Kashmir problem will keep engage the Chinese main adversary (India).

On bilateral level, flexibility from both sides (India and Pakistan) is required for the solution. Both countries have a long history of mistrust and blame game. The trust deficit and their on-off relations keep the negotiations for the solution in a back and forth movement, sometimes when it seems like they were near to a solution another moment both countries back to their strict stand of past, making solution a distant possibility. Pakistan, time and again, asked for a third country mediation especially of US in the back-drop of their failed bilateral negotiations but India always rejects it. The Indian foreign minister stated in the British Parliament on 15 March 2014 about the solution of the Kashmir problem on Scotland and Ireland pattern.⁵³ But the local autonomy option will be successful only if India gives autonomy to the held Kashmir in real sense and meaning, because this option has also failed in the past when Nehru (then Indian PM) and Abdullah (then held Kashmir PM) agreed to it and also provided in Indian Constitution article 370 but wither away with the passage of time and eroded by the force of circumstances.⁵⁴

The solution requires the following in their real sense and meaning;

- i). UN effective role.
- ii). Major Powers and international community pressure and sincere efforts for solution.
- iii). Flexibility from both Pakistan and India.
- iv). Involvement of all the three parties i.e. Pakistan, India and Kashmiris because exclusion of any one from the solution settlement will prove a failure.
- v). Continuous negotiations. The disruptions in the dialogue always wither away what has been achieved earlier.
- vi). And Kashmiris' continuous struggle, to pressurize India to agree for the settlement.

If India does not agree on holding plebiscite for the self determination of Kashmiri people (Pakistan's stand) and Pakistan does not accept the held Kashmir as integral part of India (India's stand) then the best option for the solution is the suggestion of a Chinese scholar that 'shelve the dispute',⁵⁵ which means to develop the area, give local autonomy, prosperity of people, easy communication and transportation between the two parts of Kashmir, easy visa rules, porous/soft border, people to people contact and peace in the area will one day lead to a permanent solution of the problem. If the enemies of the two world wars with territorial disputes i.e. France and Germany can become friendly and integrated then why can't Pakistan and India normalize their relations and solve bilateral disputes.

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- ⁸ UN Security Council, Official Records, 250th meeting, 18 Feb, 1948.
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- ¹⁰ The Kashmir issue was taken to the UN by India in January, 1948. Following negotiations and agreements among the parties, the Security Council adopted resolution 47 of 21 April 1948 which promised a free and fair plebiscite under UN auspices to enable the people of Jammu and Kashmir to determine whether they wish to join Pakistan or India.
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“drama staged by Indian intelligence agencies to defame the freedom struggle in 'occupied Kashmir” and further warned that India would pay heavily if they engage in any misadventure. Also see, Audrey Kurth Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the decline and demise of terrorist campaigns* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 162.

²¹ Lashkar e-Tayyiba is considered to be one of the largest and most active militant organizations in South Asia and operating mainly from Pakistan. It was founded by Hafiz Muhammad Saeed and Zafar Iqbal in Afghanistan in 1987. With its headquarters based in Muridke near Lahore in Punjab province of Pakistan. The group operates several training camps in Pakistan-administered Kashmir, providing training and arms to Kashmiri freedom fighters. Lashkar-e-Tayyiba is blamed for attacks on civilian and military targets in India, most notably the 2008 Mumbai Attacks. It is believed that its objective is to introduce an Islamic state in South Asia and to liberate Muslims residing in Indian held Kashmir. The organization is banned on account of its being a terrorist organization by India, Pakistan, the US, the UK the EU, Russia and Australia. As of December 2008, the US intelligence officials believed that Pakistan's main intelligence agency, the ISI, continued to give LeT intelligence help and protection. See K. Alan Kronstadt, *Terrorist Attacks in Mumbai, India, and Implications for US Interests* (Darby: DIANE Publishing Press, 2009), 1-5.

²² Jaish-e-Muhammad is considered as a major jihadi organization based in Pakistan. The group was founded by maulana Massod Azhar in 2000. The group's primary motive is to liberate Kashmir from India and it has carried out several attacks primarily in Indian held Kashmir. The group operates several training camps in Pakistan-administered Kashmir, providing training and arms to Kashmiri freedom fighters. It has been banned in Pakistan since 2002. Jaish-e-Muhammed is viewed as the "deadliest" and "the principal terrorist organization in Jammu and Kashmir." The group has been declared as a terrorist organization by several countries, including India, the United States and the United Kingdom. See M.G. Chitkara, *Combating Terrorism* (New Delhi: APH Publishing Press, 2003), 290-93.

²³ Stephen P. Cohen, *India: Emerging Power* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2002), xv.

²⁴ B.R. Deepak, “Sino-Pak Entente Cordiale and India: A Look into the Past and Future”, *China Report* 42, no. 2 (2006), 129-149.

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²⁸ Reetika Sharma, G. Ramvir and V. Mishra, *India and the Dynamics of World Politics* (New Delhi: Pearson Education Press, 2011), 1.112.

²⁹ Gaershadmah, "Pak-India Peace Process", *op.cit.*

In their second meeting in New Delhi in April 2005, Manmohan Singh and Pervaiz Musharraf had a conversation on Kashmir who came up with three basic guidelines. Pakistan will not settle for the *status quo*. India was opposed to further territorial changes in J&K and both agreed that the present borderlines should not matter. While the first two seemed contradictory, it was the third that opened up crucial space for some innovative thinking on J&K. India's confirmation that there would be no further territorial changes suggested that it was for the first time, in a formal sense, signaling its readiness to give up claims to Azad Kashmir.

³⁰ Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: a memoir* (New York: Simon and Schuster Press, 2006), 277-89.

³¹ Dr. Noor ul Haq, *Kashmir Whither 2*, IPRI Factfile. Available at: ipripak.org/factfiles/ff120.pdf [Accessed on April 4, 2014]

³² Lawrence Saez, and Gurharpal Singh, *New Dimensions of Politics in India: The united progressive alliance in power* (London, Routledge Press, 2011), 106.

³³ The premiers of India and Pakistan, Dr Manmohan Singh and Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani respectively met at Sharm-el-Sheikh (Egypt) where they had gone to attend the Non-Aligned Movement Conference. See *Dawn*, July 17, 2009.

³⁴ *Times of India* (New Delhi), December 30, 2009.

³⁵ *Dawn* (Islamabad), December 1, 2009.

³⁶ Author's Interview with Prof. Dr. Taj Moharram Khan, Professor of Political Science, University of Peshawar, dated February 22, 2012.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Author's Interview with Smruti Pattanaik, a renowned Political Analyst from India dated March 21, 2012.

³⁹ Fahmida Ashraf, *Jammu and Kashmir Dispute: Examining various proposals for its resolution* (Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, 2002).

⁴⁰ From interview with Prof. Dr. Adnan Sarwar Khan/b, Professor of International Relations, University of Peshawar dated 08-03-2013.

⁴¹ Rekha Chowdhary, 2015, *Jammu and Kashmir: Politics of Identity and Separatism*, London, Routledge Press, pp. 112-113.

⁴² Author's interview with Prof. Dr. Adnan Sarwar Khan/b, Professor of International Relations, University of Peshawar, dated March 08, 2013.

⁴³ Saul Bernad Cohen, *Geopolitics of the World System* (Washington, Rowman and Littlefield Press, 2003), 320.

⁴⁴ Author's interview with Prof. Dr. Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, Chairman Deptt. of Management Sciences, Islamia College University, Peshawar, dated April, 04.2014.

⁴⁵ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Solving the Kashmir Dispute: Is there a way out* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 06-20.

⁴⁶ Fahmida Ashraf, *Jammu and Kashmir Dispute*, *op.cit.*

⁴⁷ Author's interview with Prof. Dr. Babar Shah, Chairman Department of Regional Studies, University of Peshawar, dated February 06, 2014.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Mervaiz Umer Farooq, "Kashmir: Challenges and Prospects: Resolution of Kashmir Issue", (Conference held by Muslim Institute Islamabad on March 26-27, 2014).

⁵⁰ Mohan C. Bhandari, *Solving Kashmir* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2006), 319.

⁵¹ *Daily News*, November 22, 2014

⁵² *Daily News*, January 28, 2015.

⁵³ *The Nation News Paper* March 15, 2014.

⁵⁴ Ghulam Nabi Fai, "Resolution of the Kashmir Dispute: Way forward", *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 4 (2013), 1-14.

⁵⁵ Cheng Ruisheng, "On the Peaceful Resolution of the Kashmir Problem", *China Report Journal* 70, no. 271 (2004), 270-82.